The Doctors of the Catholic Church

The Doctors of the Church are great saints known for their defense and explanation of the truths of the Catholic Faith. The original eight Doctors of the Church—four Western (Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Pope Saint Gregory the Great, and Saint Jerome) and four Eastern (Saint Athanasius, Saint Basil the Great, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. John Chrysostom)—were named by acclamation, or common acknowledgment; the rest have been named by various popes, starting with the addition of St. Thomas Aquinas to the list by Pope Saint Pius V in 1568, when he promulgated the Tridentine Latin Mass.

In the 20th century, three female saints—Saint Catherine of Siena, Saint Teresa of Avila, and Saint Therese of Lisieux—were added to the list. A fourth, Saint Hildegard of Bingen, was added by <u>Pope</u> <u>Benedict XVI</u> on October 7, 2012, when he also added Saint John of Avila to the list. Today, there are 35 officially recognized Doctors of the Church.

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St. Albertus Magnus (1200-80)

Added by Pope Pius XI in 1931

Known as Albert the Great; <u>scientist</u>, philosopher, and theologian, born c. 1206; died at <u>Cologne</u>, 15 November 1280. He is called "the Great", and "Doctor Universalis" (Universal Doctor), in recognition of his extraordinary genius and extensive <u>knowledge</u>, for he was proficient in every branch of learning cultivated in his day, and surpassed all his contemporaries, except perhaps <u>Roger Bacon</u> (1214-94), in the <u>knowledge</u> of <u>nature</u>. Ulrich Engelbert, a contemporary, calls him the wonder and the <u>miracle</u> of his age: "Vir in omni scientia adeo divinus, ut nostri temporis stupor et miraculum congrue vocari possit" (De summo bono, tr. III, iv).

Life

Albert, eldest son of the Count of Bollstädt, was born at Lauingen, Swabia, in the year 1205 or 1206, though many historians give it as 1193. Nothing certain is known of his primary or preparatory education, which was received either under the paternal roof or in a <u>school</u> of the neighbourhood. As a youth he was sent to pursue his studies at the University of Padua; that city being chosen either because his uncle resided there, or because Padua was famous for its culture of the liberal arts, for which the young Swabian had a special predilection. The date of this journey to Padua cannot be accurately determined. In the year 1223 he joined the Order of St. Dominic, being attracted by the preaching of Blessed Jordan of Saxony second Master General of the Order. Historians do not tell us whether Albert's studies were continued at Padua, Bologna, Paris, or Cologne. After completing his studies he taught theology at Hildesheim, Freiburg (Breisgau), Ratisbon, Strasburg, and Cologne. He was in the convent of Cologne, interpreting Peter Lombard's "Book of the Sentences", when, in 1245, he was ordered to repair to Paris. There he received the Doctor's degree in the university which, above all others, was celebrated as a school of theology. It was during this period of reaching at Cologne and Paris that he counted amongst his hearers St. Thomas Aquinas, then a silent, thoughtful youth, whose genius he recognized and whose future greatness he foretold. The disciple accompanied his master to Paris in 1245, and returned with him, in 1248, to the new Studium Generale of Cologne, in which Albert was appointed Regent, whilst Thomas became second professor and Magister Studentium (Master of Students). In 1254 Albert was elected Provincial of his Order in Germany. He journeyed to Rome in 1256, to defend the Mendicant Orders against the attacks of William of St. Amour, whose book, "De novissimis temporum periculis", was condemned by Pope Alexander IV, on 5 October, 1256. During his sojourn in Rome Albert filled the office of Master of the Sacred Palace (instituted in the time of St. Dominic), and preached on the Gospel of St. John and the Canonical Epistles. He resigned the office of Provincial in 1257 in order to devote himself to study and to teaching. At the General Chapter of the Dominicans held at Valenciennes in 1250, with St. Thomas Aquinas and Peter of Tarentasia (afterwards Pope Innocent V), he drew up rules for the direction of studies, and for determining the system of

graduation, in the Order. In the year 1260 he was appointed Bishop of Ratisbon. Humbert de Romanis, Master General of the Dominicans, being loath to lose the services of the great Master, endeavoured to prevent the nomination, but was unsuccessful. Albert governed the diocese until 1262, when, upon the acceptance of his resignation, he voluntarily resumed the duties of a professor in the *Studium* at Cologne. In the year 1270 he sent a memoir to Paris to aid St. Thomas in combating Siger de Brabant and the Averroists. This was his second special treatise against the Arabian commentator, the first having been written in 1256, under the title "De Unitate Intellectus Contra Averroem". He was called by Pope Gregory X to attend the Council of Lyons (1274) in the deliberations of which he took an active part. The announcement of the death of St. Thomas at Fossa Nuova, as he was proceeding to the Council, was a heavy blow to Albert, and he declared that "The Light of the Church" had been extinguished. It was but natural that he should have grown to love his distinguished, saintly pupil, and it is said that ever afterwards he could not restrain his tears whenever the name of St. Thomas was mentioned. Something of his old vigour and spirit returned in 1277 when it was announced that Stephen Tempier and others wished to condemn the writings of St. Thomas, on the plea that they were too favourable to the unbelieving philosophers, and he journeyed to Paris to defend the memory of his disciple. Some time after 1278 (in which year he drew up his testament) he suffered a lapse of memory; his strong mind gradually became clouded; his body, weakened by vigils, austerities, and manifold labours, sank under the weight of years. He was beatified by Pope Gregory XV in 1622; his feast is celebrated on the 15th of November. The Bishops of Germany, assembled at Fulda in September, 1872, sent to the Holy See a petition for his canonization; he was finally canonized in 1931.

Works

Two editions of Albert's complete works (Opera Omnia) have been published; one at Lyons in 1651, in twentyone folio volumes, edited by Father Peter Jammy, O.P., the other at Paris (Louis Vivès), 1890-99, in thirty-eight quarto volumes, published under the direction of the Abbé Auguste Borgnet, of the diocese of Reims. Paul von Loë gives the chronology of Albert's writings the "Analecta Bollandiada" (De Vita et scriptis B. Alb. Mag., XIX, XX, and XXI). The logical order is given by P. Mandonnet, O.P., in Vacant's "Dictionnaire de théologie catholique". The following list indicates the subjects of the various treatises, the numbers referring to the volumes of Borgnet's edition. Logic: seven treatises (I. 2). Physical Sciences: "Physicorum" (3); "De Coelo et Mundo", "De Generatione et Corruptione". "Meteororum" (4); "Mineralium" (5); "De Natura locorum", " De passionibus aeris" (9). Biological: "De vegetabilibus et plantis" (10) " De animalibus" (11-12); "De motibus animalium", "De nutrimento et nutribili", "De aetate", "De morte et vita", "De spiritu et respiratione" (9). Psychological: "De Anima" (5); "De sensu et sensato", "De Memoria, et reminiscentia", "De somno et vigilia", "De natura et origine animae", "De intellectu et intelligibili", "De unitate intellectus" (9). The foregoing subjects, with the exception of Logic, are treated compendiously in the "Philosophia pauperum" (5). Moral and Political: "Ethicorum" (7); "Politocorum (8). Metaphysical: "Metaphysicorum" (6); "De causis et processu universitatis" (10). Theological: "Commentary on the works of Denis the Aereopagite" (14); "Commentary on the Sentences of the Lombard" (25-30); "Summa Theologiae" (31-33); "Summa de creaturis" (34-35); "De sacramento Eucharistiae" (38); "Super evangelium missus est" (37). *Exegetical*: "Commentaries on the Psalms and Prophets" (15-19); "Commentaries on the Gospels" (20-24); "On the Apocalypse" (38). Sermons (13). The "Quindecim problemata contra Averroistas" was edited by Mandonnet in his "Siger de Brabant" (Freiburg, 1899). The authenticity of the following works is not established: "De apprehensione" (5); "Speculum astronomicum" (5); "De alchimia" (38); Scriptum super arborem Aristotelis" (38); "Paradisus animae" (37); "Liber de Adhaerendo Deo" (37); "De Laudibus B. Virginis" (36); "Biblia Mariana" (37).

Influence

The influence exerted by Albert on the scholars of his own day and on those of subsequent ages was naturally great. His fame is due in part to the fact that he was the forerunner, the guide and master of <u>St. Thomas</u> <u>Aquinas</u>, but he was great in his own name, his claim to distinction being recognized by his contemporaries and by posterity. It is remarkable that this friar of the <u>Middle Ages</u>, in the midst of his many <u>duties</u> as a religious, as

provincial of his order, as <u>bishop</u> and <u>papal legate</u>, as preacher of a <u>crusade</u>, and while making many laborious journeys from <u>Cologne</u> to <u>Paris</u> and <u>Rome</u>, and frequent excursions into different parts of <u>Germany</u>, should have been able to compose a veritable encyclopedia, containing scientific treatises on almost every subject, and displaying an insight into nature and a <u>knowledge</u> of <u>theology</u> which surprised his contemporaries and still excites the admiration of learned men in our own times. He was, in <u>truth</u>, a *Doctor Universalis*. Of him it in justly be said: *Nil tetigit quod non ornavit*; and there is no exaggeration in the praises of the modern critic who wrote: "Whether we consider him as a <u>theologian</u> or as a <u>philosopher</u>, Albert was undoubtedly one of the most extraordinary men of his age; I might say, one of the most wonderful men of genius who appeared in past times" (Jourdain, Recherches Critiques). Philosophy, in the days of Albert, was a general <u>science</u> embracing everything that could be known by the natural powers of the mind; physics, mathematics, and <u>metaphysics</u>. In his writings we do not, it is <u>true</u>, find the distinction between the <u>sciences</u> and philosophy which recent usage makes. It will, however, be convenient to consider his skill in the experimental <u>sciences</u>, his influence on scholastic philosophy, his <u>theology</u>.

Albert and the experimental sciences

It is not surprising that Albert should have drawn upon the sources of information which his time afforded, and especially upon the scientific writings of Aristotle. Yet he says: "The aim of natural science is not simply to accept the statements [narrata] of others, but to investigate the causes that are at work in nature" (De Miner., lib. II, tr. ii, i). In his treatise on plants he lays down the principle: *Experimentum solum certificat in talibus* (Experiment is the only safe guide in such investigations). (De Veg., VI, tr. ii, i). Deeply versed as he was in theology, he declares: "In studying nature we have not to inquire how God the Creator may, as He freely wills, use His creatures to work miracles and thereby show forth His power: we have rather to inquire what Nature with its immanent causes can naturally bring to pass" (De Coelo et Mundo, I, tr. iv, x). And though, in questions of natural science, he would prefer Aristotle to St. Augustine (In 2, Sent. dist. 13, C art. 2), he does not hesitate to criticize the Greek philosopher. "Whoever believes that Aristotle was a god, must also believe that he never erred. But if one believe that Aristotle was a man, then doubtless he was liable to error just as we are." (Physic. lib. VIII, tr. 1, xiv). In fact Albert devotes a lengthy chapter to what he calls "the errors of Aristotle" (Sum. Theol. P. II, tr. i, quaest. iv). In a word, his appreciation of Aristotle is critical. He deserves credit not only for bringing the scientific teaching of the Stagirite to the attention of medieval scholars, but also for indicating the method and the spirit in which that teaching was to be received. Like his contemporary, Roger Bacon (1214-94), Albert was an indefatigable student of nature, and applied himself energetically to the experimental sciences with such remarkable success that he has been accused of neglecting the sacred sciences (Henry of Ghent, De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, II, x). Indeed, many legends have been circulated which attribute to him the power of a magician or sorcerer. Dr. Sighart (Albertus Magnus) examined these legends, and endeavoured to sift the truth from false or exaggerated stories. Other biographers content themselves with noting the fact that Albert's proficiency in the physical sciences was the foundation on which the fables were constructed. The truth lies between the two extremes. Albert was assiduous in cultivating the natural sciences; he was an authority on physics, geography, astronomy, mineralogy, chemistry (*alchimia*), zoölogy, physiology, and even phrenology. On all these subjects his erudition was vast, and many of his observations are of permanent value. Humboldt pays a high tribute to his knowledge of physical geography (Cosmos, II, vi). Meyer* writes (Gesch. der Botanik): "No botanist who lived before Albert can be compared with him, unless it be Theophrastus, with whom he was not acquainted; and after him none has painted nature in such living colours, or studied it so profoundly, until the time of Conrad, Gesner, and Cesalpini. All honour, then, to the man who made such astonishing progress in the science of nature as to find no one, I will not say to surpass, but even to equal him for the space of three centuries." The list of his published works is sufficient vindication from the charge of neglecting theology and the Sacred Scriptures. On the other hand, he expressed contempt for everything that savoured of enchantment or the art of magic: "Non approbo dictum Avicennae et Algazel de fascinatione, quia credo quod non nocet fascinatio, nec nocere potest ars magica, nec facit aliquid ex his quae timentur de talibus" (See Quétif, I, 167). That he did not admit the possibility of making gold by alchemy or the use of the philosopher's stone, is evident from his own words: "Art alone cannot produce a substantial form". (Non est

probatum hoc quod educitur de plumbo esse aurum, eo quod sola ars non potest dare formam substantialem — De Mineral., lib. II, dist. 3).

Roger Bacon and Albert proved to the world that the Church is not opposed to the study of nature, that faith and science may go hand in hand; their lives and their writings emphasize the importance of experiment and investigation. Bacon was indefatigable and bold in investigating; at times, too, his criticism was sharp. But of Albert he said: "Studiosissimus erat, et vidit infinita, et habuit expensum, et ideo multa potuit colligere in pelago auctorum infinito" (Opera, ed. Brewer, 327). Albert respected authority and traditions, was prudent in proposing the results of his investigations, and hence "contributed far more than **Bacon** did to the advancement of science in the thirteenth century" (Turner, Hist. of Phil.). His method of treating the sciences was historical and critical. He gathered into one vast encyclopedia all that was known in his day, and then expressed his own opinions, principally in the form of commentaries on the works of Aristotle. Sometimes, however, he hesitates, and does not express his own opinion, probably because he feared that his theories, which were "advanced" for those times, would excite surprise and occasion unfavourable comment. "Dicta peripateticorum, prout melius potui exposui: nec aliquis in eo potest deprehendere quid ego ipse sentiam in philosophia naturali" (De Animalibus, circa finem). In Augusta Theodosia Drane's excellent work on "Christian Schools and Scholars" (419 sqq.) there are some interesting remarks on "a few scientific views of Albert, which show how much he owed to his own sagacious observation of natural phenomena, and how far he was in advance of his age. . . . " In speaking of the British Isles, he alluded to the commonly received idea that another Island — Tile, or Thule existed in the Western Ocean, uninhabitable by reason of its frightful clime, "but which", he says, has perhaps not yet been visited by man". Albert gives an elaborate demonstration of the sphericity of the earth; and it has been pointed out that his views on this subject led eventually to the discovery of America (cf. Mandonnet, in "Revue Thomiste", I, 1893; 46-64, 200-221).

Albert and Scholastic philosophy

More important than Albert's development of the physical sciences was his influence on the study of philosophy and theology. He, more than any one of the great scholastics preceding St. Thomas, gave to Christian philosophy and theology the form and method which, substantially, they retain to this day. In this respect he was the forerunner and master of St. Thomas, who excelled him, however, in many qualities required in a perfect Christian Doctor. In marking out the course which other followed, Albert shared the glory of being a pioneer with Alexander of Hales (d. 1245), whose "Summa Theologiae" was the first written after all the works of Aristotle had become generally known at Paris. Their application of Aristotelean methods and principles to the study of revealed doctrine gave to the world the scholastic system which embodies the reconciliation of reason and Orthodox faith. After the unorthodox Averroes, Albert was the chief commentator on the works of, Aristotle, whose writings he studied most assiduously, and whose principles he adopted, in order to systematize theology, by which was meant a scientific exposition and defence of Christian doctrine. The choice of Aristotle as a master excited strong opposition. Jewish and Arabic commentaries on the works of the Stagirite had given rise to so many errors in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries that for several years (1210-25) the study of Aristotle's Physics and Metaphysics was forbidden at Paris. Albert, however, knew that Averroes, Abelard, Amalric, and others had drawn false doctrines from the writings of the Philosopher; he knew, moreover, that it would have been impossible to stem the tide of enthusiasm in favour of philosophical studies; and so he resolved to purify the works of Aristotle from Rationalism, Averroism, Pantheism, and other errors, and thus compel pagan philosophy to do service in the cause of revealed truth. In this he followed the canon laid down by St. Augustine (II De Doct. Christ., xl), who declared that truths found in the writings of pagan philosophers were to be adopted by the defenders of the true faith, while their erroneous opinions were to be abandoned, or explained in a Christian sense. (See St. Thomas, Summa Theol., I.84.5.) All inferior (natural) sciences should be the servants (ancillae) of Theology, which is the superior and the mistress (ibid., 1 P., tr. 1, quaest. 6). Against the rationalism of Abelard and his followers Albert pointed out the distinction between truths naturally knowable and mysteries (e.g. the Trinity and the Incarnation) which cannot known without revelation (ibid., 1 P., tr. III, quaest. 13). We have seen that he wrote two treatises against Averroism, which destroyed individual

immortality and individual responsibility, by teaching that there is but one rational soul for all men. Pantheism was refuted along with Averroism when the true doctrine on Universals, the system known as moderate Realism, was accepted by the scholastic philosophers. This doctrine Albert based upon the Distinction of the universal ante rem (an idea or archetype in the mind of God), in re (existing or capable of existing in many individuals), and *post rem* (as a concept abstracted by the mind, and compared with the individuals of which it can be predicated). "Universale duobus constituitur, natura, scilicet cui accidit universalitas, et respectu ad multa. qui complet illam in natura universalis" (Met., lib. V, tr. vi, cc. v, vi). A.T. Drane (Mother Raphael, O.S.D.) gives a remarkable explanation of these doctrines (op. cit. 344-429). Though follower of Aristotle, Albert did not neglect Plato. "Scias quod non perficitur homo in philosophia, nisi scientia duarum philosophiarum, Aristotelis et Platonis (Met., lib. I, tr. v, c. xv). It is erroneous to say that he was merely the "Ape" (simius) of Aristotle. In the knowledge of Divine things faith precedes the understanding of Divine truth, authority precedes reason (I Sent., dist. II, a, 10); but in matters that can be naturally known a philosopher should not hold an opinion which he is not prepared to defend by reason ibid., XII; Periherm., 1, I, tr. l, c. i). Logic, according to Albert, was a preparation for philosophy teaching how we should use reason in order to pass from the known to the unknown: "Docens qualiter et per quae devenitur per notum ad ignoti notitiam" (De praedicabilibus, tr. I, c. iv). Philosophy is either contemplative or practical. Contemplative philosophy embraces physics, mathematics, and <u>metaphysics</u>; practical (moral) <u>philosophy</u> is monastic (for the individual), domestic (for the family), or political (for the state, or society). Excluding physics, now a special study, authors in our times still retain the old scholastic division of philosophy into logic, metaphysics (general and special), and ethics.

Albert's theology

In theology Albert occupies a place between <u>Peter Lombard</u>, the Master of the Sentences, and <u>St. Thomas Aquinas</u>. In systematic order, in accuracy and clearness he surpasses the former, but is inferior to his own illustrious disciple. His "Summa Theologiae" marks an advance beyond the custom of his time in the <u>scientific</u> order observed, in the elimination of useless questions, in the limitation of arguments and objections; there still remain, however, many of the *impedimenta*, hindrances, or stumbling blocks, which <u>St. Thomas</u> considered serious enough to call for a new manual of theology for the use of beginners — *ad eruditionem incipientium*, as the <u>Angelic Doctor</u> modestly remarks in the prologue of his <u>immortal "Summa"</u>. The mind of the *Doctor Universalis* was so filled with the <u>knowledge</u> of many things that he could not always adapt his expositions of the truth to the capacity of <u>novices</u> in the <u>science of theology</u>. He trained and directed a pupil who gave the world a concise, clear, and perfect scientific exposition and defence of <u>Christian Doctrine</u>; under <u>God</u>, therefore, we owe to Albertus Magnus the <u>"Summa Theologica"</u> of <u>St. Thomas</u>.

St. Alphonsus Liguori (1696-1787) Added by Blessed Pope Pius IX in 1871

Born at Marianella, near <u>Naples</u>, 27 September, 1696; died at <u>Nocera</u> de' Pagani, 1 August, 1787. The eighteenth century was not an age remarkable for depth of spiritual life, yet it produced three of the greatest missionaries of the <u>Church</u>, <u>St. Leonard of Port Maurice</u>, <u>St. Paul of the Cross</u>, and St. Alphonsus Liguori. Alphonsus Mary Antony John Cosmas Damian Michael Gaspard de' Liguori was born in his <u>father's</u> country house at Marianella near <u>Naples</u>, on Tuesday, 27 September, 1696. He was <u>baptized</u> two days later in the church of Our Lady of the Virgins, in <u>Naples</u>. The <u>family</u> was an old and noble one, though the branch to which the Saint belonged had become somewhat impoverished. Alphonsus's father, Don Joseph de' Liguori was a naval officer and Captain of the Royal Galleys. The Saint's mother was of Spanish descent, and if, as there can be little <u>doubt</u>, race is an element in individual character, we may see in Alphonsus's Spanish blood some explanation of the enormous tenacity of purpose which distinguished him from his earliest years. "I know his obstinacy", his <u>father</u> said of him as a young man; "when he once makes up his mind he is inflexible". Not many details have come down to us of Alphonsus's childhood. He was the eldest of seven children and the hope

of his house. The boy was bright and quick beyond his years, and made great progress in all kinds of learning. In addition his father made him practice the harpsichord for three hours a day, and at the age of thirteen he played with the perfection of a master. Riding and fencing were his recreations, and an evening game of cards; he tells us that he was debarred from being a good shot by his bad sight. In early manhood he became very fond of the opera, but only that he might listen to the music, for when the curtain went up he took his glasses off, so as not to see the players distinctly. The Neapolitan stage at this time was in a good state, but the Saint had from his earliest years an ascetic repugnance to theatres, a repugnance which he never lost. The childish fault for which he most reproached himself in after-life was resisting his father too strongly when he was told to take part in a drawing-room play. Alphonsus was not sent to school but was educated by tutors under his father's eye. At the age of sixteen, on 21 January, 1713, he took his degree as Doctor of Laws, although twenty was the age fixed by the statutes. He said himself that he was so small at the time as to be almost buried in his doctor's gown and that all the spectators laughed. Soon after this the boy began his studies for the Bar, and about the age of nineteen practised his profession in the courts. In the eight years of his career as advocate, years crowded with work, he is said never to have lost a case. Even if there be some exaggeration in this, for it is not in an advocate's power always to be on the winning side, the tradition shows that he was extraordinarily able and successful. In fact, despite his youth, he seems at the age of twenty-seven to have been one of the leaders of the Neapolitan Bar.

Alphonsus, like so many <u>saints</u>, had an excellent father and a saintly mother. Don Joseph de' Liguori had his faults. He was somewhat worldly and ambitious, at any rate for his son, and was rough tempered when opposed. But he was a man of genuine <u>faith</u> and <u>piety</u> and stainless life, and he meant his son to be the same. Even when taking him into <u>society</u> in order to arrange a good marriage for him, he wished Alphonsus to put <u>God</u> first, and every year father and son would make a retreat together in some religious house. Alphonsus, assisted by divine grace, did not disappoint his <u>father's</u> care. A pure and modest boyhood passed into a manhood without reproach. A companion, Balthasar Cito, who afterwards became a distinguished judge, was asked in later years if Alphonsus had ever shown signs of levity in his youth. He answered emphatically: "Never! It would be a <u>sacrilege</u> to say otherwise." The Saint's confessor declared that he preserved his <u>baptismal</u> innocence till death. Still there was a time of danger.

There can be little <u>doubt</u> but that the young Alphonsus with his high spirits and strong character was ardently attached to his profession, and on the way to be spoilt by the success and popularity which it brought. About the year 1722, when he was twenty-six years old, he began to go constantly into <u>society</u>, to neglect <u>prayer</u> and the practices of <u>piety</u> which had been an integral part of his life, and to take pleasure in the attention with which he was everywhere received.

"Banquets, entertainments, theatres," he wrote later on--"these are the pleasures of the world, but pleasures which are filled with the bitterness of gall and sharp thorns. Believe me who have experienced it, and now weep over it." In all this there was no serious sin, but there was no high sanctity either, and God, Who wished His servant to be a saint and a great saint, was now to make him take the road to Damascus. In 1723 there was a lawsuit in the courts between a Neapolitan nobleman, whose name has not come down to us, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in which property valued at 500,000 ducats, that to say, \$500,000 or 100,000 pounds, was at stake. Alphonsus was one of the leading counsel; we do not know on which side. When the day came the future Saint made a brilliant opening speech and sat down confident of victory. But before he called a witness the opposing counsel said to him in chilling tones: "Your arguments are wasted breath. You have overlooked a document which destroys your whole case." "What document is that?" said Alphonsus somewhat piqued. "Let us have it." A piece of evidence was handed to him which he had read and re-read many times, but always in a sense the exact contrary of that which he now saw it to have. The poor advocate turned pale. He remained thunderstruck for a moment; then said in a broken voice: "You are right. I have been mistaken. This document gives you the case." In vain those around him and even the judge on the bench tried to console him. He was crushed to the earth. He thought his mistake would be ascribed not to oversight but to deliberate deceit. He felt as if his career was ruined, and left the court almost beside himself, saying: "World, I know you now. Courts, you shall never see me more." For three days he refused all food. Then the storm subsided, and he began to see

that his humiliation had been sent him by God to break down his pride and wean him from the world. Confident that some special sacrifice was required of him, though he did not yet know what, he did not return to his profession, but spent his days in prayer, seeking to know God's will. After a short interval--we do not know exactly how long--the answer came. On 28 August, 1723, the young advocate had gone to perform a favourite act of charity by visiting the sick in the Hospital for Incurables. Suddenly he found himself surrounded by a mysterious light; the house seemed to rock, and an interior voice said: "Leave the world and give thyself to Me." This occurred twice. Alphonsus left the Hospital and went to the church of the Redemption of Captives. Here he laid his sword before the statue of Our Lady, and made a solemn resolution to enter the ecclesiastical state, and furthermore to offer himself as a novice to the Fathers of the Oratory. He knew that trials were before him. His father, already displeased at the failure of two plans for his son's marriage, and exasperated at Alphonsus's present neglect of his profession, was likely to offer a strenuous opposition to his leaving the world. So indeed it proved. He had to endure a real persecution for two months. In the end a compromise was arrived at. Don Joseph agreed to allow his son to become a priest, provided he would give up his proposal joining the Oratory, and would continue to live at home. To this Alphonsus by the advice of his director, Father Thomas Pagano, himself an Oratorian, agreed. Thus was he left free for his real work, the founding of a new religious congregation. On 23 October of the same year, 1723, the Saint put on the clerical dress. In September of the next year he received the tonsure and soon after joined the association of missionary secular priests called the "Neapolitan Propaganda", membership of which did not entail residence in common. In December, 1724, he received minor orders, and the subdiaconate in September, 1725. On 6 April, 1726, he was ordained deacon, and soon after preached his first sermon. On 21 December of the same year, at the age of thirty, he was ordained priest. For six years he laboured in and around Naples, giving missions for the Propaganda and preaching to the lazzaroni of the capital. With the aid of two laymen, Peter Barbarese, a schoolmaster, and Nardone, an old soldier, both of whom he converted from an evil life, he enrolled thousands of lazzaroni in a sort of confraternity called the "Association of the Chapels", which exists to this day. Then God called him to his life work.

In April 1729, the Apostle of China, Matthew Ripa, founded a missionary college in Naples, which became known colloquially as the "Chinese College". A few months later Alphonsus left his father's house and went to live with Ripa, without, however, becoming a member of his society. In his new abode he met a friend of his host's, Father Thomas Falcoia, of the Congregation of the "Pii Operarii" (Pious Workers), and formed with him the great friendship of his life. There was a considerable difference in age between the two men, for Falcoia, born in 1663, was now sixty-six, and Alphonsus only thirty-three, but the old priest and the young had kindred souls. Many years before, in Rome, Falcoia had been shown a vision of a new religious family of men and women whose particular aim should be the perfect imitation of the virtues of Our Lord. He had even tried to form a branch of the Institute by uniting twelve priests in a common life at Tarentum, but the community soon broke up. In 1719, together with a Father Filangieri, also one of the "Pii Operarii", he had refounded a Conservatorium of religious women at Scala on the mountains behind Amalfi. But as he drew up a rule for them, formed from that of the Visitation nuns, he does not seem to have had any clear idea of establishing the new institute of his vision. God, however, intended the new institute to begin with these nuns of Scala. In 1724, soon after Alphonsus left the world, a postulant, Julia Crostarosa, born in Naples on 31 October, 1696, and hence almost the same age as the Saint, entered the convent of Scala. She became known in religion as Sister Maria Celeste. In 1725, while still a novice, she had a series of visions in which she saw a new order (apparently of nuns only) similar to that revealed to Falcoia many years before. Even its Rule was made known to her. She was told to write it down and show it to the director of the convent, that is to Falcoia himself. While affecting to treat the novice with severity and to take no notice of her visions, the director was surprised to find that the Rule which she had written down was a realization of what had been so long in his mind. He submitted the new Rule to a number of theologians, who approved of it, and said it might be adopted in the convent of Scala, provided the community would accept it. But when the question was put to the community, opposition began. Most were in favour of accepting, but the superior objected and appealed to Filangieri, Falcoia's colleague in establishing the convent, and now, as General of the "Pii Operarii", his superior. Filangieri forbade any change of rule and removed Falcoia from all communication with the convent. Matters remained thus for some years. About 1729, however, Filangieri died, and on 8 October, 1730, Falcoia was consecrated Bishop of

<u>Castellamare</u>. He was now free, subject to the approval of the <u>Bishop</u> of Scala, to act with regard to the <u>convent</u> as he thought best. It happened that Alphonsus, ill and overworked, had gone with some companions to Scala in the early summer of 1730. Unable to be idle, he had preached to the goatherds of the mountains with such success that Nicolas Guerriero, <u>Bishop</u> of Scala, begged him to return and give a retreat in his <u>cathedral</u>.

Falcoia, hearing of this, begged his friend to give a retreat to the <u>nuns</u> of his *Conservatorium* at the same time. Alphonsus agreed to both requests and set out with his two friends, John Mazzini and Vincent Mannarini, in September, 1730. The result of the retreat to the <u>nuns</u> was that the young <u>priest</u>, who before had been prejudiced by reports in <u>Naples</u> against the proposed new Rule, became its firm supporter, and even obtained permission from the <u>Bishop</u> of Scala for the change. In 1731, the <u>convent</u> unanimously adopted the new Rule, together with a habit of red and blue, the traditional colours of <u>Our Lord's</u> own dress. One branch of the new Institute seen by Falcoia in vision was thus established. The other was not to be long delayed. No <u>doubt</u> Thomas Falcoia had for some time hoped that the ardent young <u>priest</u>, who was so devoted to him, might, under his direction, be the founder of the new Order he had at heart. a fresh vision of Sister Maria Celeste seemed to show that such was the will of <u>God</u>. On 3 October, 1731, the eve of the feast of <u>St. Francis</u>, she saw <u>Our Lord</u> with <u>St. Francis</u> on His right hand and a <u>priest</u> on His left. A voice said "This is he whom I have chosen to be head of My Institute, the Prefect General of a new Congregation of men who shall work for My glory." The <u>priest</u> was Alphonsus. Soon after, Falcoia made known to the latter his vocation to leave <u>Naples</u> and establish an order of missionaries at Scala, who should work above all for the neglected goatherds of the mountains. A year of trouble and anxiety followed.

The Superior of the <u>Propaganda</u> and even Falcoia's friend, Matthew Ripa, opposed the project with all their might. But Alphonsus's director, Father Pagano; Father Fiorillo, a great <u>Dominican</u> preacher; Father Manulio, Provincial of the <u>Jesuits</u>; and Vincent Cutica, Superior of the <u>Vincentians</u>, supported the young <u>priest</u>, and, 9 November, 1732, the "Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer", or as it was called for seventeen years, "of the Most Holy Saviour", was begun in a little hospice belonging to the <u>nuns</u> of Scala. Though St. Alphonsus was founder and *de facto* head of the Institute, its general direction in the beginning, as well as the direction of Alphonsus's <u>conscience</u>, was undertaken by the <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Castellamare</u> and it was not till the latter's death, 20 April, 1743, that a general chapter was held and the Saint was formally elected Superior-General. In fact, in the beginning, the young <u>priest</u> in his <u>humility</u> would not be Superior even of the house, judging one of his companions, John Baptist Donato, better fitted for the post because he had already had some experience of community life in another institute.

The early years, following the founding of the new order, were not promising. Dissensions arose, the Saint's former friend and chief companion, Vincent Mannarini, opposing him and Falcoia in everything. On 1 April, 1733, all the companions of Alphonsus except one lay brother, Vitus Curtius, abandoned him, and founded the Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament, which, confined to the Kingdom of Naples, was extinguished in 1860 by the Italian Revolution. The dissensions even spread to the nuns, and Sister Maria Celeste herself left Scala and founded a convent at Foggia, where she died in the odour of sanctity, 14 September, 1755. She was declared Venerable 11 August, 1901. Alphonsus, however, stood firm; soon other companions arrived, and though Scala itself was given up by the Fathers in 1738, by 1746 the new Congregation had four houses at Nocera de' Pagani, Ciorani, Iliceto (now Deliceto), and Caposele, all in the Kingdom of Naples. In 1749, the Rule and Institute of men were approved by Pope Benedict XIV, and in 1750, the Rule and Institute of the nuns. Alphonsus was lawyer, founder, religious superior, bishop, theologian, and mystic, but he was above all a missionary, and no true biography of the Saint will neglect to give this due prominence. From 1726 to 1752, first as a member of the Neapolitan "Propaganda", and then as a leader of his own Fathers, he traversed the provinces of Naples for the greater part of each year giving missions even in the smallest villages and saving many souls. a special feature of his method was the return of the missionaries, after an interval of some months, to the scene of their labours to consolidate their work by what was called the "renewal of a mission."

After 1752 Alphonsus gave fewer missions. His infirmities were increasing, and he was occupied a good deal with his writings. His promotion to the episcopate in 1762 led to a renewal of his missionary activity, but in a

slightly different form. The Saint had four houses, but during his lifetime it not only became impossible in the Kingdom of Naples to get any more, but even the barest toleration for those he had could scarcely be obtained. The cause of this was "regalism", the omnipotence of kings even in matters spiritual, which was the system of government in Naples as in all the Bourbon States. The immediate author of what was practically a lifelong persecution of the Saint was the Marquis Tanucci, who entered Naples in 1734. Naples had been part of the dominions of Spain since 1503, but in 1708 when Alphonsus was twelve years old, it was conquered by Austria during the war of the Spanish Succession. In 1734, however, it was reconquered by Don Carlos, the young Duke of Parma, great-grandson of Louis XIV, and the independent Bourbon Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was established. With Don Carlos, or as he is generally called, Charles III, from his later title as King of Spain, came the lawyer, Bernard Tanucci, who governed Naples as Prime Minister and regent for the next forty-two years. This was to be a momentous revolution for Alphonsus. Had it happened a few years later, the new Government might have found the Redemptorist Congregation already authorized, and as Tanucci's anti-clerical policy rather showed itself in forbidding new Orders than, with the exception of the Society of Jesus, in suppressing old ones, the Saint might have been free to develop his work in comparative peace. As it was, he was refused the royal *exequatur* to the Brief of Benedict XIV, and State recognition of his Institute as a religious congregation till the day of his death. There were whole years, indeed, in which the Institute seemed on the verge of summary suppression. The suffering which this brought on Alphonsus, with his sensitive and high-strung disposition, was very great, besides what was worse, the relaxation of discipline and loss of vocations which it caused in the Order itself. Alphonsus, however, was unflagging in his efforts with the Court. It may be he was even too anxious, and on one occasion when he was over-whelmed by a fresh refusal, his friend the Marquis Brancone, Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs and a man of deep piety, said to him gently: "It would seem as if you placed all your trust here below"; on which the Saint recovered his peace of mind. A final attempt to gain the royal approval, which seemed as if at last it had been successful, led to the crowning sorrow of Alphonsus's life: the division and apparent ruin of his Congregation and the displeasure of the Holy See. This was in 1780, when Alphonsus was eighty-three years old. But, before relating the episode of the "Regolamento", as it is called, we must speak of the period of the Saint's episcopate which intervened.

In the year 1747, King Charles of <u>Naples</u> wished to make Alphonsus <u>Archbishop</u> of <u>Palermo</u>, and it was only by the most earnest entreaties that he was able to escape. In 1762, there was no escape and he was constrained by formal obedience to the Pope to accept the Bishopric of St. Agatha of the <u>Goths</u>, a very small <u>Neapolitan</u> diocese lying a few miles off the road from <u>Naples</u> to <u>Capua</u>. Here with 30,000 uninstructed people, 400 mostly indifferent and sometimes <u>scandalous secular clergy</u>, and seventeen more or less relaxed <u>religious houses</u> to look after, in a field so overgrown with weeds that they seemed the only crop, he wept and <u>prayed</u> and spent days and nights in unremitting labour for thirteen years. More than once he faced assassination unmoved. In a riot which took place during the terrible famine that fell upon Southern <u>Italy</u> in 1764, he saved the life of the syndic of St. Agatha by offering his own to the mob. He fed the poor, instructed the <u>ignorant</u>, reorganized his <u>seminary</u>, reformed his <u>convents</u>, created a new spirit in his <u>clergy</u>, banished <u>scandalous</u> noblemen and <u>women</u> of <u>evil</u> life with equal impartiality, brought the study of <u>theology</u> and especially of <u>moral theology</u> into <u>honour</u>, and all the time was begging <u>pope</u> after <u>pope</u> to let him resign his office because he was doing nothing for his <u>diocese</u>. To all his administrative work we must add his continual literary labours, his many hours of daily <u>prayer</u>, his terrible austerities, and a stress of illness which made his life a <u>martyrdom</u>.

Eight times during his long life, without counting his last sickness, the Saint received the <u>sacraments</u> of the dying, but the worst of all his illnesses was a terrible attack of rheumatic fever during his episcopate, an attack which lasted from May, 1768, to June, 1769, and left him paralyzed to the end of his days. It was this which gave St. Alphonsus the bent head which we notice in the portraits of him. So bent was it in the beginning, that the pressure of his chin produced a dangerous wound in the chest. Although the <u>doctors</u> succeeded in straightening the neck a little, the Saint for the rest of his life had to drink at meals through a tube. He could never have said <u>Mass</u> again had not an Augustinian prior shown him how to support himself on a chair so that with the assistance of an <u>acolyte</u> he could raise the <u>chalice</u> to his lips. But in spite of his infirmities both <u>Clement XIII</u> (1758-69) and <u>Clement XIV</u> (1769-74) <u>obliged</u> Alphonsus to remain at his post. In February, 1775, however, <u>Pius VI</u> was elected Pope, and the following May he permitted the Saint to resign his <u>see</u>.

Alphonsus returned to his little cell at <u>Nocera</u> in July, 1775, to prepare, as he thought, for a speedy and <u>happy</u> <u>death</u>. Twelve years, however, still separated him from his reward, years for the most part not of peace but of greater afflictions than any which had yet befallen him. By 1777, the Saint, in addition to four houses in <u>Naples</u> and one in <u>Sicily</u>, had four others at Scifelli, Frosinone, St. Angelo a Cupolo, and Beneventum, in the <u>States of the Church</u>. In case things became hopeless in <u>Naples</u>, he looked to these houses to maintain the Rule and Institute. In 1780, a crisis arose in which they did this, yet in such a way as to bring division in the Congregation and extreme suffering and disgrace upon its founder.

The crisis arose in this way. From the year 1759 two former benefactors of the Congregation, <u>Baron Sarnelli</u> and Francis Maffei, by one of those changes not uncommon in <u>Naples</u>, had become its bitter enemies, and waged a vendetta against it in the <u>law</u> courts which lasted for twenty-four years. Sarnelli was almost openly supported by the all-powerful <u>Tanucci</u>, and the suppression of the Congregation at last seemed a matter of days, when on 26 October, 1776, <u>Tanucci</u>, who had offended Queen Maria Carolina, suddenly fell from power.

Under the government of the Marquis della Sambuca, who, though a great regalist, was a personal friend of the Saint's, there was promise of better times, and in August, 1779, Alphonsus's hopes were raised by the publication of a royal decree allowing him to appoint superiors in his Congregation and to have a <u>novitiate</u> and house of studies. The Government throughout had recognized the good effect of his missions, but it wished the missionaries to be <u>secular priests</u> and not a <u>religious</u> order. The <u>Decree</u> of 1779, however, seemed a great step in advance.

Alphonsus, having got so much, hoped to get a little more, and through his friend, Mgr. Testa, the Grand Almoner, even to have his Rule approved. He did not, as in the past, ask for an <u>exequatur</u> to the <u>Brief</u> of <u>Benedict XIV</u>, for relations at the time were more strained than ever between the Courts of <u>Rome</u> and <u>Naples</u>; but he hoped the king might give an independent sanction to his Rule, provided he waived all legal right to hold <u>property</u> in common, which he was quite prepared to do. It was all-important to the Fathers to be able to rebut the charge of being an illegal religious congregation, which was one of the chief allegations in the ever-adjourned and ever-impending action by Baron Sarnelli.

Perhaps in any case the submission of their Rule to a suspicious and even hostile <u>civil power</u> was a mistake. At all events, it <u>proved</u> disastrous in the result. Alphonsus being so old and so inform — he was eighty-five, crippled, deaf, and nearly blind — his one chance of success was to be faithfully served by friends and subordinates, and he was betrayed at every turn. His friend the Grand Almoner betrayed him; his two envoys for negotiating with the Grand Almoner, Fathers Majone and Cimino, betrayed him, consultors general though they were. His very confessor and <u>vicar general</u> in the government of his Order, Father Andrew Villani, joined in the conspiracy. In the end the Rule was so altered as to be hardly recognizable, the very <u>vows</u> of religion being abolished. To this altered Rule or "Regolamento", as it came to be called, the unsuspecting Saint was induced to put his signature. It was approved by the king and forced upon the stupefied Congregation by the whole power of the State.

A fearful commotion arose. Alphonsus himself was not spared. Vague rumours of impending treachery had got about and had been made known to him, but he had refused to believe them. "You have founded the Congregation and you have destroyed it", said one Father to him. The Saint only wept in silence and tried in vain to devise some means by which his Order might be saved. His best plan would have been to consult the Holy See, but in this he had been forestalled. The Fathers in the Papal States, with too precipitate zeal, in the very beginning denounced the change of Rule to Rome. Pius VI, already deeply displeased with the Neapolitan Government, took the fathers in his own dominions under his special protection, forbade all change of rule in their houses, and even withdrew them from obedience to the Neapolitan superiors, that is to St. Alphonsus, till an inquiry could be held.

A long process followed in the Court of <u>Rome</u>, and on 22 September, 1780, a provisional <u>Decree</u>, which on 24 August, 1781, was made absolute, recognized the houses in the <u>Papal States</u> as alone constituting the

<u>Redemptorist</u> Congregation. Father Francis de Paula, one of the chief appellants, was appointed their Superior General, "in place of those", so the brief ran, "who being higher superiors of the said Congregation have with their followers adopted a new system essentially different from the old, and have deserted the Institute in which they were professed, and have thereby ceased to be members of the Congregation." So the Saint was cut off from his own Order by the Pope who was to declare him "Venerable". In this state of exclusion he lived for seven years more and in it he died. It was only after his death, as he had prophesied, that the <u>Neapolitan</u> Government at last recognized the original Rule, and that the <u>Redemptorist</u> Congregation was reunited under one head (1793).

Alphonsus had still one final storm to meet, and then the end. About three years before his death he went through a veritable "Night of the Soul". Fearful <u>temptations</u> against every virtue crowded upon him, together with diabolical apparitions and illusions, and terrible scruples and impulses to despair which made life a <u>hell</u>. at last came peace, and on 1 August, 1787, as the midday Angelus was ringing, the Saint passed peacefully to his reward. He had nearly completed his ninety-first year. He was declared "Venerable", 4 May, 1796; was <u>beatified</u> in 1816, and <u>canonized</u> in 1839. In 1871, he was declared a <u>Doctor of the Church</u>.

"Alphonsus was of middle height", says his first biographer, Tannoia; "his head was rather large, his hair black, and beard well-grown." He had a pleasant smile, and his conversation was very agreeable, yet he had great dignity of manner. He was a born leader of men. His devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and to Our Lady was extraordinary. He had a tender charity towards all who were in trouble; he would go to any length to try to save a vocation; he would expose himself to death to prevent sin. He had a love for the lower animals, and wild creatures who fled from all else would come to him as to a friend. Psychologically, Alphonsus may be classed among twice-born souls; that is to say, there was a definitely marked break or conversion, in his life, in which he turned, not from serious sin, for that he never committed, but from comparative worldliness, to thorough self-sacrifice for God. Alphonsus's temperament was very ardent. He was a man of strong passions, using the term in the philosophic sense, and tremendous energy, but from childhood his passions were under control. Yet, to take anger alone, though comparatively early in life he seemed dead to insult or injury which affected himself, in cases of cruelty, or of injustice to others, or of dishonour to God, he showed a prophet's indignation even in old age. Ultimately, however, anything merely human in this had disappeared. At the worst, it was only the scaffolding by which the temple of perfection was raised. Indeed, apart from those who become saints by the altogether special grace of martyrdom, it may be doubted if many men and women of phlegmatic temperament have been canonized. The differentia of saints is not faultlessness but driving-power, a drivingpower exerted in generous self-sacrifice and ardent love of God. The impulse to this passionate service of God comes from Divine grace, but the soul must correspond (which is also a grace of God), and the soul of strong will and strong passions corresponds best. The difficulty about strong wills and strong passions is that they are hard to tame, but when they are tamed they are the raw material of sanctity.

Not less remarkable than the intensity with which Alphonsus worked is the amount of work he did. His perseverance was indomitable. He both made and kept a <u>vow</u> not to lose a single moment of time. He was helped in this by his turn of mind which was extremely practical. Though a good <u>dogmatic theologian</u>--a fact which has not been sufficiently recognized--he was not a metaphysician like the great scholastics. He was a lawyer, not only during his years at the Bar, but throughout his whole life--a lawyer, who to skilled advocacy and an enormous <u>knowledge</u> of practical detail added a wide and luminous hold of underlying principles. It was this which made him the prince of moral <u>theologians</u>, and gained him, when <u>canonization</u> made it possible, the title of "Doctor of the Church". This combination of practical common sense with extraordinary energy in administrative work ought to make Alphonsus, if he were better known, particularly attractive to the English-speaking nations, especially as he is so modern a saint. But we must not push resemblances too far. If in some things Alphonsus was an Anglo-Saxon, in others he was a <u>Neapolitan</u> of the <u>Neapolitans</u>, though always a saint. He often writes as a <u>Neapolitan</u> to <u>Neapolitans</u>. Were the vehement things in his letters and writings, especially in the matter of rebuke or complaint, to appraised as if uttered by an Anglo-Saxon in cold blood, we might be surprised and even shocked. <u>Neapolitan</u> students, in an animated but amicable discussion, seem to foreign eyes to be taking part in a violent quarrel. St. Alphonsus appeared a <u>miracle</u> of calm to Tannoia. Could he have been

what an Anglo-Saxon would consider a <u>miracle</u> of calm, he would have seemed to his companions absolutely inhuman. The <u>saints</u> are not inhuman but real men of flesh and blood, however much some hagiographers may ignore the fact.

While the continual intensity of reiterated acts of virtue which we have called driving-power is what really creates <u>sanctity</u>, there is another indispensable quality. The extreme difficulty of the lifelong work of fashioning a saint consists precisely in this, that every act of virtue the <u>saint</u> performs goes to strengthen his character, that is, his will. On the other hand, ever since the Fall of Man, the will of man has been his greatest danger. It has a tendency at every moment to deflect, and if it does deflect from the right path, the greater the momentum the more terrible the final crash. Now the <u>saint</u> has a very great momentum indeed, and a spoiled saint is often a great villain.

To prevent the ship going to pieces on the rocks, it has need of a very responsive rudder, answering to the slightest pressure of Divine guidance. The rudder is <u>humility</u>, which, in the <u>intellect</u>, is a realization of our own unworthiness, and in the will, docility to right guidance. But how was Alphonsus to grow in this so <u>necessary</u> virtue when he was in authority nearly all his life? The answer is that <u>God</u> kept him <u>humble</u> by interior trials. From his earliest years he had an anxious fear about committing <u>sin</u> which passed at times into scruple.

He who ruled and directed others so wisely, had, where his own <u>soul</u> was concerned, to depend on obedience like a little child. To supplement this, <u>God</u> allowed him in the last years of his life to fall into disgrace with the pope, and to find himself deprived of all external authority, trembling at times even for his <u>eternal salvation</u>. St. Alphonsus does not offer as much directly to the student of <u>mystical theology</u> as do some contemplative <u>saints</u> who have led more retired lives. Unfortunately, he was not <u>obliged</u> by his confessor, in virtue of <u>holy</u> obedience, as <u>St. Teresa</u> was, to write down his states of <u>prayer</u>; so we do not <u>know</u> precisely what they were. The <u>prayer</u> he recommended to his Congregation, of which we have beautiful examples in his <u>ascetical</u> works, is affective; the use of short aspirations, petitions, and acts of <u>love</u>, rather than discursive meditation with long reflection. His own <u>prayer</u> was perhaps for the most part what some call "active", others "ordinary", contemplation. Of extraordinary passive states, such as rapture, there are not many instances recorded in his life, though there are some. At three different times in his missions, while preaching, a ray of light from a picture of <u>Our Lady</u> darted towards him, and he fell into an <u>ecstasy</u> before the people. In old age he was more than once raised in the air when speaking of <u>God</u>.

His intercession healed the sick; he read the secrets of hearts, and foretold the future. He fell into a clairvoyant trance at Arienzo on 21 September, 1774, and was present in spirit at the death-bed in <u>Rome</u> of <u>Pope Clement</u> <u>XIV</u>.

It was comparatively late in life that Alphonsus became a writer. If we except a few poems published in 1733 (the Saint was born in 1696), his first work, a tiny volume called "Visits to the Blessed Sacrament", only appeared in 1744 or 1745, when he was nearly fifty years old. Three years later he published the first sketch of his "Moral Theology" in a single quarto volume called "Annotations to Busembaum", a celebrated Jesuit moral theologian. He spent the next few years in recasting this work, and in 1753 appeared the first volume of the "Theologia Moralis", the second volume, dedicated to Benedict XIV, following in 1755. Nine editions of the "Moral Theology" appeared in the Saint's life-time, those of 1748, 1753-1755, 1757, 1760, 1763, 1767, 1773, 1779, and 1785, the "Annotations to Busembaum" counting as the first. In the second edition the work received the definite form it has since retained, though in later issues the Saint retracted a number of opinions, corrected minor ones, and worked at the statement of his theory of Equiprobabilism till at last he considered it complete. In addition, he published many editions of compendiums of his larger work, such as the "Homo Apostolicus", made in 1759. The "Moral Theology", after a historical introduction by the Saint's friend, P. Zaccaria, S.J., which was omitted, however, from the eighth and ninth editions, begins with a treatise "De Conscientia", followed by one "De Legibus". These form the first book of the work, while the second contains the treatises on Faith, Hope, and Charity. The third book deals with the Ten Commandments, the fourth with the monastic and clerical states, and the duties of judges, advocates, doctors, merchants, and others. The fifth book has two

treatises "De Actibus Humanis" and "De Peccatis"; the sixth is on the <u>sacraments</u>, the seventh and last on the censures of the <u>Church</u>.

St. Alphonsus as a moral theologian occupies the golden mean between the schools tending either to laxity or to rigour which divided the theological world of his time. When he was preparing for the priesthood in Naples, his masters were of the rigid school, for though the center of Jansenistic disturbance was in northern Europe, no shore was so remote as not to feel the ripple of its waves. When the Saint began to hear confessions, however, he soon saw the harm done by rigorism, and for the rest of his life he inclined more to the mild school of the Jesuit theologians, whom he calls "the masters of morals". St. Alphonsus, however, did not in all things follow their teaching, especially on one point much debated in the schools; namely, whether we may in practice follow an opinion which denies a moral obligation, when the opinion which affirms a moral obligation seems to us to be altogether more probable. This is the great question of "Probabilism". St. Alphonsus, after publishing anonymously (in 1749 and 1755) two treatises advocating the right to follow the less probable opinion, in the end decided against that lawfulness, and in case of <u>doubt</u> only allowed freedom from <u>obligation</u> where the opinions for and against the law were equal or nearly equal. He called his system Equiprobabilism. It is true that theologians even of the broadest school are agreed that, when an opinion in favour of the law is so much more probable as to amount practically to moral certainty, the less probable opinion cannot be followed, and some have supposed that St. Alphonsus meant no more than this by his terminology. According to this view he chose a different formula from the Jesuit writers, partly because he thought his own terms more exact, and, partly to save his teaching and his congregation as far as possible from the State persecution which after 1764 had already fallen so heavily on the Society of Jesus, and in 1773 was formally to suppress it. It is a matter for friendly controversy, but it seems there was a real difference, though not as great in practice as is supposed, between the Saint's later teaching and that current in the Society. Alphonsus was a lawyer, and as a lawyer he attached much importance to the weight of evidence. In a civil action a serious preponderance of evidence gives one side the case. If civil courts could not decide against a defendant on greater probability, but had to wait, as a criminal court must wait, for moral certainty, many actions would never be decided at all. St. Alphonsus likened the conflict between law and liberty to a civil action in which the law has the onus probandi, although greater probabilities give it a verdict. Pure probabilism likens it to a criminal trial, in which the jury must find in favour of liberty (the prisoner at the bar) if any single reasonable doubt whatever remain in its favour. Furthermore, St. Alphonsus was a great theologian, and so attached much weight to intrinsic probability. He was not afraid of making up his mind. "I follow my conscience", he wrote in 1764, "and when reason persuades me I make little account of moralists." To follow an opinion in favour of liberty without weighing it, merely because it is held by someone else, would have seemed to Alphonsus an abdication of the judicial office with which as a confessor he was invested. Still it must in fairness be admitted that all priests are not great theologians able to estimate intrinsic probability at its true worth, and the Church herself might be held to have conceded something to pure probabilism by the unprecedented honours she paid to the Saint in her Decree of 22 July, 1831, which allows confessors to follow any of St. Alphonsus's own opinions without weighing the reasons on which they were based.

Besides his Moral Theology, the Saint wrote a large number of dogmatic and <u>ascetical</u> works nearly all in the vernacular. The "Glories of Mary", "The Selva", "The True Spouse of Christ", "The Great Means of Prayer", "The Way of Salvation", "Opera Dogmatica, or History of the Council of Trent", and "Sermons for all the Sundays in the Year", are the best known. He was also a poet and musician. His <u>hymns</u> are justly celebrated in <u>Italy</u>. Quite recently, a duet composed by him, between the Soul and <u>God</u>, was found in the British Museum bearing the date 1760 and containing a correction in his own handwriting.

Finally, St. Alphonsus was a wonderful letter-writer, and the mere salvage of his correspondence amounts to 1,451 letters, filling three large volumes. It is not <u>necessary</u> to notice certain non-Catholic attacks on Alphonsus as a patron of lying. St. Alphonsus was so scrupulous about <u>truth</u> that when, in 1776, the regalist, Mgr. Filingeri, was made <u>Archbishop</u> of <u>Naples</u>, the Saint would not write to congratulate the new <u>primate</u>, even at the risk of making another powerful enemy for his <u>persecuted</u> Congregation, because he thought he could not honestly say he "was glad to hear of the appointment." It will be remembered that even as a young man his chief distress at

his breakdown in court was the fear that his mistake might be ascribed to deceit. The question as to what does or does not constitute a lie is not an easy one, but it is a subject in itself. Alphonsus said nothing in his "Moral Theology" which is not the common teaching of <u>Catholic theologians</u>.

Very few remarks upon his own times occur in the Saint's letters. The eighteenth century was one series of great wars; that of the Spanish, Polish, and Austrian Succession; the Seven Years' War, and the War of American Independence, ending with the still more gigantic struggles in Europe, which arose out of the events of 1789. Except in '45, in all of these, down to the first shot fired at Lexington, the English-speaking world was on one side and the Bourbon States, including Naples, on the other. But to all this secular history about the only reference in the Saint's correspondence which has come down to us is a sentence in a letter of April, 1744, which speaks of the passage of the Spanish troops who had come to defend Naples against the Austrians. He was more concerned with the spiritual conflict which was going on at the same time. The days were indeed evil. Infidelity and impiety were gaining ground; Voltaire and Rousseau were the idols of society; and the *ancien régime*, by undermining religion, its one support, was tottering to its fall. Alphonsus was a devoted friend of the Society of Jesus and its long persecution by the Bourbon Courts, ending in its suppression in 1773, filled him with grief. He died on the very eve of the great Revolution which was to sweep the persecutors away, having seen in vision the woes which the French invasion of 1798 was to bring on Naples.

An interesting series of portraits might be <u>painted</u> of those who play a part in the Saint's history: Charles III and his minister <u>Tanucci</u>; Charle's son Ferdinand, and Ferdinand's strange and unhappy Queen, Maria Carolina, daughter of <u>Maria Teresa</u> and sister of <u>Marie Antoinette</u>. Cardinals Spinelli, Sersale, and Orsini; Popes <u>Benedict XIV</u>, <u>Clement XIII</u>, <u>Clement XIV</u>, and <u>Pius VI</u>, to each of whom Alphonsus dedicated a volume of his works. Even the baleful shadow of Voltaire falls across the Saint's life, for Alphonsus wrote to congratulate him on a conversion, which alas, never took place! Again, we have a friendship of thirty years with the great <u>Venetian</u> publishing house of Remondini, whose letters from the Saint, carefully preserved as became business men, fill a quarto volume. Other personal friends of Alphonsus were the <u>Jesuit Fathers</u> de Matteis, Zaccaria, and Nonnotte.

A respected opponent was the redoubtable <u>Dominican</u> controversialist, P. Vincenzo Patuzzi, while to make up for hard blows we have another <u>Dominican</u>, P. Caputo, President of Alphonsus's <u>seminary</u> and a devoted helper in his work of reform. To come to <u>saints</u>, the great <u>Jesuit</u> missionary St. Francis di Geronimo took the little Alphonsus in his arms, blessed him, and prophesied that he would do great work for <u>God</u>; while a <u>Franciscan</u>, <u>St. John Joseph of the Cross</u>, was well known to Alphonsus in later life. Both of them were <u>canonized</u> on the same day as the Holy Doctor, 26 May, 1839. <u>St. Paul of the Cross</u> (1694-1775) and St. Alphonsus, who were altogether contemporaries, seem never to have met on earth, though the founder of the <u>Passionists</u> was a great friend of Alphonsus's uncle, Mgr. Cavalieri, himself a great servant of <u>God</u>. Other <u>saints</u> and servants of <u>God</u> were those of Alphonsus's own household, the <u>lay brother</u>, <u>St. Gerard Majella</u>, who died in 1755, and <u>Januarius Sarnelli</u>, <u>Cæsar Sportelli</u>, Dominic Blasucci, and Maria Celeste, all of whom have been declared "Venerable" by the <u>Church</u>.

<u>Blessed Clement Hofbauer</u> joined the <u>Redemptorist</u> congregation in the aged Saint's lifetime, though Alphonsus never saw in the flesh the man whom he <u>knew</u> would be the second founder of his Order. Except for the chances of <u>European war</u>, <u>England</u> and <u>Naples</u> were then in different worlds, but Alphonsus may have seen at the side of Don Carlos when he conquered <u>Naples</u> in 1734, an English boy of fourteen who had already shown great gallantry under fire and was to play a romantic part in history, Prince Charles Edward Stuart. But one may easily overcrowd a narrow canvas and it is better in so slight a sketch to leave the central figure in solitary relief. If any reader of this article will go to original sources and study the Saint's life at greater length, he will not find his labour thrown away.

Saint Ambrose (340-97) One of the original four Doctors of the Latin Church

<u>Bishop</u> of <u>Milan</u> from 374 to 397; born probably 340, at <u>Trier</u>, Arles, or <u>Lyons</u>; died 4 April, 397. He was one of the most illustrious <u>Fathers</u> and <u>Doctors of the Church</u>, and fitly chosen, together with <u>St. Augustine</u>, <u>St. John</u> <u>Chrysostom</u>, and <u>St. Athanasius</u>, to uphold the venerable <u>Chair</u> of the <u>Prince of the Apostles</u> in the tribune of <u>St.</u> <u>Peter's</u> at <u>Rome</u>.

The materials for a biography of the Saint are chiefly to be found scattered through his writings, since the "Life" written after his death by his secretary, Paulinus, at the suggestion of St. Augustine, is extremely disappointing. Ambrose was descended from an ancient Roman family, which, at an early period had embraced Christianity, and numbered among its scions both Christian martyrs and high officials of State. At the time of his birth his father, likewise named Ambrosius, was Prefect of Gallia, and as such ruled the present territories of France, Britain, and Spain, together with Tingitana in Africa. It was one of the four great prefectures of the Empire, and the highest office that could be held by a subject. Trier, Arles, and Lyons, the three principal cities of the province, contend for the honour of having given birth to the Saint. He was the youngest of three children, being preceded by a sister, Marcellina, who become a nun, and a brother Satyrus, who, upon the unexpected appointment of Ambrose to the episcopate, resigned a prefecture in order to live with him and relieve him from temporal cares. About the year 354 Ambrosius, the father, died, whereupon the family removed to Rome. The saintly and accomplished widow was greatly assisted in the religious training of her two sons by the example and admonitions of her daughter, Marcellina, who was about ten years older than Ambrose. Marcellina had already received the virginal veil from the hands of Liberius, the Roman Pontiff, and with another consecrated virgin lived in her mother's house. From her the Saint imbibed that enthusiastic love of virginity which became his distinguishing trait. His progress in secular knowledge kept equal pace with his growth in piety. It was of extreme advantage to himself and to the Church that he acquired a thorough mastery of the Greek language and literature, the lack of which is so painfully apparent in the intellectual equipment of St. Augustine and, in the succeeding age, of the great St. Leo. In all probability the Greek Schism would not have taken place had East and West continued to converse as intimately as did St. Ambrose and St. Basil. Upon the completion of his liberal education, the Saint devoted his attention to the study and practice of the law, and soon so distinguished himself by the eloquence and ability of his pleadings at the court of the praetorian prefect, Anicius Probus, that the latter took his into his council, and later obtained for him from the Emperor Valentinian the office of consular governor of Liguria and Æmilia, with residence in Milan. "Go", said the prefect, with unconscious prophecy, "conduct thyself not as a judge, but as bishop". We have no means of ascertaining how long he retained the civic government of his province; we know only that his upright and gently administration gained for him the universal love and esteem of his subjects, paving the way for that sudden revolution in his life which was soon to take place. This was the more remarkable, because the province, and especially the city of Milan, was in a state of religious chaos, owing to the persistent machinations of the Arian faction.

Bishop of Milan

Ever since the heroic Bishop Dionysius, in the year 355, had been dragged in chains to his place of exile in the distant East, the ancient chair of <u>St. Barnabas</u> had been occupied by the intruded Cappadocian, Auxentius, an <u>Arian</u> filled with bitter <u>hatred</u> of the <u>Catholic Faith</u>, <u>ignorant</u> of the Latin language, a wily and violent persecutor of his <u>orthodox</u> subjects. To the great relief of the <u>Catholics</u>, the death of the petty tyrant in 374 ended a bondage which had lasted nearly twenty years. The <u>bishops</u> of the province, dreading the inevitable tumults of a popular election, begged the Emperor Valentinian to appoint a successor by imperial edict; he, however, decided that the election must take place in the usual way. It devolved upon Ambrose, therefore, to maintain order in the city at this perilous juncture. Proceeding to the basilica in which the disunited <u>clergy</u> and people were assembled, he began a conciliatory discourse in the interest of peace and moderation, but was interrupted by a voice (according to Paulinus, the voice of an infant) crying, "Ambrose, Bishop". The cry was instantly repeated by the entire assembly, and Ambrose, to his surprise and dismay, was unanimously pronounced elected. Quite apart from any <u>supernatural</u> intervention, he was the only <u>logical</u> candidate, known to the <u>Catholics</u> as a firm believer in the <u>Nicene Creed</u>, unobnoxious to the <u>Arians</u>, as one who had kept aloof from all <u>theological</u> controversies. The only difficulty was that of forcing the bewildered consular to accept an office for

which his previous training nowise fitted him. Strange to say, like so many other believers of that age, from a misguided reverence for the <u>sanctity</u> of <u>baptism</u>, he was still only a <u>catechumen</u>, and by a wise provision of the canons ineligible to the episcopate. That he was sincere in his repugnance to accepting the responsibilities of the sacred office, those only have <u>doubted</u> who have judged a great man by the standard of their own pettiness. Were Ambrose the worldly-minded, <u>ambitious</u>, and scheming individual they choose to <u>paint</u> him, he would have surely sought advancement in the career that lay wide open before him as a man of acknowledged ability and noble blood. It is difficult to believe that he resorted to the questionable expedients mentioned by his biographer as practised by him with a view to undermining his <u>reputation</u> with the populace. At any rate his efforts were unsuccessful. Valentinian, who was proud that his favourable opinion of Ambrose had been so fully ratified by the voice of <u>clergy</u> and people, confirmed the election and pronounced severe penalties against all who should abet him in his attempt to conceal himself. The Saint finally acquiesced, received <u>baptism</u> at the hands of a <u>Catholic bishop</u>, and eight day later, 7 December 374, the day on which East and West annually <u>honour</u> his memory, after the <u>necessary</u> preliminary degrees was <u>consecrated bishop</u>.

He was now in his thirty-fifth year, and was destined to edify the Church for the comparatively long space of twenty-three active years. From the very beginning he proved himself to be that which he has ever since remained in the estimation of the Christian world, the perfect model of a Christian bishop. There is some truth underlying the exaggerated eulogy of the chastened Theodosius, as reported by Theodoret (v, 18), "I know no bishop worthy of the name, except Ambrose". In him the magnanimity of the Roman patrician was tempered by the meekness and charity of the Christian saint. His first act in the episcopate, imitated by many a saintly successor, was to divest himself of his worldly goods. His personal property he gave to the poor; he made over his landed possessions to the Church, making provision for the support of his beloved sister. The self-devotion of his brother, Satyrus, relieved him from the care of the temporalities, and enabled him to attend exclusively to his spiritual duties. In order to supply the lack of an early theological training, he devoted himself assiduously to the study of Scripture and the Fathers, with a marked preference for Origen and St. Basil, traces of whose influence are repeatedly met with in his works. With a genius truly Roman, he, like Cicero, Virgil, and other classical authors, contented himself with thoroughly digesting and casting into a Latin mould the best fruits of Greek thought. His studies were of an eminently practical nature; he learned that he might teach. In the exordium of his treatise, "De Officiis", he complains that, owing to the suddenness of his transfer from the tribunal to the pulpit, he was compelled to learn and teach simultaneously. His piety, sound judgment, and genuine Catholic instinct preserved him from error, and his fame as an eloquent expounder of Catholic doctrine soon reached the ends of the earth. His power as an orator is attested not only by the repeated eulogies, but yet more by the conversion of the skilled rhetorician Augustine. His style is that of a man who is concerned with thoughts rather than words. We cannot imagine him wasting time in turning an elegant phrase. "He was one of those", says St. Augustine, "who speak the truth, and speak it well, judiciously, pointedly, and with beauty and power of expression" (Christian Doctrine IV.21).

His daily life

Through the door of his chamber, wide open the livelong day, and crossed unannounced by all, of whatever estate, who had any sort of business with him, we catch a clear glimpse of his daily life. In the promiscuous throng of his visitors, the high official who seeks his advice upon some weighty affair of state is elbowed by some anxious questioner who wishes to have his <u>doubts</u> removed, or some repentant sinner who comes to make a secret confession of his offenses, certain that the Saint "would reveal his <u>sins</u> to none but <u>God</u> alone" (Paulinus, Vita, xxxix). He ate but sparingly, dining only on Saturdays and <u>Sundays</u> and festivals of the more celebrated <u>martyrs</u>. His long nocturnal vigils were spent in <u>prayer</u>, in attending to his vast correspondence, and in penning down the thoughts that had occurred to him during the day in his off-interrupted readings. His indefatigable industry and methodical habits explain how so busy a man found time to compose so many valuable books. Every day, he tells us, he offered up the <u>Holy Sacrifice</u> for his people (*pro quibus ego quotidie instauro sacrificium*). Every Sunday his eloquent discourses drew immense crowds to the Basilica. One favorite topic of his was the excellence of virginity, and so successful was he in persuading maidens to adopt the

religious profession that many a mother refused to permit her daughters to listen to his words. The saint was forced to refute the charge that he was depopulating the empire, by quaintly appealing to the young men as to whether any of them experienced any difficulty in finding wives. He contends, and the experience of ages sustains his contention (De Virg., vii) that the population increases in direct proportion to the esteem in which virginity is held. His sermons, as was to be expected, were intensely practical, replete with pithy rules of conduct which have remained as household words among <u>Christians</u>. In his method of biblical interpretation all the personages of <u>Holy Writ</u>, from Adam down, stand out before the people as living beings, bearing each his distinct message from <u>God</u> for the instruction of the present generation. He did not write his <u>sermons</u>, but spoke them from the abundance of his heart; and from notes taken during their delivery he compiled almost all the treatises of his that are extant.

Ambrose and the Arians

It was but natural that a prelate so high-minded, so affable, so kind to the poor, so completely devoting his great gifts to the service of Christ and of humanity, should soon win the enthusiastic love of his people. Rarely, if ever, has a Christian bishop been so universally popular, in the best sense of that much abused term, as Ambrose of Milan. This popularity, conjoined with his intrepidity, was the secret of his success in routing enthroned iniquity. The heretical Empress Justina and her barbarian advisers would many a time fain have silenced him by exile or assassination, but, like Herod in the case of the Baptist, they "feared the multitude". His heroic struggles against the aggressions of the secular power have immortalized him as the model and forerunner of future Hildebrands, Beckets, and other champions of religious liberty. The elder Valentinian died suddenly in 375, the year following the consecration of Ambrose, leaving his Arian brother Valens to scourge the East, and his oldest son, Gratian, to rule the provinces formerly presided over by Ambrosius, with no provision for the government of Italy. The army seized the reins and proclaimed emperor the son of Valentinian by his second wife, Justina, a boy four years old. Gratian good-naturally acquiesced, and assigned to his halfbrother the sovereignty of Italy, Illyricum, and Africa. Justina had prudently concealed her Arian view during the lifetime of her orthodox husband, but now, abetted by a powerful and mainly Gothic faction at court, proclaimed her determination to rear her child in that heresy, and once more attempt to Arianize the West. This of necessity brought her into direct collision with the **Bishop** of Milan, who had quenched the last embers of Arianism in his diocese. That heresy had never been popular among the common people; it owed its artificial vitality to the intrigues of courtiers and sovereigns. As a preliminary to the impending contest, Ambrose, at the request of Gratian, who was about to lead an army to the relief of Valens, and wished to have at hand an antidote against Oriental sophistry, wrote his noble work, "De Fide ad Gratianum Augustum", afterwards expanded, and extant in five books. The first passage at arms between Ambrose and the Empress was on the occasion of an episcopal election at Sirmium, the capital of Illyricum, and at the time the residence of Justina. Notwithstanding her efforts, Ambrose was successful in securing the election of a Catholic bishop. He followed up this victory by procuring, at the Council of Aquileia, (381), over which he presided, the deposition of the only remaining Arianizing prelates of the West, Palladius and Secundianus, both Illyrians. The battle royal between Ambrose and the Empress, in the years 385,386, has been graphically described by Cardinal Newman in his "Historical Sketches". The question at issue was the surrender of one of the basilicas to the Arians for public worship. Throughout the long struggle Ambrose displayed in an eminent degree all the qualities of a great leader. His intrepidity in the moments of personal danger was equalled only by his admirable moderation; for, at certain critical stages of the drama one word from him would have hurled the Empress and her son from their throne. That word was never spoken. An enduring result of this great struggle with despotism was the rapid development during its course of the ecclesiastical chant, of which Ambrose laid the foundation. Unable to overcome the fortitude of the Bishop and the spirit of the people, the court finally desisted from its efforts. Ere long it was forced to call upon Ambrose to exert himself to save the imperilled throne.

Already he had been sent on an embassy to the court of the usurper, Maximus, who in the year 383 had defeated and slain Gratian, and now ruled in his place. Largely through his efforts an understanding had been reached between Maximus and <u>Theodosius</u>, whom Gratian had appointed to rule the East. It provided that Maximus

should content himself with his present possessions and respect the territory of Valentinian II. Three years later Maximus determined to cross the Alps. The tyrant received Ambrose unfavourably and, on the plea, very honourable to the Saint, that he refused to hold communion with the bishops who had compassed the death of Priscillian (the first instance of capital punishment inflicted for heresy by a Christian prince) dismissed him summarily from his court. Shortly after, Maximus invaded Italy. Valentinian and his mother fled to Theodosius, who took up their cause, defeated the usurper, and put him to death. At this time Justina died, and Valentinian, by the advice of Theodosius, abjured Arianism and placed himself under the guidance of Ambrose, to whom he became sincerely attached. It was during the prolonged stay of Theodosius in the West that one of most remarkable episodes in the history of the Church took place; the public penance inflicted by the Bishop and submitted to by the Emperor. The long-received story, set afoot by the distant Theodoret, which extols the Saint's firmness at the expense of his equally pronounced virtues of prudence and meekness - that Ambrose stopped the Emperor at the porch of the church and publicly upbraided and humiliated him - is shown by modern criticism to have been greatly exaggerated. The emergency called into action every episcopal virtue. When the news reached Milan that the seditious Thessalonians had killed the Emperor's officials, Ambrose and the council of **bishops**, over which he happened to be presiding at the time, made an apparently successful appeal to the clemency of Theodosius. Great was their horror, when, shortly after Theodosius, yielding to the suggestions of Rufinose and other courtiers, ordered an indiscriminate massacre of the citizens, in which seven thousand perished. In order to avoid meeting the blood-stained monarch or offering up the Holy Sacrifice in his presence, and, moreover, to give him time to ponder the enormity of a deed so foreign to his character, the Saint, pleading ill-health, and sensible that he exposed himself to the charge of cowardice, retired to the country, whence he sent a noble letter "written with my own hand, that thou alone mayst read it", exhorting the Emperor to repair his crime by an exemplary penance. With "religious humility", says St. Augustine (City of God V.26), Theodosius submitted; "and, being laid hold of by the discipline of the Church, did penance in such a way that the sight of his imperial loftiness prostrated made the people who were interceding for him weep more than the consciousness of offence had made them fear it when enraged". "Stripping himself of every emblem of royalty", says Ambrose in his funeral oration (c. 34), "he publicly in church bewailed his sin. That public penance, which private individuals shrink from, an Emperor was not ashamed to perform; nor was there afterwards a day on which he did not grieve for his mistake." This plain narrative, without theatrical setting, is much more honourable both to the Bishop and his sovereign.

Last days of Ambrose

The murder of his youthful ward, Valentinian II, which happened in Gaul, May, 393, just as Ambrose was crossing the Alps to baptize him plunged the Saint into deep affliction. His eulogy delivered at Milan is singularly tender; he courageously described him as a martyr baptized in his own blood. The usurper Eugenius was, in fact, a heathen at heart, and openly proclaimed his resolution to restore paganism. He reopened the heathen temples, and ordered the famous altar of Victory, concerning which Ambrose and the prefect Symmachus had maintained a long and determined literary contest, to be again set up in the Roman senate chamber. This triumph of paganism was of short duration. Theodosius in the spring of 391 again lead his legions into the West, and in a brief campaign defeated and slew the tyrant. Roman heathenism perished with him. The Emperor recognized the merits of the great Bishop of Milan by announcing his victory on the evening of the battle and asking him to celebrate a solemn sacrifice of thanksgiving. Theodosius did not long survive his triumph; he died at Milan a few months later (January 395) with Ambrose at his bedside and the name of Ambrose on his lips. "Even while death was dissolving his body", says the Saint, "he was more concerned about the welfare of the churches than about his personal danger". "I loved him, and am confident that the Lord will hearken to the prayer I send up for his pious soul" (In obitu Theodosii, c. 35). Only two years elapsed before a kindly death reunited these two magnanimous souls. No human frame could long endure the incessant activity of an Ambrose. One instance, recorded by his secretary, of his extraordinary capacity for work is significant. He died on Good Friday. The following day five bishops found difficulty in baptizing the crowd to which he had been accustomed to administer the sacrament unaided. When the news spread that he was seriously ill, Count Stilicho, "fearing that his death would involve the destruction of Italy", despatched an embassy, composed of

the chief citizens, to implore him to pray God to prolong his days. The response of the Saint made a deep impression on St. Augustine: "I have not so lived amongst you, that I need be ashamed to live; nor do I fear to die, for we have a good Lord". For several hours before his death he lay with extended arms in imitation of his expiring Master, who also appeared to him in person. The Body of Christ was given him by the Bishop of Vercelli, and, "after swallowing It, he peacefully breathed his last". It was the fourth of April, 397. He was interred as he had desired, in his beloved basilica, by the side of the holy martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius, the discovery of whose relics, during his great struggle with Justina, had so consoled him and his faithful adherents. In the year 835 one of his successors, Angilbert II, placed the relics of the three saints in as porphyry sarcophagus under the altar, where they were found in 1864. The works of St. Ambrose were issued first from the press of Froben at Basle, 1527, under the supervision of Erasmus. A more elaborate edition was printed in Rome in the year 1580 and following. Cardinal Montalto was the chief editor until elevation to the papacy as Sixtus V. It is in five volumes and still retains a value owing to the prefixed "Life" of the Saint, composed by Baronius. Then came the excellent Maurist edition published in two volumes at Paris, in 1686 and 1690; reprinted by Migne in four volumes. The career of St. Ambrose occupies a prominent place in all histories, ecclesiastical and secular, of the fourth century. <u>Tillemont's</u> narrative, in the tenth volume of his "Memoirs", is particularly valuable. The question of the genuineness of the so-called eighteen Ambrosian Hymns is of secondary importance. The great merit of the Saint in the field of hymnology is that of laying the foundations and showing posterity what ample scope there existed for future development.

Writings of St. Ambrose

The special character and value of the writings of St. Ambrose are at once tangible in the title of Doctor of the Church, which from time immemorial he has shared in the West with St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory. He is an official witness to the teaching of the Catholic Church in his own time and in the preceding centuries. As such his writings have been constantly invoked by popes, councils and theologians; even in his own day it was felt that few could voice so clearly the true sense of the Scriptures and the teaching of the Church (St. Augustine, De doctrinâ christ., IV, 46, 48, 50). Ambrose is pre-eminently the ecclesiastical teacher, setting forth in a sound and edifying way, and with conscientious regularity, the deposit of faith as made known to him. He is not the philosophic scholar meditating in silence and retirement on the truths of the Christian Faith, but the strenuous administrator, bishop, and statesman, whose writings are only the mature expression of his official life and labours. Most of his writings are really homilies, spoken commentaries on the Old and New Testaments, taken down by his hearers, and afterwards reduced to their present form, though very few of these discourses have reached us exactly as they fell from the lips of the great bishop. In Ambrose the native Roman genius shines out with surpassing distinctness; he is clear, sober, practical, and aims always at persuading his hearers to act at once on the principles and arguments he has laid down, which affect nearly every phase of their religious or moral life. "He is a genuine Roman in whom the ethico-practical note is always dominant. He had neither time nor liking for philosophico-dogmatic speculations. In all his writings he follows some practical purpose. Hence he is often content to reproduce what has been already treated, to turn over for another harvest a field already worked. He often draws abundantly from the ideas of some earlier writer, Christian or pagan, but adapts these thoughts with tact and intelligence to the larger public of his time and his people. In formal perfection his writings leave something to be desired; a fact that need not surprise us when we recall the demands on the time of such a busy man. His diction abounds in unconscious reminiscences of classical writers, Greek and Roman. He is especially conversant with the writings of Virgil. His style is in every way peculiar and personal. It is never wanting in a certain dignified reserve; when it appears more carefully studied than is usual with him, its characteristics are energetic brevity and bold originality. Those of his writings that are homiletic in origin and form betray naturally the great oratorical gifts of Ambrose; in them he rises occasionally to a noble height of poetical inspiration. His hymns are a sufficient evidence of the sure mastery that he possessed over the Latin language." (Bardenhewer, Les pères de l'église, Paris, 1898, 736 -737; cf. Pruner, Die Theologie des heil. Ambrosius, Eichstadt, 1864.) For convenience sake his extant writings may be divided into four classes: exegetical, dogmatic, ascetico-moral, and occasional. The exegetical writings, or scripture-commentaries deal with the story of Creation, the Old Testament figures of Cain and Abel, Noah, Abraham and the patriarchs,

Elias, Tobias, <u>David</u> and the Psalms, and other subjects. Of his discourses on the <u>New Testament</u> only the lengthy commentary on <u>St. Luke</u> has reached us (Expositio in Lucam). He is not the author of the admirable commentary on the thirteen <u>Epistles</u> of <u>St. Paul</u> known as <u>"Ambrosiaster"</u>. Altogether these Scripture commentaries make up more than one half of the writings of Ambrose. He delights in the allegorico-mystical interpretation of Scripture, i.e. while admitting the natural or literal sense he seeks everywhere a deeper mystic meaning that he converts into practical instruction for <u>Christian</u> life. In this, says <u>St. Jerome</u> (Ep.xli) "he was disciple of <u>Origen</u>, but after the modifications in that master's manner due to <u>St. Hippolytus of Rome</u> and <u>St. Basil the Great</u>". He was also influenced in this direction by the Jewish writer <u>Philo</u> to such an extent that the much corrupted text of the latter can often be successfully corrected from the echoes and reminiscences met with in the works of Ambrose. It is to be noted, however, that in his use of non-Christian writers the great Doctor never abandons a strictly <u>Christian</u> attitude (cf. Kellner, Der heilige Ambrosius als Erklärer das Alten Testamentes, Ratisbon, 1893).

The most influential of his ascetico-moral writings is the work on the duties of Christian ecclesiastics (De officiis ministrorum). It is a manual of Christian morality, and in its order and disposition follows closely the homonymous work of Cicero. "Nevertheless", says Dr. Bardenhewer, "the antitheses between the philosophical morality of the pagan and the morality of the Christian ecclesiastic is acute and striking. In his exhortations, particularly, Ambrose betrays an irresistible spiritual power" (cf. R. Thamin, Saint Ambroise et la morale chrétienne at quatrième siècle, Paris, 1895). He wrote several works on virginity, or rather published a number of his discourses on that virtue, the most important of which is the treatise "On Virgins" addressed to his sister Marcellina, herself a virgin consecrated to the divine service. St. Jerome says (Ep. xxii) that he was the most eloquent and exhaustive of all the exponents of virginity, and his judgment expresses yet the opinion of the church. The genuineness of the touching little work "On the Fall of a Consecrated Virgin" (De lapsu virginis consecratæ) has been called in question, but without sufficient reason. Dom Germain Morin maintains that it is a real homily of Ambrose, but like so many more of his so-called "books", owes its actual form to some one of his auditors. His dogmatic writings deal mostly with the divinity of Jesus Christ and of the Holy Ghost, also with the Christian sacraments. At the request of the young Emperor Gratian (375-383) he composed a defence of the true divinity of Jesus Christ against the Arians, and another on the true divinity of the Holy Ghost against the Macedonians; also a work on the Incarnation of Our Lord. His work "On Penance" was written in refutation of the rigoristic tenets of the Novatians and abounds in useful evidences of the power of the Church to forgive sins, the necessity of confession and the meritorious character of good works. A special work on Baptism (De sacramento regenerationis), often quoted by St. Augustine, has perished. We possess yet, however, his excellent treatise (De Mysteriis) on Baptism, Confirmation, and the Blessed Eucharist (P.L. XVI, 417-462), addressed to the newly baptized. Its genuineness has been called in doubt by opponents of Catholic teaching concerning the Eucharist, but without any good reason. It is highly probable that the work on the sacraments (De Sacramentis, ibid.) is identical with the preceding work; only, says Bardenhewer, "indiscreetly published by some hearer of Ambrose". Its evidences to the sacrificial character of the Mass, and to the antiquity of the Roman Canon of the Mass are too well known to need more than a mention; some of them may easily be seen in any edition of the Roman Breviary (cf. Probst, Die Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts und deren Reform, Münster, 1893, 232-239). The correspondence of Ambrose includes but a few confidential or personal letters; most of his letters are official notes, memorials on public affairs, reports of councils held, and the like. Their historical value is, however, of the first order, and they exhibit him as a Roman administrator and statesman second to none in Church or State. If his personal letters are unimportant, his remaining discourses are of a very high order. His work on the death (378) of his brother Satyrus (De excessu fratris sui Satyri) contains his funeral sermon on his brother, one of the earliest of Christian panegyrics and a model of the consolatory discourses that were henceforth to take the place of the cold and inept declamations of the Stoics. His funeral discourses on Valentinian II (392), and Theodosius the Great (395) are considered models of rhetorical composition; (cf. Villemain, De l'éloquence chrétienne, Paris, ed. 1891); they are also historical documents of much importance. Such, also, are his discourse against the Arian intruder, Auxentius (Contra Auxentium de basilicis tradendis) and his two discourses on the finding of the bodies of the Milanese martyrs Gervasius and Protasius.

Not a few works have been falsely attributed to St. Ambrose; most of them are found in the <u>Benedictine</u> Edition of his writings (reprinted in <u>Migne</u>) and are discussed in the manuals of patrology(e.g. Bardenhewer). Some of his genuine works appear to have been lost, e.g. the already mentioned work on <u>baptism</u>. <u>St. Augustine</u> (Ep. 31, 8) is loud in his praise of a (now lost) work of Ambrose written against those who asserted an <u>intellectual</u> dependency of <u>Jesus Christ</u> on <u>Plato</u>. It is not improbable that he is really the author of the Latin translation and paraphrase of <u>Josephus</u> (De Bell. Judaico), known in the <u>Middle Ages</u> as Hegesippus or Egesippus, a distortion of the Greek name of the original author (*Iosepos*). Mommsen denies (1890) his authorship of the famous <u>Roman law</u> text known as the "Lex Dei, sive Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio", an attempt to exhibit the <u>law of Moses</u> as the historical source whence Roman criminal <u>jurisprudence</u> drew its principal dispositions.

Editions of his Writings

The literary history of the editions of his writings is a long one and may be seen in the best lives of Ambrose. <u>Erasmus</u> edited them in four tomes at Basle (1527). A valuable Roman edition was brought out in 1580, in five volumes, the result of many years' labour; it was begun be <u>Sixtus V</u>, while yet the <u>monk</u> Felice Peretti. Prefixed to it is the life of St. Ambrose composed by <u>Baronius</u> for his Ecclesiastical Annals. The excellent <u>Benedictine</u> edition appeared at <u>Paris</u> (1686-90) in two folio volumes; it was twice reprinted at <u>Venice</u> (1748-51, and 1781-82). The latest edition of the writings of St. Ambrose is that of P.A. Ballerini (Milan, 1878) in six folio volumes; it has not rendered superfluous the <u>Benedictine</u> edition of du Frische and <u>Le Nourry</u>. Some writings of Ambrose have appeared in the <u>Vienna</u> series known as the "Corpus Scriptorum Classicorum Latinorum" (Vienna, 1897-1907). There is an English version of selected works of St. Ambrose by H. de Romestin in the tenth volume of the second series of the "Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers" (New York, 1896). A German version of selected writings in two volumes, executed by Fr. X. Schulte, is found in the "Bibliothek der Kirchenväter" (Kempten, 1871-77).

Saint Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109) Added by Pope Clement XI in 1720

Archbishop of <u>Canterbury</u>, <u>Doctor of the Church</u>; born at <u>Aosta</u> a <u>Burgundian</u> town on the confines of <u>Lombardy</u>, died 21 April, 1109.

His father, Gundulf, was a Lombard who had become a citizen of Aosta, and his mother, Ermenberga, came of an old Burgundian family. Like many other saints, Anselm learnt the first lessons of piety from his mother, and at a very early age he was fired with the love of learning. In after life he still cherished the memories of childhood, and his biographer, Eadmer, has preserved some incidents which he had learnt from the saint's own lips. The child had heard his mother speak of God, Who dwelt on high ruling all things. Living in the mountains, he thought that Heaven must be on their lofty summits. "And while he often revolved these matters in his mind, it chanced that one night he saw in a vision that he must go up to the summit of the mountain and hasten to the court of God, the great King. But before he began to ascend the mountain, he saw in the plain through which he had passed to its foot, women, who were the King's handmaidens, reaping the corn; but they were doing this very negligently and slothfully. Then, grieving for their sloth, and rebuking them, he bethought him that he would accuse them before their Lord and King. Thereafter, having climbed the mountain he entered the royal court. There he found the King with only his cupbearer. For it seemed that, as it was now Autumn, the King had sent his household to gather the harvest. As the boy entered he was called by the Master, and drawing nigh he sat at his feet. Then with cheery kindliness he was asked who and whence he was and what he was seeking. To these questions he made answer as well as he knew. Then at the Master's command some moist white bread was brought him by the cupbearer and he feasted thereon in his presence, wherefore when morning came and he brought to mind the things he had seen, as a simpler and innocent child he believed that he had truly been fed in heaven with the bread of the Lord, and this he publicly affirmed in the presence of others".

(Eadmer, Life of St. Anselm, I, i.) Eadmer adds that the boy was beloved by all and made rapid progress in learning. Before he was fifteen he sought admission to a <u>monastery</u>. But the <u>abbot</u>, fearing the father's displeasure, refused him. The boy then made a strange <u>prayer</u>. He asked for an illness, thinking this would move the <u>monks</u> to yield to his wishes. The illness came but his admission to the <u>monastery</u> was still denied him. None the less he determined to gain his end at some future date. But ere long he was drawn away by the pleasures of youth and lost his first ardour and his <u>love</u> of learning. His <u>love</u> for his mother in some measure restrained him. But on her death it seemed that his anchor was lost, and he was at the mercy of the waves.

At this time his father treated him with great harshness; so much so that he resolved to leave his home. Taking a single companion, he set out on foot to cross Mont Cenis. At one time he was fainting with hunger and was fain to refresh his strength with snow, when the servant found that some bread was still left in the baggage, and Anselm regained strength and continued the journey. After passing nearly three years in Burgundy and France, he came into Normandy and tarried for a while at Avranches before finding his home at the Abbey of Bec, then made illustrious by Lanfranc's learning. Anselm profited so well by the lessons of this master that he became his most familiar disciple and shared in the work of teaching. After spending some time in this labour, he began to think that his toil would have more merit if he took the monastic habit. But at first he felt some reluctance to enter the Abbey of Bec, where he would be overshadowed by Lanfranc. After a time, however, he saw that it would profit him to remain where he would be surpassed by others. His father was now dead, having ended his days in the monastic habit, and Anselm had some thought of living on his patrimony and relieving the needy. The life of a hermit also presented itself to him as a third alternative. Anxious to act with prudence he first asked the advice of Lanfranc, who referred the matter to the Archbishop of Rouen. This prelate decided in favour of the monastic life, and Anselm became a monk in the Abbey of Bec. This was in 1060. His life as a simple monk lasted for three years, for in 1063 Lanfranc was appointed Abbot of Caen, and Anselm was elected to succeed him as Prior. There is some doubt as to the date of this appointment. But Canon Poree points out that Anselm, writing at the time of his election as Archbishop (1093), says that he had then lived thirty three years in the monastic habit, three years as a monk without preferment, fifteen as prior, and fifteen as abbot (Letters of Anselm, III, vii). This is confirmed by an entry in the chronicle of the Abbey of Bec, which was compiled not later than 1136. Here it is recorded that Anselm died in 1109, in the forty-ninth year of his monastic life and the seventy-sixth of his age, having been three years a simple monk; fifteen, prior; fifteen, abbot; and sixteen archbishop (Poree, Histoire de l'abbave de Bec, III, 173). At first his promotion to the office vacated by Lanfranc gave offence to some of the other monks who considered they had a better claim than the young stranger. But Anselm overcame their opposition by gentleness, and ere long had won their affection and obedience. To the duties of prior he added those of teacher. It was likewise during this period that he composed some of his philosophical and theological works, notably, the "Monologium" and the "Proslogium". Besides giving good counsel to the monks under his care, he found time to comfort others by his letters. Remembering his attraction for the solitude of a hermitage we can hardly wonder that he felt oppressed by this busy life and longed to lay aside his office and give himself up to the delights of contemplation. But the Archbishop of Rouen bade him retain his office and prepare for yet greater burdens.

This advice was prophetic, for in 1078, on the death of Herluin, founder and first <u>Abbot</u> of Bec Anselm was elected to succeed him. It was with difficulty that the <u>monks</u> overcame his reluctance to accept the office. His biographer, Eadmer, gives us a picture of a strange scene. The Abbot-elect fell prostrate before the brethren and with tears besought them not to lay this burden on him, while they prostrated themselves and earnestly begged him to accept the office. His election at once brought Anselm into relations with <u>England</u>, where the Norman abbey had several possessions. In the first year of his office, he visited Canterbury where he was welcomed by Lanfranc. "The converse of Lanfranc and Anselm", says Professor Freeman, "sets before us a remarkable and memorable pair. The lawyer, the secular scholar, met the divine and the <u>philosopher</u>; the <u>ecclesiastical</u> statesman stood face to face with the <u>saint</u>. The wisdom, conscientious no <u>doubt</u> but still hard and worldly, which could guide churches and kingdoms in troublous times was met by the boundless <u>love</u> which took in all <u>God's</u> creatures of whatever race or species" (History of the Norman Conquest, IV, 442). It is interesting to note that one of the matters discussed on this occasion related to a Saxon <u>archbishop</u>, <u>Elphage</u> (Ælfheah), who had been <u>put to death</u> by the Danes for refusing to pay a ransom which would impoverish his people. Lanfranc

<u>doubted</u> his claim to the honours of a <u>martyr</u> since he did not die for the Faith. But Anselm solved the difficulty by saying that he who died for this lesser reason would much more be ready to die for the Faith. Moreover, Christ is <u>truth</u> and <u>justice</u> and he who dies for <u>truth</u> and <u>justice</u> dies for Christ. It was on this occasion that Anselm first met Eadmer, then a young <u>monk</u> of <u>Canterbury</u>. At the same time the <u>saint</u>, who in his childhood was <u>loved</u> by all who <u>knew</u> him, and who, as Prior of Bec, had won the affection of those who resisted his authority, was already gaining the hearts of <u>Englishmen</u>. His fame had spread far and wide, and many of the great men of the age prized his friendship and sought his counsel. Among these was William the Conqueror, who desired that Anselm might come to give him consolation on his death-bed.

When Lanfranc died, William Rufus kept the See of Canterbury vacant for four years, seized its revenues, and kept the Church in England in a state of anarchy. To many the Abbot of Bec seemed to be the man best fitted for the archbishopric. The general desire was so evident that Anselm felt a reluctance to visit England lest it should appear that he was seeking the office. At length, however, he yielded to the entreaty of Hugh, Earl of Chester and came to England in 1092. Arriving in Canterbury on the eve of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, he was hailed by the people as their future archbishop; but he hastened away and would in no wise consent to remain for the festival. At a private interview with the King, who received him kindly, he spoke freely on the evils by which the land was made desolate. Anselm's own affairs kept him in England for some months, but when he wished to return to Bec the King objected. Meanwhile the people made no secret of their desires. With the King's permission prayers were offered in all the churches that God would move the King to deliver the Church of Canterbury by the appointment of a pastor, and at the request of the bishops Anselm drew up the form of prayer. The King fell ill early in the new year (1093), and on his sick-bed he was moved to repentance. The prelates and barons urged on him the necessity of electing an archbishop. Yielding to the manifest desire of all he named Anselm, and all joyfully concurred in the election. Anselm, however, firmly refused the honour, whereupon another scene took place still more strange than that which occurred when he was elected abbot. He was dragged by force to the King's bedside, and a pastoral staff was thrust into his closed hand; he was borne thence to the altar where the "Te Deum" was sung. There is no reason to suspect the sincerity of this resistance. Naturally drawn to contemplation, Anselm could have little liking for such an office even in a period of peace; still less could he desire it in those stormy days. He knew full well what awaited him. The King's repentance passed away with his sickness and Anselm soon saw signs of trouble. His first offence was his refusal to consent to the alienation of Church lands which the King had granted to his followers. Another difficulty arose from the King's need of money. Although his see was impoverished by the royal rapacity, the Archbishop was expected to make his majesty a free gift; and when he offered five hundred marks they were scornfully refused as insufficient. As if these trials were not enough Anselm had to bear the reproaches of some of the monks of Bec who were loath to lose him; in his letters he is at pains to show that he did not desire the office. He finally was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury 4 December, 1093. It now remained for him to go to Rome to obtain the pallium. But here was a fresh occasion of trouble. The Antipope Clement was disputing the authority of Urban II, who had been recognized by France and Normandy. It does not appear that the English King was a partisan of the Antipope, but he wished to strengthen his own position by asserting his right to decide between the rival claimants. Hence, when Anselm asked leave to go to the Pope, the King said that no one in England should acknowledge either Pope till he, the King, had decided the matter. The Archbishop insisted on going to Pope Urban, whose authority he had already acknowledged, and, as he had told the King, this was one of the conditions on which alone he would accept the archbishopric. This grave question was referred to a council of the realm held at Rockingham in March, 1095. Here Anselm boldly asserted the authority of Urban. His speech is a memorable testimony to the doctrine of papal supremacy. It is significant that not one of the bishops could call it in question (Eadmer, Historia Novorum, lib. I). Regarding Anselm's belief on this point we may cite the frank words of Dean Hook: "Anselm was simply a papist — He believed that St. Peter was the Prince of the Apostles — that as such he was the source of all ecclesiastical authority and power; that the pope was his successor; and that consequently, to the pope was due, from the bishops and metropolitans as well as from the rest of mankind, the obedience which a spiritual suzerain has the right to expect from his vassals" [Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury (London, 18(i0-75), II, 183].

William now sent envoys to Rome to get the pallium. They found Urban in possession and recognized him. Walter, Bishop of Albano, came back with them as legate bearing the pallium. The King publicly acknowledged the authority of Urban, and at first endeavoured to get Anselm deposed by the legate. Eventually a reconciliation was occasioned by the royal difficulties in Wales and in the north. The King and the Archbishop met in peace. Anselm would not take the pallium from the King's hand; but in a solemn service at Canterbury on 10 June, 1095 it was laid on the altar by the legate, whence Anselm took it. Fresh trouble arose in 1097. On returning from his ineffectual Welsh campaign William brought a charge against the Archbishop in regard to the contingent he had furnished and required him to meet this charge in the King's court. Anselm declined and asked leave to go to Rome. This was refused, but after a meeting at Winchester Anselm was told to be ready to sail in ten days. On parting with the King, the Archbishop gave him his blessing, which William received with bowed head. At St. Omer's Anselm confirmed a multitude of persons. Christmas was spent at Cluny, and the rest of the winter at Lyons. In the spring he resumed his journey and crossed Mont Cenis with two companions all travelling as simple monks. At the monasteries on their way they were frequently asked for news of Anselm. On his arrival in Rome he was treated with great honour by the Pope. His case was considered and laid before the council, but nothing could be done beyond sending a letter of remonstrance to William. During his stay in Italy Anselm enjoyed the hospitality of the Abbot of Telese, and passed the summer in a mountain village belonging to this monastery. Here he finished his work, "Cur Deus Homo", which he had begun in England. In October, 1098, Urban held a council at Bari to deal with the difficulties raised by the Greeks in regard to the procession of the Holy Ghost. Here Anselm was called by the Pope to a place of honour and bidden to take the chief part in the discussion. His arguments were afterwards committed to writing in his treatise on this subject. His own case was also brought before this council, which would have excommunicated William but for Anselm's intercession. Both he and his companions now desired to return to Lyons, but were bidden to await the action of another council to be held in the Lateran at Easter. Here Anselm heard the canons passed against Investitures, and the decree of excommunication against the offenders. This incident had a deep influence on his career in **England**.

While still staying in the neighbourhood of Lyons, Anselm heard of the tragic death of William. Soon messages from the new king and chief men of the land summoned him to England. Landing at Dover, he hastened to King Henry at Salisbury. He was kindly received, but the question of Investitures was at once raised in an acute form. Henry required the Archbishop himself to receive a fresh investiture. Anselm alleged the decrees of the recent Roman council and declared that he had no choice in the matter. The difficulty was postponed, as the King decided to send to Rome to ask for a special exemption. Meanwhile, Anselm was able to render the King two signal services. He helped to remove the obstacle in the way of his marriage with Edith, the heiress of the Saxon kings. The daughter of St. Margaret had sought shelter in a convent, where she had worn the veil, but had taken no vows. It was thought by some that this was a bar to marriage, but Anselm had the case considered in a council at Lambeth where the royal maiden's liberty was fully established, and the Archbishop himself gave his blessing to the marriage. Moreover, when Robert landed at Portsmouth and many of the Norman nobles were wavering in their allegiance, it was Anselm who turned the tide in favour of Henry. In the meantime Pope Paschal had refused the King's request for an exemption from the Lateran decrees, yet Henry persisted in his resolution to compel Anselm to accept investiture at his hands. The revolt of Robert de Bellesme put off the threatened rupture. To gain time the King sent another embassy to Rome. On its return, Anselm was once more required to receive investiture. The Pope's letter was not made public, but it was reported to be of the same tenor as his previous reply. The envoys now gave out that the Pope had orally consented to the King's request, but could not say so in writing for fear of offending other sovereigns. Friends of Anselm who had been at Rome, disputed this assertion. In this crisis it was agreed to send to Rome again; meanwhile the King would continue to invest bishops and abbots, but Anselm should not be required to consecrate them.

During this interval Anselm held a council at <u>Westminster</u>. Here stringent canons were passed against the evils of the age. In spite of the compromise about investiture, Anselm was required to <u>consecrate bishops</u> invested by the King, but he firmly refused, and it soon became evident that his firmness was taking effect. Bishops gave back the staff they had received at the royal hands, or refused to be <u>consecrated</u> by another in defiance of Anselm. When the Pope's answer arrived, repudiating the story of the envoys, the King asked Anselm to go to

Rome himself. Though he could not support the royal request he was willing to lay the facts before the Pope. With this understanding he once more betook himself to Rome. The request was again refused, but Henry was not excommunicated. Understanding that Henry did not wish to receive him in England, Anselm interrupted his homeward journey at Lyons. In this city he received a letter from the Pope informing him of the excommunication of the counsellors who had advised the King to insist on investitures, but not decreeing anything about the King. Anselm resumed his journey, and on the way he heard of the illness of Henry's sister, Adela of Blois. He turned aside to visit her and on her recovery informed her that he was returning to England to excommunicate her brother. She at once exerted herself to bring about a meeting between Anselm and Henry, in July, 1105. But though a reconciliation was effected, and Anselm was urged to return to England, the claim to invest was not relinquished, and recourse had again to be made to Rome. A papal letter authorizing Anselm to absolve from censures incurred by breaking the laws against investitures healed past offences but made no provision for the future. At length, in a council held in London in 1107, the question found a solution. The King relinquished the claim to invest bishops and abbots, while the Church allowed the prelates to do homage for their temporal possessions. Lingard and other writers consider this a triumph for the King, saying that he had the substance and abandoned a mere form. But it was for no mere form that this long war had been waged. The rite used in the investiture was the symbol of a real power claimed by the English kings, and now at last abandoned. The victory rested with the Archbishop, and as Schwane says (Kirchenlexicon, s.v.) it prepared the way for the later solution of the same controversy in Germany. Anselm was allowed to end his days in peace. In the two years that remained he continued his pastoral labours and composed the last of his writings. Eadmer, the faithful chronicler of these contentions, gives a pleasing picture of his peaceful death. The dream of his childhood was come true; he was to climb the mountain and taste the bread of Heaven.

His active work as a pastor and stalwart champion of the Church makes Anselm one of the chief figures in religious history. The sweet influence of his spiritual teaching was felt far and wide, and its fruits were seen in many lands. His stand for the freedom of the Church in a crisis of medieval history had far-reaching effects long after his own time. As a writer and a thinker he may claim yet higher rank, and his influence on the course of philosophy and Catholic theology was even deeper and more enduring if he stands on the one hand with Gregory VII, and Innocent III, and Thomas Becket; on the other he may claim a place beside Athanasius, Augustine, and Thomas Aquinas. His merits in the field of theology have received official recognition; he has been declared a Doctor of the Church by Clement XI, 1720, and in the office read on his feast day (21 April) it is said that his works are a pattern for all theologians. Yet it may be doubted whether his position is generally appreciated by students of divinity. In some degree his work has been hidden by the fabric reared on his foundations. His books were not adopted, like those of Peter Lombard and St. Thomas, as the usual text of commentators and lecturers in theology, nor was he constantly cited as an authority, like St. Augustine. This was natural enough, since in the next century new methods came in with the rise of the Arabic and Aristotelean philosophy; the "Books of Sentences" were in some ways more fit for regular theological reading; Anselm was yet too near to have the venerable authority of the early Fathers. For these reasons it may be said that his writings were not properly appreciated till time had brought in other changes in the schools, and men were led to study the history of theology. But though his works are not cast in the systematic form of the "Summa" of St. Thomas, they cover the whole field of Catholic doctrine. There are few pages of our theology that have not been illustrated by the labours of Anselm. His treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit has helped to guide scholastic speculations on the Trinity, his "Cur Deus Homo" throws a flood of light on the theology of the Atonement, and one of his works anticipates much of the later controversies on Free Will and Predestination. In the seventeenth century, a Spanish Benedictine, Cardinal d'Aguirre made the writings of Anselm the groundwork of a course of theology, "S. Anselmi Theologia" (Salamanca, 1678-81). Unfortunately the work never got beyond the first three folio volumes, containing the commentaries on the "Monologium". In recent years Dom Anselm Öcsényi, O.S.B. has accomplished the task on a more modest scale in a little Latin volume on the theology of St. Anselm, "De Theologia S. Anselmi" (Brünn, 1884).

Besides being one of the fathers of <u>scholastic theology</u>, Anselm fills an important place in the history of philosophic speculation. Coming in the first phase of the controversy on <u>Universals</u>, he had to meet the extreme <u>Nominalism</u> of <u>Roscelin</u>; partly from this fact, partly from his native <u>Platonism</u> his Realism took what may be

considered a somewhat extreme form. It was too soon to find the golden mean of moderate Realism, accepted by later <u>philosophers</u>. His position was a stage in the process and it is significant that one of his biographers, <u>John of Salisbury</u>, was among the first to find the <u>true</u> solution.

Anselm's chief achievement in philosophy was the ontological argument for the existence of God put forth in his "Proslogium". Starting from the notion that God is "that than which nothing greater can be thought", he argues that what exists in reality is greater than that which is only in the mind; wherefore, since "God is that than which nothing greater can be thought". He exists in reality. The validity of the argument was disputed at the outset by a monk named Gaunilo, who wrote a criticism on it to which Anselm replied. Eadmer tells a curious story about St. Anselm's anxiety while he was trying to work out this argument. He could think of nothing else for days together. And when at last he saw it clearly, he was filled with joy, and made haste to commit it to writing. The waxen tablets were given in charge to one of the monks but when they were wanted they were missing. Anselm managed to recall the argument, it was written on fresh tablets and given into safer keeping. But when it was wanted it was found that the wax was broken to Pieces. Anselm with some difficulty put the fragments together and had the whole copied on parchment for greater security. The story sounds like an allegory of the fate which awaited this famous argument, which was lost and found again, pulled to pieces and restored in the course of controversy. Rejected by St. Thomas and his followers, it was revived in another form by Descartes. After being assailed by Kant, it was defended by Hegel, for whom it had a peculiar fascination he recurs to it in many parts of his writings. In one place he says that it is generally used by later philosophers, "yet always along with the other proofs, although it alone is the true one" (German Works, XII, 547). Assailants of this argument should remember that all minds are not cast in one mould, and it is easy to understand how some can feel the force of arguments that are not felt by others. But if this proof were indeed, as some consider it, an absurd fallacy, how could it appeal to such minds as those of Anselm, Descartes, and Hegel? It may be well to add that the argument was not rejected by all the great Schoolmen. It was accepted by Alexander of Hales (Summa, Pt. I, Q. iii, memb. 1, 2), and supported by Scotus. (In I, Dist. ii, Q. ii.) In modern times it is accepted by Möhler, who quotes Hegel's defence with approval.

It is not often that a <u>Catholic</u> saint wins the admiration of German <u>philosophers</u> and English historians. But Anselm has this singular distinction <u>Hegel's</u> appreciation of his <u>mental</u> powers may be matched by Freeman's warm words of praise for the great <u>Archbishop</u> of <u>Canterbury</u>. "Stranger as he was, he has won his place among the noblest worthies of our island. It was something to be the model of all <u>ecclesiastical</u> perfection; it was something to be the creator of the <u>theology</u> of <u>Christendom</u> — but it was something higher still to be the very embodiment of righteousness and mercy, to be handed down in the annals of humanity as the man who saved the hunted hare and stood up for the <u>holiness</u> of Ælfheah" (History of the Norman Conquest, IV, 444).

Collections of the works of St. Anselm were issued soon after the invention of printing. Ocsenyi mentions nine earlier than the sixteenth century. The first attempt at a critical edition was that of <u>Th. Raynaud, S.J.</u>* (Lyons, 1630), which rejects many spurious works, e.g. the Commentaries on St. Paul. The best editions are those of Dom Gerberon, O.S.B. (Paris, 1675, 1721; <u>Venice</u> 1744, Migne, 1845). Most of the more important works have also been issued separately — thus the "Monologium" is included in <u>Hurter's</u> "Opuscula SS. Patrum" and published with the "Proslogium" by Haas (Tübingen). There are numerous separate editions of the "Cur Deus Homo" and of Anselm's "Prayers and Meditations"; these last were done into English by Archbishop Laud (1638), and there are French and German versions of the "meditationes" and the "Monologium". "Cur Deus Homo" has also been translated into English and German — see also the translations by Deane (Chicago, 1903). For Anselm's views on <u>education</u>, see <u>ABBEY OF BEC</u>.

Saint Anthony of Padua (1195-1231) Added by Pope Pius XII in 1946 Franciscan Thaumaturgist, born at Lisbon, 1195; died at Vercelli [actually Arcella --*Ed*.], 13 June, 1231. He received in <u>baptism</u> the <u>name</u> of Ferdinand.

Later writers of the fifteenth century asserted that his father was Martin Bouillon, descendant of the renowned <u>Godfrey de Bouillon</u>, commander of the <u>First Crusade</u>, and his mother, Theresa Tavejra, descendant of Froila I, fourth king of Asturia. Unfortunately, however, his genealogy is uncertain; all that we <u>know</u> of his <u>parents</u> is that they were noble, powerful, and God-fearing people, and at the time of Ferdinand's birth were both still young, and living near the <u>Cathedral</u> of <u>Lisbon</u>.

Having been <u>educated</u> in the <u>Cathedral school</u>, Ferdinand, at the age of fifteen, joined the <u>Canons Regular of St</u>. <u>Augustine</u>, in the <u>convent</u> of St. Vincent, just outside the city walls (1210). Two years later to avoid being distracted by relatives and friends, who frequently came to visit him, he betook himself with permission of his superior to the Convent of Santa Croce in <u>Cóimbra</u> (1212), where he remained for eight years, occupying his time mainly with study and <u>prayer</u>. Gifted with an excellent understanding and a prodigious <u>memory</u>, he soon gathered from the <u>Sacred Scriptures</u> and the writings of the <u>Holy Fathers</u> a treasure of <u>theological knowledge</u>.

In the year 1220, having seen conveyed into the Church of Santa Croce the bodies of the first <u>Franciscan</u> <u>martyrs</u>, who had suffered death at <u>Morocco</u>, 16 January of the same year, he too was inflamed with the desire of <u>martyrdom</u>, and resolved to become a <u>Friar Minor</u>, that he might preach the Faith to the <u>Saracens</u> and suffer for <u>Christ's</u> sake. Having confided his intention to some of the brethren of the <u>convent</u> of Olivares (near <u>Cóimbra</u>), who came to beg <u>alms</u> at the Abbey of the <u>Canons Regular</u>, he received from their hands the Franciscan habit in the same Convent of Santa Croce. Thus Ferdinand left the <u>Canons Regular of St</u>. <u>Augustine</u> to join the <u>Order of Friars Minor</u>, taking at the same time the new name of Anthony, a name which later on the Convent of Olivares also adopted.

A short time after his entry into the order, Anthony started for <u>Morocco</u>, but, stricken down by a severe illness, which affected him the entire winter, he was compelled to sail for <u>Portugal</u> the following spring, 1221. His ship, however, was overtaken by a violent storm and driven upon the coast of <u>Sicily</u>, where Anthony then remained for some time, till he had regained his health. Having heard meanwhile from the brethren of <u>Messina</u> that a general chapter was to be held at <u>Assisi</u>, 30 May, he journeyed thither, arriving in time to take part in it. The chapter over, Anthony remained entirely unnoticed.

"He said not a word of his studies", writes his earliest biographer, "nor of the services he had performed; his only desire was to follow <u>Jesus Christ</u> and Him crucified". Accordingly, he applied to Father Graziano, <u>Provincial</u> of <u>Cóimbra</u>, for a place where he could live in solitude and penance, and enter more fully into the spirit and discipline of Franciscan life. Father Graziano, being just at that time in need of a <u>priest</u> for the hermitage of Montepaolo (near <u>Forli</u>), sent him thither, that he might celebrate <u>Mass</u> for the <u>lay-brethren</u>.

While Anthony lived retired at Montepaolo it happened, one day, that a number of Franciscan and <u>Dominican</u> <u>friars</u> were sent together to <u>Forli</u> for <u>ordination</u>. Anthony was also present, but simply as companion of the <u>Provincial</u>. When the time for <u>ordination</u> had arrived, it was found that no one had been appointed to preach. The superior turned first to the <u>Dominicans</u>, and asked that one of their number should address a few words to the assembled brethren; but everyone declined, saying he was not prepared. In their emergency they then chose Anthony, whom they thought only able to read the <u>Missal</u> and <u>Breviary</u>, and commanded him to speak whatever the <u>spirit of God</u> might put into his mouth. Anthony, compelled by obedience, spoke at first slowly and timidly, but soon enkindled with fervour, he began to explain the most hidden sense of <u>Holy Scripture</u> with such profound erudition and sublime <u>doctrine</u> that all were struck with astonishment. With that moment began Anthony's public career.

<u>St. Francis</u>, informed of his learning, directed him by the following letter to teach theology to the brethren:

To Brother Anthony, my <u>bishop</u> (i.e. teacher of <u>sacred sciences</u>), Brother Francis sends his greetings. It is my pleasure that thou teach <u>theology</u> to the <u>brethren</u>, provided, however, that as the Rule prescribes, the spirit of <u>prayer</u> and devotion may not be extinguished. Farewell. (1224)

Before undertaking the instruction, Anthony went for some time to <u>Vercelli</u>, to confer with the famous Abbot, Thomas Gallo; thence he taught successively in Bologna and <u>Montpellier</u> in 1224, and later at <u>Toulouse</u>. Nothing whatever is left of his instruction; the primitive documents, as well as the legendary ones, maintain complete silence on this point. Nevertheless, by studying his works, we can form for ourselves a sufficient <u>idea</u> of the character of his <u>doctrine</u>; a <u>doctrine</u>, namely, which, leaving aside all arid speculation, prefers an entirely seraphic character, corresponding to the spirit and ideal of <u>St. Francis</u>.

It was as an orator, however, rather than as professor, that Anthony reaped his richest harvest. He possessed in an eminent degree all the good qualities that characterize an eloquent preacher: a loud and clear voice, a winning countenance, wonderful memory, and profound learning, to which were added from on high the spirit of prophecy and an extraordinary gift of miracles. With the zeal of an apostle he undertook to reform the morality of his time by combating in an especial manner the vices of luxury, avarice, and tyranny. The fruit of his sermons was, therefore, as admirable as his eloquence itself. No less fervent was he in the extinction of heresy, notably that of the <u>Cathares and the Patarines</u>, which infested the centre and north of <u>Italy</u>, and probably also that of the <u>Albigenses</u> in the south of <u>France</u>, though we have no authorized documents to that effect. Among the many <u>miracles</u> St. Anthony wrought in the <u>conversion</u> of <u>heretics</u>; the three most noted recorded by his biographers are the following:

- The first is that of a horse, which, kept <u>fasting</u> for three days, refused the oats placed before him, till he had knelt down and <u>adored</u> the <u>Blessed Sacrament</u>, which St. Anthony held in his hands. Legendary narratives of the fourteenth century say this <u>miracle</u> took place at <u>Toulouse</u>, at Wadding, at <u>Bruges</u>; the real place, however, was <u>Rimini</u>.
- The second most important <u>miracle</u> is that of the poisoned food offered him by some <u>Italian heretics</u>, which he rendered innoxious by the <u>sign of the cross</u>.
- The third <u>miracle</u> worthy of mention is that of the famous <u>sermon</u> to the fishes on the bank of the river Brenta in the neighbourhood of <u>Padua</u>; not *at* <u>Padua</u>, as is generally supposed.

The <u>zeal</u> with which St. Anthony fought against <u>heresy</u>, and the great and numerous <u>conversions</u> he made rendered him worthy of the glorious title of *Malleus hereticorum* (Hammer of the Heretics). Though his preaching was always seasoned with the salt of discretion, nevertheless he spoke openly to all, to the <u>rich</u> as to the <u>poor</u>, to the people as well as those in authority. In a <u>synod</u> at <u>Bourges</u> in the presence of many <u>prelates</u>, he reproved the <u>Archbishop</u>, Simon de Sully, so severely, that he induced him to sincere amendment.

After having been Guardian at Le-Puy (1224), we find Anthony in the year 1226, Custos Provincial in the province of Limousin. The most authentic <u>miracles</u> of that period are the following:

- Preaching one night on <u>Holy Thursday</u> in the <u>Church</u> of St. Pierre du Queriox at <u>Limoges</u>, he remembered he had to sing a Lesson of the <u>Divine Office</u>. Interrupting suddenly his discourse, he <u>appeared at the same moment</u> among the <u>friars</u> in choir to sing his Lesson, after which he continued his <u>sermon</u>.
- Another day preaching in the square *des creux des Arenes* at <u>Limoges</u>, he <u>miraculously</u> preserved his audience from the rain.
- At St. Junien during the <u>sermon</u>, he predicted that by an artifice of the <u>devil</u> the <u>pulpit</u> would break down, but that all should remain safe and sound. And so it occurred; for while he was preaching, the <u>pulpit</u> was overthrown, but no one hurt; not even the saint himself.
- In a <u>monastery</u> of <u>Benedictines</u>, where he had fallen ill, he delivered by means of his tunic one of the <u>monks</u> from great <u>temptations</u>.

- Likewise, by breathing on the face of a <u>novice</u> (whom he had himself received into the order), he confirmed him in his <u>vocation</u>.
- At Brive, where he had founded a <u>convent</u>, he preserved from the rain the maid-servant of a benefactress who was bringing some vegetables to the brethren for their meagre repast.

This is all that is historically certain of the sojourn of St. Anthony in Limousin.

Regarding the celebrated <u>apparition</u> of the <u>Infant Jesus</u> to our <u>saint</u>, French writers maintain it took place in the province of Limousin at the Castle of Chateauneuf-la-Forêt, between <u>Limoges</u> and Eymoutiers, whereas the Italian <u>hagiographers</u> fix the place at Camposanpiero, near <u>Padua</u>. The existing documents, however, do not decide the question. We have more <u>certainty</u> regarding the <u>apparition</u> of <u>St. Francis</u> to St. Anthony at the Provincial Chapter of Arles, whilst the latter was preaching about the <u>mysteries</u> of the Cross.

After the death of <u>St. Francis</u>, 3 October, 1226, Anthony returned to <u>Italy</u>. His way led him through La Provence on which occasion he wrought the following <u>miracle</u>: Fatigued by the journey, he and his companion entered the house of a poor <u>woman</u>, who placed bread and wine before them. She had forgotten, however, to shut off the tap of the wine-barrel, and to add to this misfortune, the Saint's companion broke his glass. Anthony began to <u>pray</u>, and suddenly the glass was made whole, and the barrel filled anew with wine.

Shortly after his return to <u>Italy</u>, Anthony was elected Minister Provincial of Emilia. But in order to devote more time to preaching, he resigned this office at the General Chapter of <u>Assisi</u>, 30 May, 1230, and retired to the <u>Convent</u> of <u>Padua</u>, which he had himself founded. The last <u>Lent</u> he preached was that of 1231; the crowd of people which came from all parts to hear him, frequently numbered 30,000 and more. His last <u>sermons</u> were principally directed against <u>hatred and enmity</u>, and his efforts were <u>crowned</u> with wonderful success. Permanent reconciliations were effected, peace and concord re-established, liberty given to debtors and other <u>prisoners</u>, restitutions made, and enormous <u>scandals</u> repaired; in fact, the <u>priests</u> of <u>Padua</u> were no longer sufficient for the number of penitents, and many of these declared they had been warned by <u>celestial visions</u>, and sent to St. Anthony, to be guided by his counsel. Others after his death said that he appeared to them <u>in their slumbers</u>, admonishing them to go to <u>confession</u>.

At <u>Padua</u> also took place the famous <u>miracle</u> of the amputated foot, which Franciscan writers attribute to St. Anthony. A young man, Leonardo by name, in a fit of <u>anger</u> kicked his own mother. Repentant, he <u>confessed</u> his fault to St. Anthony who said to him: "The foot of him who kicks his mother deserves to be cut off." Leonardo ran home and cut off his foot. Learning of this, St. Anthony took the amputated member of the unfortunate youth and <u>miraculously</u> rejoined it.

Through the exertions of St. Anthony, the <u>Municipality of Padua</u>, 15 March, 1231, passed a law in favour of debtors who could not pay their <u>debts</u>. A copy of this <u>law</u> is still preserved in the museum of <u>Padua</u>. From this, as well as the following occurrence, the civil and religious importance of the Saint's influence in the thirteenth century is easily understood. In 1230, while <u>war</u> raged in <u>Lombardy</u>, St. Anthony betook himself to <u>Verona</u> to solicit from the ferocious Ezzelino the liberty of the <u>Guelph prisoners</u>. An <u>apocryphal</u> legend relates that the tyrant humbled himself before the Saint and granted his request. This is not the case, but what does it matter, even if he failed in his attempt; he nevertheless jeopardized his own <u>life</u> for the sake of those oppressed by tyranny, and thereby showed his <u>love</u> and sympathy for the people. Invited to preach at the funeral of a <u>usurer</u>, he took for his text the words of the <u>Gospel</u>: "Where thy treasure is, there also is thy heart." In the course of the <u>sermon</u> he said: "That <u>rich</u> man is dead and buried in <u>hell</u>; but go to his treasures and there you will find his heart." The relatives and friends of the deceased, led by curiosity, followed this injunction, and found the heart, still warm, among the <u>coins</u>. Thus the triumph of St. Anthony's missionary career manifests itself not only in his holiness and his numerous <u>miracles</u>, but also in the popularity and subject matter of his <u>sermons</u>, since he had to fight against the three most obstinate <u>vices</u> of luxury, <u>avarice</u> and tyranny.

At the end of Lent, 1231, Anthony retired to Camposanpiero, in the neighbourhood of <u>Padua</u>, where, after a short time he was taken with a severe illness. Transferred to <u>Vercelli</u>, and strengthened by the <u>apparition</u> of <u>Our</u> <u>Lord</u>, he died at the age of thirty-six years, on 13 June, 1231. He had lived fifteen years with his <u>parents</u>, ten years as a Canon Regular of St. Augustine, and eleven years in the <u>Order of Friars Minor</u>.

Immediately after his death he <u>appeared</u> at <u>Vercelli</u> to the Abbot, Thomas Gallo, and his death was also announced to the citizens of <u>Padua</u> by a troop of children, crying: "The <u>holy</u> Father is dead; St. Anthony is dead!" <u>Gregory IX</u>, firmly persuaded of his <u>sanctity</u> by the numerous <u>miracles</u> he had wrought, inscribed him within a year of his death (Pentecost, 30 May, 1232), in the <u>calendar</u> of <u>saints</u> of the <u>Cathedral</u> of <u>Spoleto</u>. In the <u>Bull</u> of <u>canonization</u> he declared he had personally known the <u>saint</u>, and we <u>know</u> that the same <u>pontiff</u>, having heard one of his <u>sermons</u> at <u>Rome</u>, and astonished at his profound <u>knowledge</u> of the <u>Holy Scripture</u> called him: "Ark of the Covenant". That this title is well-founded is also shown by his several works: "Expositio in Psalmos", written at <u>Montpellier</u>, 1224; the "Sermones de tempore", and the "Sermones de Sanctis", written at <u>Padua</u>, 1229-30.

The name of Anthony became celebrated throughout the world, and with it the name of <u>Padua</u>. The inhabitants of that city erected to his memory a magnificent temple, whither his precious <u>relics</u> were transferred in 1263, in presence of <u>St. Bonaventure</u>, Minister General at the time. When the vault in which for thirty years his sacred body had reposed was opened, the flesh was found reduced to dust but the tongue uninjured, fresh, and of a lively red colour. <u>St. Bonaventure</u>, beholding this wonder, took the tongue affectionately in his hands and <u>kissed</u> it, exclaiming: "O Blessed Tongue that always praised the <u>Lord</u>, and made others <u>bless</u> Him, now it is evident what great <u>merit</u> thou hast before <u>God</u>."

The fame of St. Anthony's <u>miracles</u> has never diminished, and even at the present day he is acknowledged as the greatest thaumaturgist of the times. He is especially invoked for the recovery of things lost, as is also expressed in the celebrated <u>responsory</u> of <u>Friar Julian of Spires</u>:

Si quaeris miracula . . .

. . . resque perditas.

Indeed his very popularity has to a certain extent obscured his <u>personality</u>. If we may believe the conclusions of recent critics, some of the <u>Saint's</u> biographers, in order to meet the ever-increasing demand for the marvellous displayed by his devout clients, and comparatively oblivious of the historical features of his life, have devoted themselves to the task of handing down to posterity the posthumous <u>miracles</u> wrought by his <u>intercession</u>. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find accounts of his <u>miracles</u> that may seem to the modern mind trivial or incredible occupying so large a space in the earlier biographies of St. Anthony. It may be <u>true</u> that some of the <u>miracles</u> attributed to St. Anthony are <u>legendary</u>, but others come to us on such high authority that it is impossible either to eliminate them or explain them away *a priori* without doing violence to the facts of <u>history</u>.

Saint Athanasius (297-373) One of the original four Doctors of the Eastern Church

<u>Bishop</u> of Alexandria; Confessor and <u>Doctor of the Church</u>; born c. 296; died 2 May, 373. Athanasius was the greatest champion of <u>Catholic belief</u> on the subject of the Incarnation that the <u>Church</u> has ever known and in his lifetime earned the characteristic title of "Father of Orthodoxy", by which he has been distinguished ever since. While the <u>chronology</u> of his career still remains for the most part a hopelessly involved problem, the fullest material for an account of the main achievements of his life will be found in his collected writings and in the contemporary records of his time. He was born, it would seem, in Alexandria, most probably between the years 296 and 298. An earlier date, 293, is sometimes assigned as the more certain year of his birth; and it is

supported apparently by the authority of the "Coptic Fragment" (published by Dr. O. von Lemm among the Mémoires de l'académie impériale des <u>sciences</u> de S. Péterbourg, 1888) and corroborated by the undoubted maturity of judgement revealed in the two treatises "Contra Gentes" and "De Incarnatione", which were admittedly written about the year 318 before <u>Arianism</u> as a movement had begun to make itself felt. It must be remembered, however, that in two distinct passages of his writings (Hist. Ar., lxiv, and De Syn., xviii) Athanasius shrinks from speaking as a <u>witness</u> at first hand of the <u>persecution</u> which had broken out under <u>Maximian</u> in 303; for in referring to the events of this period he makes no direct appeal to his own personal recollections, but falls back, rather, on tradition. Such reserve would scarcely be intelligible, if, on the hypothesis of the earlier date, the Saint had been then a boy fully ten years old. Besides, there must have been some semblance of a foundation in fact for the charge brought against him by his accusers in after-life (Index to the Festal Letters) that at the times of his <u>consecration</u> to the episcopate in 328 he had not yet attained the canonical age of thirty years. These considerations, therefore, even if they are found to be not entirely convincing, would seem to make it likely that he was born not earlier than 296 nor later than 298.

It is impossible to speak more than conjecturally of his family. Of the claim that it was both prominent and well-to-do, we can only observe that the tradition to the effect is not contradicted by such scanty details as can be gleaned from the saint's writings. Those writings undoubtedly betray evidences of the sort of education that was given, for the most part, only to children and youths of a better class. It began with grammar, went on to rhetoric, and received its final touches under some one of the more fashionable lecturers in the philosophic schools. It is possible, of course, that he owed his remarkable training in letters to his saintly predecessor's favour, if not to his personal care. But Athanasius was one of those rare personalities that derive incomparably more from their own native gifts of intellect and character than from the fortuitousness of descent or environment. His career almost personifies a crisis in the history of Christianity; and he may be said rather to have shaped the events in which he took part than to have been shaped by them. Yet it would be misleading to urge that he was in no notable sense a debtor to the time and place of his birth. The Alexandria of his boyhood was an epitome, intellectually, morally, and politically, of that ethnically many-coloured Graeco-Roman world, over which the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries was beginning at last, with undismayed consciousness, after nearly three hundred years of unwearying propagandism, to realize its supremacy. It was, moreover, the most important centre of trade in the whole empire; and its primacy as an emporium of ideas was more commanding than that of Rome or Constantinople, Antioch or Marseilles. Already, in obedience to an instinct of which one can scarcely determine the full significance without studying the subsequent development of Catholicism, its famous "Catechetical School", while sacrificing no jot or tittle or that passion for orthodoxy which it had imbibed from Pantænus, Clement, and Origen, had begun to take on an almost secular character in the comprehensiveness of its interests, and had counted pagans of influence among its serious auditors (Eusebius, Church History VI.19).

To have been born and brought up in such an atmosphere of philosophizing Christianity was, in spite of the dangers it involved, the timeliest and most liberal of educations; and there is, as we have intimated, abundant evidence in the saint's writings to testify to the ready response which all the better influences of the place must have found in the heart and mind of the growing boy. Athanasius seems to have been brought early in life under the immediate supervision of the ecclesiastical authorities of his native city. Whether his long intimacy with Bishop Alexander began in childhood, we have no means of judging; but a story which pretends to describe the circumstances of his first introduction to that prelate has been preserved for us by Rufinus (Hist. Eccl., I, xiv). The bishop, so the tale runs, had invited a number of brother prelates to meet him at breakfast after a great religious function on the anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Peter, a recent predecessor in the See of Alexandria. While Alexander was waiting for his guests to arrive, he stood by a window, watching a group of boys at play on the seashore below the house. He had not observed them long before he discovered that they were imitating, evidently with no thought of irreverence, the elaborate ritual of Christian baptism. (Cf. Bunsen's "Christianity and Mankind", London, 1854, VI, 465; Denzinger, "Ritus Orientalium" in verb.; Butler's "Ancient Coptic Churches", II, 268 et sqq.; "Bapteme chez les Coptes", "Dict. Theol. Cath.", Col. 244, 245). He therefore sent for the children and had them brought into his presence. In the investigation that followed it was discovered that one of the boys, who was no other than the future Primate of Alexandria, had acted the part of the bishop,

and in that character had actually <u>baptized</u> several of his companions in the course of their play. Alexander, who seems to have been unaccountably puzzled over the answers he received to his inquiries, determined to recognize the make-believe <u>baptisms</u> as genuine; and decided that Athanasius and his playfellows should go into training in order to fit themselves for a <u>clerical</u> career. The <u>Bollandists</u> deal gravely with this story; and writers as difficult to satisfy as Archdeacon Farrar and the late Dean Stanley are ready to accept it as bearing on its face "every indication of <u>truth</u>" (Farrar, "Lives of the Fathers", I, 337; Stanley, "East. Ch." 264). But whether in its present form, or in the modified version to be found in <u>Socrates</u> (I, xv), who omits all reference to the <u>baptism</u> and says that the game was "an imitation of the priesthood and the order of consecrated persons", the tale raises a number of chronological difficulties and suggests even graver questions.

Perhaps a not impossible explanation of its origin may be found in the theory that it was one of the many floating myths set in movement by popular imagination to account for the marked bias towards an ecclesiastical career which seems to have characterized the early boyhood of the future champion of the Faith. Sozomen speaks of his "fitness for the priesthood", and calls attention to the significant circumstance that he was "from his tenderest years practically self-taught". "Not long after this," adds the same authority, the Bishop Alexander "invited Athanasius to be his commensal and secretary. He had been well educated, and was versed in grammar and rhetoric, and had already, while still a young man, and before reaching the episcopate, given proof to those who dwelt with him of his wisdom and acumen" (Soz., II, xvii). That "wisdom and acumen" manifested themselves in a various environment. While still a levite under Alexander's care, he seems to have been brought for a while into close relations with some of the solitaries of the Egyptian desert, and in particular with the great St. Anthony, whose life he is said to have written. The evidence both of the intimacy and for the authorship of the life in question has been challenged, chiefly by non-Catholic writers, on the ground that the famous "Vita" shows signs of interpolation. Whatever we may think of the arguments on the subject, it is impossible to deny that the monastic idea appealed powerfully to the young cleric's temperament, and that he himself in after years was not only at home when duty or accident threw him among the solitaries, but was so monastically selfdisciplined in his habits as to be spoken of as an "ascetic" (Apol. c. Arian., vi). In fourth-century usage the word would have a definiteness of connotation not easily determinable today. (See ASCETICISM).

It is not surprising that one who was called to fill so large a place in the history of his time should have impressed the very form and feature of his personality, so to say, upon the imagination of his contemporaries. St. Gregory Nazianzen is not the only writer who has described him for us (Orat. xxi, 8). A contemptuous phrase of the Emperor Julian's (Epist., li) serves unintentionally to corroborate the picture drawn by kindlier observers. He was slightly below the middle height, spare in build, but well-knit, and intensely energetic. He had a finely shaped head, set off with a thin growth of auburn hair, a small but sensitively mobile mouth, an aquiline nose, and eves of intense but kindly brilliancy. He had a ready wit, was quick in intuition, easy and affable in manner, pleasant in conversation, keen, and, perhaps, somewhat too unsparing in debate. (Besides the references already cited, see the detailed description given in the January Menaion quotes in the Bollandist life. Julian the Apostate, in the letter alluded to above sneers at the diminutiveness of his person — mede aner, all anthropiokos euteles, he writes.) In addition to these qualities, he was conspicuous for two others to which even his enemies bore unwilling testimony. He was endowed with a sense of humour that could be as mordant — we had almost said as sardonic — as it seems to have been spontaneous and unfailing; and his courage was of the sort that never falters, even in the most disheartening hour of defeat. There is one other note in this highly gifted and many-sided personality to which everything else in his nature literally ministered, and which must be kept steadily in view, if we would possess the key to his character and writing and understand the extraordinary significance of his career in the history of the Christian Church. He was by instinct neither a liberal nor a conservative in theology. Indeed the terms have a singular inappropriateness as applied to a temperament like his. From first to last he cared greatly for one thing and one thing only; the integrity of his Catholic creed. The religion it engendered in him was obviously — considering the traits by which we have tried to depict him — of a passionate and consuming sort. It began and ended in devotion to the Divinity of Jesus Christ. He was scarcely out of his teens, and certainly not in more than deacon's orders, when he published two treatises, in which his mind seemed to strike the keynote of all its riper after-utterances on the subject of the Catholic Faith. The "Contra Gentes" and the "Oratio de Incarnatione" — to give them the Latin appellations by which they are

more commonly cited — were written some time between the years 318 and 323. <u>St. Jerome</u> (De Viris Illust.) refers to them under a common title, as "Adversum Gentes Duo Libri", thus leaving his readers to gather the impression which an analysis of the contents of both books certainly seems to justify, that the two treatises are in reality one.

As a plea for the Christian position, addressed chiefly to both Gentiles and Jews, the young deacon's apology, while undoubtedly reminiscential in methods and ideas of Origen and the earlier Alexandrians, is, nevertheless, strongly individual and almost pietistic in tone. Though it deals with the Incarnation, it is silent on most of those ulterior problems in defence of which Athanasius was soon to be summoned by the force of events and the fervour of his own faith to devote the best energies of his life. The work contains no explicit discussion of the nature of the Word's Sonship, for instance; no attempt to draw out the character of Our Lord's relation to the Father; nothing, in short, of those Christological questions upon which he was to speak with such splendid and courageous clearness in time of shifting formularies and undetermined views. Yet those ideas must have been in the air (Soz., I, xv) for, some time between the years 318 and 320, Arius, a native of Libya (Epiphanius, Haer., lxix) and priest of the Alexandrian Church, who had already fallen under censure for his part in the Meletian troubles which broke out during the episcopate of St. Peter, and whose teachings had succeeded in making dangerous headway, even among "the consecrated virgins" of St. Mark's see (Epiphanius, Haer., lxix; Socrates, Church History I.6), accused Bishop Alexander of Sabellianism. Arius, who seems to have presumed on the charitable tolerance of the primate, was at length deposed (Apol. c. Ar., vi) in a synod consisting of more than one hundred bishops of Egypt and Libya (Depositio Ar., 3). The condemned heresiarch withdrew first to Palestine and afterwards to Bithynia, where, under the protection of Eusebius of Nicomedia and his other "Collucianists", he was able to increase his already remarkable influence, while his friends were endeavouring to prepare a way for his forcible reinstatement as priest of the Alexandrian Church. Athanasius, though only in deacon's order, must have taken no subordinate part in these events. He was the trusted secretary and advisor of Alexander, and his name appears in the list of those who signed the encyclical letter subsequently issued by the primate and his colleagues to offset the growing prestige of the new teaching, and the momentum it was beginning to acquire from the ostentatious patronage extended to the deposed Arius by the Eusebian faction. Indeed, it is to this party and to the leverage it was able to exercise at the emperor's court that the subsequent importance of Arianism as a political, rather than a religious, movement seems primarily to be due.

The heresy, of course, had its supposedly philosophic basis, which has been ascribed by authors, ancient and modern, to the most opposite sources. St. Epiphanius characterizes it as a king of revived Aristoteleanism (Haer., lxvii and lxxvi); and the same view is practically held by Socrates (*Church History* II.35), Theodoret (Haer. Fab., IV, iii), and St. Basil (Against Eunomius I.9). On the other hand, a theologian as broadly read as Petavius (De Trin., I, viii, 2) has no hesitation in deriving it from Platonism; Newman in turn (Arians of the Fourth Cent., 4 ed., 109) sees in it the influence of Jewish prejudices rationalized by the aid of Aristotelean ideas; while Robertson (Sel. Writ. and Let. of Ath. Proleg., 27) observes that the "common theology", which was invariably opposed to it, "borrowed its philosophical principles and method from the Platonists." These apparently conflicting statements could, no doubt, be easily adjusted; but the truth is that the prestige of Arianism never lay in its ideas. From whatever school it may have been logically derived, the sect, as a sect, was cradled and nurtured in intrigue. Save in some few instances, which can be accounted for on quite other grounds, its prophets relied more upon curial influence than upon piety, or Scriptural knowledge, or dialectics. That must be borne constantly in mind, if we would not move distractedly through the bewildering maze of events that make up the life of Athanasius for the next half-century to come. It is his peculiar merit that he not only saw the drift of things from the very beginning, but was confident of the issue down to the last (Apol. c. Ar., c.). His insight and courage proved almost as efficient a bulwark to the Christian Church in the world as did his singularly lucid grasp of traditional Catholic belief. His opportunity came in the year 325, when the Emperor Constantine, in the hope of putting an end to the scandalous debates that were disturbing the peace of the Church, met the prelates of the entire Catholic world in council at Nicaea.

The great council convoked at this juncture was something more than a pivotal event in the history of <u>Christianity</u>. Its sudden, and, in one sense, almost unpremeditated adoption of a quasi-philosophic and non-

Scriptural term — *homoousion* — to express the character of orthodox belief in the Person of the historic Christ, by defining Him to be identical in substance, or co-essential, with the Father, together with its confident appeal to the emperor to lend the sanction of his authority to the decrees and pronouncements by which it hoped to safeguard this more explicit profession of the ancient Faith, had consequences of the gravest import, not only to the world of ideas, but to the world of politics as well. By the official promulgation to the term homoöusion, theological speculation received a fresh but subtle impetus which made itself felt long after Athanasius and his supporters had passed away; while the appeal to the secular arm inaugurated a policy which endured practically without change of scope down to the publication of the Vatican decrees in our own time. In one sense, and that a very deep and vital one, both the definition and the policy were inevitable. It was inevitable in the order of religious ideas that any break in logical continuity should be met by inquiry and protest. It was just as inevitable that the protest, to be effective, should receive some countenance from a power which up to that moment had affected to regulate all the graver circumstances of life (cf. Harnack, Hist. Dog., III, 146, note; Buchanan's tr.). As Newman has remarked: "The Church could not meet together in one, without entering into a sort of negotiation with the power that be; who jealousy it is the duty of Christians, both as individuals and as a body, if possible, to dispel" (Arians of the Fourth Cent., 4 ed., 241). Athanasius, though not yet in priest's orders, accompanied Alexander to the council in the character of secretary and theological adviser. He was not, of course, the originator of the famous homoösion. The term had been proposed in a non-obvious and illegitimate sense by Paul of Samosata to the Father at Antioch, and had been rejected by them as savouring of materialistic conceptions of the Godhead (cf. Athan., "De Syn., " xliii; Newman, "Arians of the Fourth Cent., " 4 ed., 184-196; Petav. "De Trin., " IV, v, sect. 3; Robertson, "Sel. Writ. and Let. Athan. Proleg.", 30 sqq.).

It may even be questioned whether, if left to his own logical instincts, Athanasius would have suggested an orthodox revival of the term at all ("De Decretis", 19; "Orat. c. Ar.", ii, 32; "Ad Monachos", 2). His writings, composed during the forty-six critical years of his episcopate, show a very sparing use of the word; and though, as Newman (Arians of the Fourth Cent., 4 ed., 236) reminds us, "the authentic account of the proceedings" that took place is not extant, there is nevertheless abundant evidence in support of the common view that it had been unexpectedly forced upon the notice of the bishops, Arian and orthodox, in the great synod by Constantine's proposal to account the creed submitted by Eusebius of Caesarea, with the addition of the homoösion, as a safeguard against possible vagueness. The suggestion had in all probability come from Hosius (cf. "Epist. Eusebii.", in the appendix to the "De Decretis", sect. 4; Socrates, Church History I.8 and III.7; Theodoret, Church History I; Athanasius; "Arians of the Fourth Cent.", 6, n. 42; outos ten en Nikaia pistin exetheto, says the saint, quoting his opponents); but Athanasius, in common with the leaders of the orthodox party, loyally accepted the term as expressive of the traditional sense in which the Church had always held Jesus Christ to be the Son of God. The conspicuous abilities displayed in the Nicaean debates and the character for courage and sincerity he won on all sides made the youthful cleric henceforth a marked man (St. Greg. Naz., Orat., 21). His life could not be lived in a corner. Five months after the close of the council the Primate of Alexandria died; and Athanasius, quite as much in recognition of his talent, it would appear, as in deference to the deathbed wishes of the deceased prelate, was chosen to succeed him. His election, in spite of his extreme youth and the opposition of a remnant of the Arian and Meletian factions in the Alexandrian Church, was welcomed by all classes among the laity ("Apol. c. Arian", vi; Sozomen, Church History II.17, 21, 22).

The opening years of the <u>saint's</u> rule were occupied with the wonted episcopal routine of a fourth-century <u>Egyptian bishop</u>. Episcopal visitations, <u>synods</u>, pastoral correspondence, preaching and the yearly round of church functions consumed the bulk of his time. The only noteworthy events of which antiquity furnishes at least probable data are connected with the successful efforts which he made to provide a <u>hierarchy</u> for the newly planted church in <u>Ethiopia</u> (Abyssinia) in the <u>person</u> of St. Frumentius (Rufinus I, ix; Soc. I, xix; Soz., II, xxiv), and the friendship which appears to have begun about this time between himself and the <u>monks</u> of <u>St.</u> <u>Pachomius</u>. But the seeds of disaster which the <u>saint's piety</u> had unflinchingly planted at Nicaea were beginning to bear a disquieting crop at last. Already events were happening at Constantinople which were soon to make him the most important figure of his time. <u>Eusebius of Nicomedia</u>, who had fallen into disgrace and been banished by the <u>Emperor Constantine</u> for his part in the earlier Arian controversies, had been recalled from exile. After an adroit campaign of intrigue, carried on chiefly through the instrumentality of the ladies of the

imperial household, this smooth-mannered <u>prelate</u> so far prevailed over Constantine as to induce him to order the recall of Arius likewise from exile. He himself sent a characteristic letter to the youthful <u>Primate</u> of Alexandria, in which he bespoke his favour for the condemned heresiarch, who was described as a man whose opinions had been misrepresented. These events must have happened some time about the close of the year 330. Finally the emperor himself was persuaded to write to Athanasius, urging that all those who were ready to submit to the definitions of Nicaea should be re-admitted to <u>ecclesiastical</u> communion. This Athanasius stoutly refused to do, alleging that there could be no fellowship between the <u>Church</u> and the one who denied the Divinity of Christ.

The Bishop of Nicomedia thereupon brought various ecclesiastical and political charges against Athanasius, which, though unmistakably refuted at their first hearing, were afterwards refurbished and made to do service at nearly every stage of his subsequent trials. Four of these were very definite, to wit: that he had not reached the canonical age at the time of his consecration; that he had imposed a linen tax upon the provinces; that his officers had, with his connivance and authority, profaned the Sacred Mysteries in the case of an alleged priest names Ischyras; and lastly that he had put one Arenius to death and afterwards dismembered the body for purposes of magic. The nature of the charges and the method of supporting them were vividly characteristic of the age. The curious student will find them set forth in picturesque detail in the second part of the Saint's "Apologia", or "Defense against the Arians", written long after the events themselves, about the year 350, when the retractation of Ursacius and Valens made their publication triumphantly opportune. The whole unhappy story at this distance of time reads in parts more like a specimen of late Greek romance than the account of an inquisition gravely conducted by a synod of Christian prelates with the idea of getting at the truth of a series of odious accusations brought against one of their number. Summoned by the emperor's order after protracted delays extended over a period of thirty months (Soz., II, xxv), Athanasius finally consented to meet the charges brought against him by appearing before a synod of prelates at Tyre in the year 335. Fifty of his suffragans went with him to vindicate his good name; but the complexion of the ruling party in the synod made it evident that justice to the accused was the last thing that was thought of. It can hardly be wondered at, that Athanasius should have refused to be tried by such a court. He, therefore, suddenly withdrew from Tyre, escaping in a boat with some faithful friends who accompanied him to Byzantium, where he had made up his mind to present himself to the emperor.

The circumstances in which the saint and the great catechumen met were dramatic enough. Constantine was returning from a hunt, when Athanasius unexpectedly stepped into the middle of the road and demanded a hearing. The astonished emperor could hardly believe his eves, and it needed the assurance of one of the attendants to convince him that the petitioner was not an impostor, but none other than the great Bishop of Alexandria himself. "Give me", said the prelate, "a just tribunal, or allow me to meet my accusers face to face in your presence." His request was granted. An order was peremptorily sent to the bishops, who had tried Athanasius and, of course, condemned him in his absence, to repair at once to the imperial city. The command reached them while they were on their way to the great feast of the dedication of Constantine's new church at Jerusalem. It naturally caused some consternation; but the more influential members of the Eusebian faction never lacked either courage or resourcefulness. The saint was taken at his word; and the old charges were renewed in the hearing of the emperor himself. Athanasius was condemned to go into exile at Treves, where he was received with the utmost kindness by the saintly Bishop Maximinus and the emperor's eldest son, Constantine. He began his journey probably in the month of February, 336, and arrived on the banks of the Moselle in the late autumn of the same year. His exile lasted nearly two years and a half. Public opinion in his own diocese remained loyal to him during all that time. It was not the least eloquent testimony to the essential worth of his character that he could inspire such faith. Constantine's treatment of Athanasius at this crisis in his fortunes has always been difficult to understand. Affecting, on the one hand, a show of indignation, as if he really believed in the political charge brought against the saint, he, on the other hand, refused to appoint a successor to the Alexandrian See, a thing which he might in consistency have been obliged to do had he taken seriously the condemnation proceedings carried through by the Eusebians at Tyre.

Meanwhile events of the greatest importance had taken place. Arius had died amid startlingly dramatic circumstances at Constantinople in 336; and the death of Constantine himself had followed, on the 22nd of May the year after. Some three weeks later the younger Constantine invited the exiled primate to return to his see; and by the end of November of the same year Athanasius was once more established in his episcopal city. His return was the occasion of great rejoicing. The people, as he himself tells us, ran in crowds to see his face; the churches were given over to a kind of jubilee; thanksgivings were offered up everywhere; and clergy and laity accounted the day the happiest in their lives. But already trouble was brewing in a quarter from which the saint might reasonably have expected it. The Eusebian faction, who from this time forth loom large as the disturbers of his peace, managed to win over to their side the weak-minded Emperor Constantius to whom the East had been assigned in the division of the empire that followed on the death of Constantine. The old charges were refurbished with a graver ecclesiastical accusation added by way of rider. Athanasius had ignored the decision of a duly authorized synod. He had returned to his see without the summons of ecclesiastical authority (Apol. c. Ar., loc. cit.). In the year 340, after the failure of the Eusebian malcontents to secure the appointment of an Arian candidate of dubious reputation names Pistus, the notorious Gregory of Cappadocia was forcibly intruded into the Alexandrian See, and Athanasius was obliged to go into hiding. Within a very few weeks he set out for Rome to lay his case before the Church at large. He had made his appeal to Pope Julius, who took up his cause with a whole-heartedness that never wavered down to the day of that holy pontiff's death. The pope summoned a synod of bishops to meet in Rome. After a careful and detailed examination of the entire case, the primate's innocence was proclaimed to the Christian world.

Meanwhile the Eusebian party had met at Antioch and passed a series of decrees framed for the sole purpose of preventing the saint's return to his see. Three years were passed at Rome, during which time the idea of the cenobitical life, as Athanasius had seen it practised in the deserts of Egypt, was preached to the clerics of the West (St. Jerome, Epistle cxxvii, 5). Two years after the Roman synod had published its decision, Athanasius was summoned to Milan by the Emperor Constans, who laid before him the plan which Constantius had formed for a great reunion of both the Eastern and Western Churches. Now began a time of extraordinary activity for the Saint. Early in the year 343 we find the undaunted exile in Gaul, whither he had gone to consult the saintly Hosius, the great champion of orthodoxy in the West. The two together set out for the Council of Sardica which had been summoned in deference to the Roman pontiff's wishes. At this great gathering of prelates the case of Athanasius was taken up once more; and once more was his innocence reaffirmed. Two conciliar letters were prepared, one to the clergy and faithful of Alexandria, and the other to the bishops of Egypt and Libya, in which the will of the Council was made known. Meanwhile the Eusebian party had gone to Philippopolis, where they issued an anathema against Athanasius and his supporters. The persecution against the orthodox party broke out with renewed vigour, and Constantius was induced to prepare drastic measures against Athanasius and the priests who were devoted to him. Orders were given that if the Saint attempted to re-enter his see, he should be put to death. Athanasius, accordingly, withdrew from Sardica to Naissus in Mysia, where he celebrated the Easter festival of the year 344. After that he set out for Aquileia in obedience to a friendly summons from Constans, to whom Italy had fallen in the division of the empire that followed on the death of Constantine. Meanwhile an unexpected event had taken place which made the return of Athanasius to his see less difficult than it had seemed for many months. Gregory of Cappadocia had died (probably of violence) in June, 345. The embassy which had been sent by the bishops of Sardica to the Emperor Constantius, and which had at first met with the most insulting treatment, now received a favourable hearing. Constantius was induced to reconsider his decision, owing to a threatening letter from his brother Constans and the uncertain condition of affairs of the Persian border, and he accordingly made up his mind to yield. But three separate letters were needed to overcome the natural hesitation of Athanasius. He passed rapidly from Aquileia to Treves, from Treves to Rome, and from Rome by the northern route to Adrianople and Antioch, where he met Constantius. He was accorded a gracious interview by the vacillating Emperor, and sent back to his see in triumph, where he began his memorable ten years' reign, which lasted down to the third exile, that of 356. These were full years in the life of the Bishop; but the intrigues of the Eusebian, or Court, party were soon renewed. Pope Julius had died in the month of April, 352, and Liberius had succeeded him as Sovereign Pontiff. For two years Liberius had been favourable to the cause of Athanasius; but driven at last into exile, he was induced to sign an ambiguous formula, from which the great Nicene test, the homoöusion, had been studiously omitted. In 355 a council was

held at <u>Milan</u>, where in spite of the vigorous opposition of a handful of loyal <u>prelates</u> among the Western <u>bishops</u>, a fourth condemnation of Athanasius was announced to the world. With his friends scattered, the saintly <u>Hosius</u> in exile, the <u>Pope Liberius</u> denounced as acquiescing in Arian formularies, Athanasius could hardly hope to escape. On the night of 8 February, 356, while engaged in services in the Church of St. Thomas, a band of armed men burst in to secure his arrest (Apol. de Fuga, 24). It was the beginning of his third exile.

Through the influence of the Eusebian faction at Constantinople, an Arian bishop, George of Cappadocia, was now appointed to rule the see of Alexandria. Athanasius, after remaining some days in the neighbourhood of the city, finally withdrew into the deserts of upper Egypt, where he remained for a period of six years, living the life of the monks and devoting himself in his enforced leisure to the composition of that group of writings of which we have the rest in the "Apology to Constantius", the "Apology for his Flight", the "Letter to the Monks", and the "History of the Arians". Legend has naturally been busy with this period of the Saint's career; and we may find in the "Life of Pachomius" a collection of tales brimful of incidents, and enlivened by the recital of "deathless 'scapes in the breach." But by the close of the year 360 a change was apparent in the complexion of the anti-Nicene party. The Arians no longer presented an unbroken front to their orthodox opponents. The Emperor Constantius, who had been the cause of so much trouble, died 4 November, 361, and was succeeded by Julian. The proclamation of the new prince's accession was the signal for a pagan outbreak against the still dominant Arian faction in Alexandria. George, the usurping Bishop, was flung into prison and murdered amid circumstances of great cruelty, 24 December (Hist. Aceph., VI). An obscure presbyter of the name of Pistus was immediately chosen by the Arians to succeed him, when fresh news arrived that filled the orthodox party with hope. An edict had been put forth by Julian (Hist. Aceph., VIII) permitting the exiled bishops of the "Galileans" to return to their "towns and provinces". Athanasius received a summons from his own flock, and he accordingly re-entered his episcopal capital 22 February, 362. With characteristic energy he set to work to reestablish the somewhat shattered fortunes of the orthodox party and to purge the theological atmosphere of uncertainty. To clear up the misunderstandings that had arisen in the course of the previous years, an attempt was made to determine still further the significance of the Nicene formularies. In the meanwhile, Julian, who seems to have become suddenly jealous of the influence that Athanasius was exercising at Alexandria, addressed an order to Ecdicius, the Prefect of Egypt, peremptorily commanding the expulsion of the restored primate, on the ground that he had never been included in the imperial act of clemency. The edict was communicated to the bishop by Pythicodorus Trico, who, though described in the "Chronicon Athanasianum" (xxxv) as a "philosopher", seems to have behaved with brutal insolence. On 23 October the people gathered about the proscribed bishop to protest against the emperor's decree; but the saint urged them to submit, consoling them with the promise that his absence would be of short duration. The prophecy was curiously fulfilled. Julian terminated his brief career 26 June, 363; and Athanasius returned in secret to Alexandria, where he soon received a document from the new emperor, Jovian, reinstating him once more in his episcopal functions. His first act was to convene a council which reaffirmed the terms of the Nicene Creed. Early in September he set out for Antioch, bearing a synodal letter, in which the pronouncements of this council had been embodied. At Antioch he had an interview with the new emperor, who received him graciously and even asked him to prepare an exposition of the orthodox faith. But in the following February Jovian died: and in October, 364, Athanasius was once more an exile.

With the turn of circumstances that handed over to <u>Valens</u> the control of the East this article has nothing to do; but the accession of the emperor gave a fresh lease of life to the Arian party. He issued a <u>decree</u> banishing the <u>bishops</u> who has been deposed by <u>Constantius</u>, but who had been permitted by Jovian to return to their <u>sees</u>. The news created the greatest consternation in the city of Alexandria itself, and the prefect, in order to prevent a serious outbreak, gave public assurance that the very special case of Athanasius would be laid before the emperor. But the <u>saint</u> seems to have divined what was preparing in secret against him. He quietly withdrew from Alexandria, 5 October, and took up his abode in a country house outside the city. It was during this period that he is said to have spent four months in hiding in his <u>father's tomb</u> (Sozomen, <u>Church History VI.12</u>; Socrates, <u>Church History IV.12</u>). <u>Valens</u>, who seems to have sincerely dreaded the possible consequences of a popular outbreak, gave order within a very few weeks for the return of Athanasius to his <u>see</u>. And now began that last period of comparative repose which unexpectedly terminated his strenuous and extraordinary career.

He spent his remaining days, characteristically enough, in re-emphasizing the view of the Incarnation which had been defined at Nicaea and which has been substantially the <u>faith</u> of the <u>Christian Church</u> from its earliest pronouncement in Scripture down to its last utterance through the lips of <u>Pius X</u> in our own times. "Let what was confessed by the Fathers of Nicaea prevail", he wrote to a <u>philosopher</u> friend and correspondent in the closing years of his life (Epist. lxxi, ad Max.). That that confession did at last prevail in the various Trinitarian formularies that followed upon that of Nicaea was due, humanly speaking, more to his laborious witness than to that of any other champion in the long teachers' roll of <u>Catholicism</u>. By one of those inexplicable ironies that meet us everywhere in human history, this man, who had endured exile so often, and risked life itself in defence of what he believed to be the first and most essential <u>truth</u> of the <u>Catholic</u> creed, died not by <u>violence</u> or in hiding, but peacefully in his own bed, surrounded by his <u>clergy</u> and mourned by the faithful of the <u>see</u> he had served so well. His feast in the <u>Roman Calendar</u> is kept on the <u>anniversary of his death</u>.

[*Note on his depiction in art:* No accepted emblem has been assigned to him in the history of western art; and his career, in spite of its picturesque diversity and extraordinary wealth of detail, seems to have furnished little, if any, material for distinctive illustration. Mrs. Jameson tells us that according to the Greek formula, "he ought to be represented old, bald-headed, and with a long white <u>beard</u>" (Sacred and Legendary Art, I, 339).]

Saint Augustine of Hippo (354-430)

One of the original four Doctors of the Latin Church

The great St. Augustine's life is unfolded to us in documents of unrivaled richness, and of no great <u>character</u> of ancient times have we information comparable to that contained in the <u>"Confessions"</u>, which relate the touching story of his <u>soul</u>, the "Retractations," which give the history of his <u>mind</u>, and the "Life of Augustine," written by his friend <u>Possidius</u>, telling of the <u>saint's</u> apostolate.

We will confine ourselves to sketching the three periods of this great life: (1) the young wanderer's gradual return to the Faith; (2) the doctrinal development of the Christian philosopher to the time of his episcopate; and (3) the full development of his activities upon the Episcopal throne of Hippo.

From his birth to his conversion (354-386)

Augustine was born at Tagaste on 13 November, 354. Tagaste, now Souk-Ahras, about 60 miles from Bona (ancient <u>Hippo-Regius</u>), was at that <u>time</u> a small free city of proconsular Numidia which had recently been <u>converted</u> from <u>Donatism</u>. Although eminently respectable, his <u>family</u> was not <u>rich</u>, and his <u>father</u>, Patricius, one of the *curiales* of the city, was still a <u>pagan</u>. However, the admirable <u>virtues</u> that made <u>Monica</u> the ideal of <u>Christian</u> mothers at length brought her husband the <u>grace</u> of <u>baptism</u> and of a <u>holy death</u>, about the year 371.

Augustine received a <u>Christian education</u>. His mother had him <u>signed with the cross</u> and enrolled among the <u>catechumens</u>. Once, when very ill, he asked for <u>baptism</u>, but, all danger being soon passed, he deferred receiving the <u>sacrament</u>, thus yielding to a deplorable <u>custom</u> of the times. His association with "men of <u>prayer</u>" left three great <u>ideas</u> deeply engraven upon his <u>soul</u>: a <u>Divine Providence</u>, the future life with <u>terrible sanctions</u>, and, above all, <u>Christ the Saviour</u>. "From my tenderest infancy, I had in a manner sucked with my mother's milk that <u>name of my Saviour</u>, Thy Son; I kept it in the recesses of my heart; and all that presented itself to me without that <u>Divine Name</u>, though it might be elegant, well written, and even replete with <u>truth</u>, did not altogether carry me away" (*Confessions* <u>I.4</u>).

But a great <u>intellectual</u> and <u>moral</u> crisis stifled for a <u>time</u> all these <u>Christian</u> sentiments. The heart was the first point of attack. Patricius, <u>proud</u> of his son's success in the schools of Tagaste and <u>Madaura</u> determined to send him to <u>Carthage</u> to prepare for a forensic career. But, unfortunately, it required several months to collect the necessary means, and Augustine had to spend his sixteenth year at Tagaste in an idleness which was fatal to his

<u>virtue</u>; he gave himself up to pleasure with all the vehemence of an ardent <u>nature</u>. At first he <u>prayed</u>, but without the sincere desire of being heard, and when he reached <u>Carthage</u>, towards the end of the year 370, every circumstance tended to draw him from his <u>true</u> course: the many seductions of the great city that was still half <u>pagan</u>, the licentiousness of other students, the theatres, the intoxication of his literary success, and a <u>proud</u> desire always to be first, even in <u>evil</u>. Before long he was <u>obliged</u> to confess to <u>Monica</u> that he had formed a <u>sinful</u> liaison with the <u>person</u> who bore him a son (372), "the son of his <u>sin</u>" — an entanglement from which he only delivered himself at <u>Milan</u> after fifteen years of its thralldom.

Two extremes are to be avoided in the appreciation of this crisis. Some, like Mommsen, misled perhaps by the tone of grief in the <u>"Confessions"</u>, have exaggerated it: in the "Realencyklopädie" (3d ed., II, 268) Loofs reproves Mommsen on this score, and yet he himself is too lenient towards Augustine, when he claims that in those days, the <u>Church</u> permitted <u>concubinage</u>. The <u>"Confessions"</u> alone <u>prove</u> that Loofs did not understand the 17th <u>canon</u> of <u>Toledo</u>. However, it may be said that, even in his fall, Augustine maintained a certain dignity and felt a compunction which does him <u>honour</u>, and that, from the age of nineteen, he had a genuine desire to break the chain. In fact, in 373, an entirely new inclination manifested itself in his life, brought about by the reading Cicero's "Hortensius" whence he imbibed a love of the wisdom which Cicero so eloquently praises. Thenceforward Augustine looked upon rhetoric merely as a profession; his heart was in philosophy.

Unfortunately, his <u>faith</u>, as well as his <u>morals</u>, was to pass though a terrible crisis. In this same year, 373, Augustine and his friend Honoratus fell into the snares of the <u>Manichæans</u>. It seems strange that so great a <u>mind</u> should have been victimized by <u>Oriental</u> vapourings, synthesized by the <u>Persian</u> Mani (215-276) into coarse, material <u>dualism</u>, and introduced into <u>Africa</u> scarcely fifty years previously. Augustine himself tells us that he was enticed by the promises of a free <u>philosophy</u> unbridled by <u>faith</u>; by the boasts of the <u>Manichæans</u>, who claimed to have discovered contradictions in <u>Holy Writ</u>; and, above all, by the hope of finding in their <u>doctrine</u> a <u>scientific</u> explanation of nature and its most mysterious phenomena. Augustine's inquiring <u>mind</u> was enthusiastic for the <u>natural sciences</u>, and the <u>Manichæans</u> declared that nature withheld no secrets from Faustus, their <u>doctor</u>. Moreover, being tortured by the problem of the origin of <u>evil</u>, Augustine, in default of solving it, acknowledged a conflict of two principles. And then, again, there was a very powerful charm in the <u>moral</u> irresponsibility resulting from a <u>doctrine</u> which denied <u>liberty</u> and attributed the commission of <u>crime</u> to a foreign principle.

Once won over to this <u>sect</u>, Augustine devoted himself to it with all the ardour of his <u>character</u>; he read all its books, adopted and defended all its opinions. His furious proselytism drew into <u>error</u> his friend <u>Alypius</u> and Romanianus, his Mæcenas of Tagaste, the friend of his <u>father</u> who was defraying the expenses of Augustine's <u>studies</u>. It was during this <u>Manichæan</u> period that Augustine's literary faculties reached their full development, and he was still a student at <u>Carthage</u> when he embraced <u>error</u>.

His studies ended, he should in due course have entered the *forum litigiosum*, but he preferred the career of letters, and <u>Possidius</u> tells us that he returned to Tagaste to "teach grammar." The young professor captivated his pupils, one of whom, <u>Alypius</u>, hardly younger than his master, loath to leave him after following him into <u>error</u>, was afterwards <u>baptized</u> with him at <u>Milan</u>, eventually becoming <u>Bishop</u> of Tagaste, his native city. But <u>Monica</u> deeply deplored Augustine's <u>heresy</u> and would not have received him into her home or at her table but for the advice of a <u>saintly bishop</u>, who declared that "the son of so many tears could not perish." Soon afterwards Augustine went to <u>Carthage</u>, where he continued to teach rhetoric. His talents shone to even better advantage on this wider stage, and by an indefatigable pursuit of the <u>liberal arts</u> his <u>intellect</u> attained its full maturity. Having taken part in a poetic tournament, he carried off the prize, and the Proconsul Vindicianus publicly conferred upon him the *corona agonistica*.

It was at this moment of literary intoxication, when he had just completed his first work on <u>æsthetics</u> (now lost) that he began to repudiate <u>Manichæism</u>. Even when Augustine was in his first fervour, the <u>teachings of Mani</u> had been far from quieting his restlessness, and although he has been accused of becoming a <u>priest</u> of the <u>sect</u>, he was never initiated or numbered among the "elect," but remained an "auditor" the lowest degree in the

<u>hierarchy</u>. He himself gives the reason for his disenchantment. First of all there was the fearful depravity of <u>Manichæan philosophy</u> — "They destroy everything and build up nothing"; then, the dreadful immorality in contrast with their affectation of <u>virtue</u>; the feebleness of their arguments in controversy with the <u>Catholics</u>, to whose <u>Scriptural</u> arguments their only reply was: "The <u>Scriptures</u> have been falsified." But, worse than all, he did not find <u>science</u> among them — <u>science</u> in the modern sense of the word — that <u>knowledge</u> of nature and its laws which they had promised him. When he questioned them concerning the movements of the stars, none of them could answer him. "Wait for Faustus," they said, "he will explain everything to you." Faustus of Mileve, the celebrated <u>Manichæan bishop</u>, at last came to <u>Carthage</u>; Augustine visited and questioned him, and discovered in his responses the vulgar rhetorician, the utter stranger to all <u>scientific</u> culture. The spell was broken, and, although Augustine did not immediately abandon the <u>sect</u>, his <u>mind</u> rejected <u>Manichæan</u> doctrines. The illusion had lasted nine years.

But the <u>religious</u> crisis of this great <u>soul</u> was only to be resolved in <u>Italy</u>, under the influence of <u>Ambrose</u>. In 383 Augustine, at the age of twenty-nine, yielded to the irresistible attraction which <u>Italy</u> had for him, but his <u>mother</u> suspected his departure and was so reluctant to be separated from him that he resorted to a subterfuge and embarked under cover of the night. He had only just arrived in <u>Rome</u> when he was taken seriously ill; upon recovering he opened a <u>school</u> of rhetoric, but, disgusted by the tricks of his pupils, who shamelessly defrauded him of their tuition fees, he applied for a vacant professorship at <u>Milan</u>, obtained it, and was accepted by the prefect, Symmachus. Having visited <u>Bishop Ambrose</u>, the fascination of that <u>saint's</u> kindness induced him to become a regular attendant at his preachings.

However, before embracing the Faith, Augustine underwent a three years' struggle during which his mind passed through several distinct phases. At first he turned towards the philosophy of the Academics, with its pessimistic scepticism; then neo-Platonic philosophy inspired him with genuine enthusiasm. At Milan he had scarcely read certain works of Plato and, more especially, of Plotinus, before the hope of finding the truth dawned upon him. Once more he began to dream that he and his friends might lead a life dedicated to the search for it, a life purged of all vulgar aspirations after honours, wealth, or pleasure, and with celibacy for its rule (*Confessions* VI). But it was only a dream; his passions still enslaved him.

<u>Monica</u>, who had joined her son at <u>Milan</u>, prevailed upon him to become <u>betrothed</u>, but his <u>affianced</u> bride was too young, and although Augustine dismissed the mother of <u>Adeodatus</u>, her place was soon filled by another. Thus did he pass through one last period of struggle and anguish. Finally, through the reading of the <u>Holy</u> <u>Scripture</u> light penetrated his <u>mind</u>. Soon he possessed the <u>certainty</u> that <u>Jesus Christ</u> is the only way to <u>truth</u> and <u>salvation</u>. After that resistance came only from the heart. An interview with Simplicianus, the future <u>successor</u> of <u>St. Ambrose</u>, who told Augustine the story of the <u>conversion</u> of the celebrated <u>neo-Platonic</u> rhetorician, Victorinus (*Confessions* <u>VIII.1</u>, <u>VIII.2</u>), prepared the way for the grand stroke of <u>grace</u> which, at the age of thirty-three, smote him to the ground in the garden at <u>Milan</u> (September, 386). A few days later Augustine, being ill, took advantage of the autumn holidays and, resigning his professorship, went with <u>Monica</u>, <u>Adeodatus</u>, and his friends to Cassisiacum, the country estate of <u>Verecundus</u>, there to devote himself to the pursuit of <u>true philosophy</u> which, for him, was now inseparable from <u>Christianity</u>.

From his conversion to his episcopate (386-395)

Augustine gradually became acquainted with <u>Christian doctrine</u>, and in his <u>mind</u> the fusion of <u>Platonic</u> <u>philosophy</u> with <u>revealed dogmas</u> was taking place. The <u>law</u> that governed this change of thought has of late years been frequently misconstrued; it is sufficiently important to be precisely defined. The solitude of Cassisiacum realized a long-cherished dream. In his books "Against the Academics," Augustine has described the ideal serenity of this existence, enlivened only by the passion for <u>truth</u>. He completed the <u>education</u> of his young friends, now by literary readings in common, now by <u>philosophical</u> conferences to which he sometimes invited <u>Monica</u>, and the accounts of which, compiled by a secretary, have supplied the foundation of the "Dialogues." Licentius, in his "Letters," would later on recall these delightful <u>philosophical</u> mornings and evenings, at which Augustine was wont to evolve the most elevating discussions from the most commonplace incidents. The favourite topics at their conferences were <u>truth</u>, <u>certainty</u> (Against the Academics), <u>true</u> <u>happiness</u> in <u>philosophy</u> (On a Happy Life), the <u>Providential</u> order of the world and the problem of <u>evil</u> (On Order) and finally <u>God</u> and the <u>soul</u> (<u>Soliloquies</u>, On the Immortality of the Soul).

Here arises the curious question propounded modern critics: Was Augustine a <u>Christian</u> when wrote these "Dialogues" at Cassisiacum? Until now no one had <u>doubted</u> it; historians, relying upon the <u>"Confessions"</u>, had all <u>believed</u> that Augustine's retirement to the villa had for its twofold object the improvement of his health and his preparation for <u>baptism</u>. But certain critics nowadays claim to have discovered a radical opposition between the <u>philosophical</u> "Dialogues" composed in this retirement and the state of <u>soul</u> described in the <u>"Confessions"</u>. According to Harnack, in writing the <u>"Confessions"</u> Augustine must have projected upon the <u>recluse</u> of 386 the sentiments of the <u>bishop</u> of 400. Others go farther and maintain that the <u>recluse</u> of the <u>Milanese</u> villa could not have been at heart a <u>Christian</u>, but a <u>Platonist</u>; and that the scene in the garden was a <u>conversion</u> not to <u>Christianity</u>, but to <u>philosophy</u>, the genuinely <u>Christian</u> phase beginning only in 390.

But this interpretation of the "Dialogues" cannot withstand the test of facts and texts. It is admitted that Augustine received baptism at Easter, 387; and who could suppose that it was for him a meaningless ceremony? So too, how can it be admitted that the scene in the garden, the example of the recluses, the reading of St. Paul, the conversion of Victorinus, Augustine's ecstasies in reading the Psalms with Monica were all invented after the fact? Again, as it was in 388 that Augustine wrote his beautiful apology "On the Holiness of the Catholic Church," how is it conceivable that he was not yet a Christian at that date? To settle the argument, however, it is only necessary to read the "Dialogues" themselves. They are certainly a purely philosophical work — a work of youth, too, not without some pretension, as Augustine ingenuously acknowledges (*Confessions* IX.4); nevertheless, they contain the entire history of his Christian formation. As early as 386, the first work written at Cassisiacum reveals to us the great underlying motive of his researches. The object of his philosophy is to give authority the support of reason, and "for him the great authority, that which dominates all others and from which he never wished to deviate, is the authority of Christ"; and if he loves the Platonists it is because he counts on finding among them interpretations always in harmony with his faith (Against the Academics, III, c. x). To be sure such confidence was excessive, but it remains evident that in these "Dialogues" it is a Christian, and not a Platonist, that speaks. He reveals to us the intimate details of his conversion, the argument that convinced him (the life and conquests of the Apostles), his progress in the Faith at the school of St. Paul (ibid., II, ii), his delightful conferences with his friends on the Divinity of Jesus Christ, the wonderful transformations worked in his soul by faith, even to that victory of his over the intellectual pride which his Platonic studies had aroused in him (On The Happy Life, I, ii), and at last the gradual calming of his passions and the great resolution to choose wisdom for his only spouse (Soliloquies, I, x).

It is now easy to appreciate at its true value the influence of neo-Platonism upon the mind of the great African Doctor. It would be impossible for anyone who has read the works of St. Augustine to deny the existence of this influence. However, it would be a great exaggeration of this influence to pretend that it at any time sacrificed the Gospel to Plato. The same learned critic thus wisely concludes his study: "So long, therefore, as his philosophy agrees with his religious doctrines, St. Augustine is frankly neo-Platonist; as soon as a contradiction arises, he never hesitates to subordinate his philosophy to religion, reason to faith. He was, first of all, a Christian; the philosophical questions that occupied his mind constantly found themselves more and more relegated to the background" (op. cit., 155). But the method was a dangerous one; in thus seeking harmony between the two doctrines he thought too easily to find Christianity in Plato, or Platonism in the Gospel. More than once, in his "Retractations" and elsewhere, he acknowledges that he has not always shunned this danger. Thus he had imagined that in Platonism he discovered the entire doctrine of the Word and the whole prologue of St. John. He likewise disavowed a good number of neo-Platonic theories which had at first misled him — the cosmological thesis of the universal soul, which makes the world one immense animal — the Platonic doubts upon that grave question: Is there a single soul for all or a distinct soul for each? But on the other hand, he had always reproached the Platonists, as Schaff very properly remarks (Saint Augustine, New York, 1886, p. 51), with being ignorant of, or rejecting, the fundamental points of Christianity: "first, the great mystery, the Word

<u>made flesh</u>; and then <u>love</u>, resting on the basis of <u>humility</u>." They also ignore <u>grace</u>, he says, giving sublime precepts of <u>morality</u> without any help towards realizing them.

It was this Divine grace that Augustine sought in Christian baptism. Towards the beginning of Lent, 387, he went to Milan and, with Adeodatus and Alypius, took his place among the *competentes*, being baptized by Ambrose on Easter Day, or at least during Eastertide. The tradition maintaining that the Te Deum was sung on that occasion by the bishop and the neophyte alternately is groundless. Nevertheless this legend is certainly expressive of the joy of the Church upon receiving as her son him who was to be her most illustrious doctor. It was at this time that Augustine, Alypius, and Evodius resolved to retire into solitude in Africa. Augustine undoubtedly remained at Milan until towards autumn, continuing his works: "On the Immortality of the Soul" and "On Music." In the autumn of 387, he was about to embark at Ostia, when Monica was summoned from this life. In all literature there are no pages of more exquisite sentiment than the story of her saintly death and Augustine's grief (*Confessions* IX). Augustine remained several months in Rome, chiefly engaged in refuting Manichæism. He sailed for Africa after the death of the tyrant Maximus (August 388) and after a short sojourn in Carthage, returned to his native Tagaste. Immediately upon arriving there, he wished to carry out his idea of a perfect life, and began by selling all his goods and giving the proceeds to the poor. Then he and his friends withdrew to his estate, which had already been alienated, there to lead a common life in poverty, prayer, and the study of sacred letters. Book of the "LXXXIII Questions" is the fruit of conferences held in this retirement, in which he also wrote "De Genesi contra Manichæos," "De Magistro," and, "De Vera Religione."

Augustine did not think of entering the <u>priesthood</u>, and, through <u>fear</u> of the <u>episcopacy</u>, he even fled from cities in which an <u>election</u> was necessary. One day, having been summoned to <u>Hippo</u> by a friend whose <u>soul's</u> <u>salvation</u> was at stake, he was <u>praying</u> in a <u>church</u> when the people suddenly gathered about him, cheered him, and begged Valerius, the <u>bishop</u>, to raise him to the <u>priesthood</u>. In spite of his tears Augustine was <u>obliged</u> to yield to their entreaties, and was <u>ordained</u> in 391. The new <u>priest</u> looked upon his <u>ordination</u> as an additional reason for resuming <u>religious life</u> at Tagaste, and so fully did Valerius approve that he put some <u>church property</u> at Augustine's disposal, thus enabling him to establish a <u>monastery</u> the second that he had founded. His <u>priestly</u> ministry of five years was admirably fruitful; Valerius had bidden him preach, in spite of the deplorable <u>custom</u> which in <u>Africa</u> reserved that ministry to <u>bishops</u>. Augustine combated <u>heresy</u>, especially <u>Manichæism</u>, and his success was prodigious. Fortunatus, one of their great <u>doctors</u>, whom Augustine had challenged in public conference, was so humiliated by his defeat that he fled from <u>Hippo</u>. Augustine also abolished the abuse of holding banquets in the <u>chapels</u> of the <u>martyrs</u>. He took part, 8 October, 393, in the <u>Plenary Council of Africa</u>, presided over by <u>Aurelius</u>, <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Carthage</u>, and, at the request of the <u>bishops</u>, was <u>obliged</u> to deliver a discourse which, in its completed form, afterwards became the treatise <u>"De Fide et symbolo"</u>.

As bishop of Hippo (396-430)

Enfeebled by old age, Valerius, <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Hippo</u>, obtained the authorization of <u>Aurelius</u>, <u>Primate</u> of <u>Africa</u>, to associate Augustine with himself as coadjutor. Augustine had to resign himself to <u>consecration</u> at the hands of Megalius, <u>Primate</u> of Numidia. He was then forty two, and was to occupy the <u>See of Hippo</u> for thirty-four years. The new <u>bishop</u> understood well how to combine the exercise of his pastoral <u>duties</u> with the <u>austerities</u> of the <u>religious life</u>, and although he left his <u>convent</u>, his episcopal residence became a <u>monastery</u> where he lived a community life with his <u>clergy</u>, who bound themselves to observe <u>religious poverty</u>. Was it an order of <u>regular</u> <u>clerics</u> or of <u>monks</u> that he thus founded? This is a question often asked, but we feel that Augustine gave but little thought to such distinctions. Be that as it may, the episcopal house of <u>Hippo</u> became a veritable nursery which supplied the founders of the <u>monasteries</u> that were soon spread all over <u>Africa</u> and the <u>bishops</u> who occupied the neighbouring <u>sees</u>. <u>Possidius</u> (Vita S. August., xxii) enumerates ten of the <u>saint's</u> friends and <u>disciples</u> who were promoted to the <u>episcopacy</u>. Thus it was that Augustine earned the title of patriarch of the <u>religious</u>, and renovator of the <u>clerical</u>, life in <u>Africa</u>.

But he was above all the defender of <u>truth</u> and the shepherd of <u>souls</u>. His <u>doctrinal</u> activities, the influence of which was destined to last as long as the <u>Church</u> itself, were manifold: he preached frequently, sometimes for five days consecutively, his <u>sermons</u> breathing a spirit of <u>charity</u> that won all hearts; he wrote <u>letters</u> which scattered broadcast through the then <u>known</u> world his solutions of the problems of that day; he impressed his spirit upon divers <u>African councils</u> at which he assisted, for instance, those of <u>Carthage</u> in 398, 401, 407, 419 and of <u>Mileve</u> in 416 and 418; and lastly struggled indefatigably against all <u>errors</u>. To relate these struggles were endless; we shall, therefore, select only the chief controversies and indicate in each the <u>doctrinal</u> attitude of the great <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Hippo</u>.

The Manichæan controversy and the problem of evil

After Augustine became <u>bishop</u> the <u>zeal</u> which, from the <u>time</u> of his <u>baptism</u>, he had manifested in bringing his former co-religionists into the <u>true Church</u>, took on a more paternal form without losing its pristine ardour — "let those rage against us who <u>know</u> not at what a bitter cost <u>truth</u> is attained. . . . As for me, I should show you the same forbearance that my brethren had for me when I blind, was wandering in your doctrines" (*Contra Epistolam Fundamenti* <u>3</u>). Among the most memorable events that occurred during this controversy was the great victory won in 404 over Felix, one of the "elect" of the <u>Manichæans</u> and the great <u>doctor</u> of the <u>sect</u>. He was propagating his <u>errors</u> in <u>Hippo</u>, and Augustine invited him to a public conference the issue of which would necessarily <u>cause</u> a great stir; Felix declared himself vanquished, embraced the <u>Faith</u>, and, together with Augustine, subscribed the acts of the conference. In his writings Augustine successively refuted Mani (397), the famous Faustus (400), Secundinus (405), and (about 415) the <u>fatalistic Priscillianists</u> whom <u>Paulus Orosius</u> had <u>denounced</u> to him. These writings contain the <u>saint's</u> clear, unquestionable views on the <u>eternal</u> problem of <u>evil</u>, views based on an <u>optimism</u> proclaiming, like the <u>Platonists</u>, that every work of <u>God</u> is <u>good</u> and that the only source of <u>moral evil</u> is the <u>liberty</u> of creatures (*City of God* XIX.13.2). Augustine takes up the defence of <u>free</u> <u>will</u>, even in <u>man</u> as he is, with such ardour that his works against the <u>Manichæan</u> are an inexhaustible storehouse of arguments in this still living controversy.

In vain have the <u>Jansenists</u> maintained that Augustine was unconsciously a <u>Pelagian</u> and that he afterwards acknowledged the loss of <u>liberty</u> through the <u>sin</u> of <u>Adam</u>. Modern critics, doubtless unfamiliar with Augustine's complicated system and his peculiar terminology, have gone much farther. In the "Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses" (1899, p. 447), M. Margival exhibits St. Augustine as the victim of <u>metaphysical pessimism</u> unconsciously imbibed from <u>Manichæan</u> doctrines. "Never," says he, "will the <u>Oriental idea</u> of the <u>necessity</u> and the <u>eternity</u> of <u>evil</u> have a more <u>zealous</u> defender than this <u>bishop</u>." Nothing is more opposed to the facts. Augustine acknowledges that he had not yet understood how the first good inclination of the <u>will</u> is a <u>gift of God</u> (Retractions, I, xxiii, n, 3); but it should be remembered that he never retracted his leading theories on liberty, never modified his opinion upon what constitutes its <u>essential condition</u>, that is to say, the full power of choosing or of deciding. Who will dare to say that in revising his own writings on so important a point he lacked either clearness of perception or sincerity?

The Donatist controversy and the theory of the Church

The <u>Donatist schism</u> was the last episode in the <u>Montanist</u> and <u>Novatian</u> controversies which had agitated the <u>Church</u> from the second century. While the East was discussing under varying aspects the Divine and <u>Christological</u> problem of the <u>Word</u>, the <u>West</u>, doubtless because of its more practical genius, took up the <u>moral</u> question of <u>sin</u> in all its forms. The general problem was the <u>holiness</u> of the <u>Church</u>; could the sinner be <u>pardoned</u>, and remain in her bosom? In <u>Africa</u> the question especially concerned the <u>holiness</u> of the <u>hierarchy</u>. The <u>bishops</u> of Numidia, who, in 312, had refused to accept as valid the <u>consecration</u> of Cæcilian, <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Carthage</u>, by a *traditor*, had inaugurated the <u>schism</u> and at the same <u>time</u> proposed these grave questions: Do the <u>hierarchical</u> powers depend upon the <u>moral</u> worthiness of the <u>priest</u>? How can the <u>holiness</u> of the <u>Church</u> be compatible with the unworthiness of its <u>ministers</u>?

At the <u>time</u> of Augustine's arrival in <u>Hippo</u>, the <u>schism</u> had attained immense proportions, having become identified with political tendencies — perhaps with a national movement against Roman domination. In any event, it is easy to discover in it an undercurrent of anti-social revenge which the emperors had to combat by strict <u>laws</u>. The strange <u>sect</u> known as "Soldiers of Christ," and called by <u>Catholics *Circumcelliones*</u> (brigands, vagrants), resembled the revolutionary <u>sects</u> of the <u>Middle Ages</u> in point of fanatic destructiveness — a fact that must not be lost sight of, if the severe legislation of the emperors is to be properly appreciated.

The history of Augustine's struggles with the Donatists is also that of his change of opinion on the employment of rigorous measures against the heretics; and the Church in Africa, of whose councils he had been the very soul, followed him in the change. This change of views is solemnly attested by the **Bishop** of Hippo himself, especially in his Letters, 93 (in the year 408). In the beginning, it was by conferences and a friendly controversy that he sought to re-establish unity. He inspired various conciliatory measures of the African councils, and sent ambassadors to the Donatists to invite them to re-enter the Church, or at least to urge them to send deputies to a conference (403). The Donatists met these advances at first with silence, then with insults, and lastly with such violence that Possidius Bishop of Calamet, Augustine's friend, escaped death only by flight, the Bishop of Bagaïa was left covered with horrible wounds, and the life of the Bishop of Hippo himself was several times attempted (Letter 88, to Januarius, the Donatist bishop). This madness of the Circumcelliones required harsh repression, and Augustine, witnessing the many conversions that resulted therefrom, thenceforth approved rigid laws. However, this important restriction must be pointed out: that St. Augustine never wished heresy to be punishable by death — Vos rogamus ne occidatis (Letter 100, to the Proconsul Donatus). But the bishops still favoured a conference with the schismatics, and in 410 an edict issued by Honorius put an end to the refusal of the Donatists. A solemn conference took place at Carthage, in June, 411, in presence of 286 Catholic, and 279 Donatist bishops. The Donatist spokesmen were Petilian of Constantine, Primian of Carthage, and Emeritus of Cæsarea; the Catholic orators, Aurelius and Augustine. On the historic question then at issue, the Bishop of Hippo proved the innocence of Cæcilian and his consecrator Felix, and in the dogmatic debate he established the Catholic thesis that the Church, as long as it is upon earth, can, without losing its holiness, tolerate sinners within its pale for the sake of converting them. In the name of the emperor the Proconsul Marcellinus sanctioned the victory of the Catholics on all points. Little by little Donatism died out, to disappear with the coming of the Vandals.

So amply and magnificently did Augustine develop his theory on the <u>Church</u> that, according to Specht "he deserves to be named the <u>Doctor of the Church</u> as well as the <u>Doctor of Grace</u>"; and <u>Möhler</u> (Dogmatik, 351) is not <u>afraid</u> to write: "For depth of feeling and power of conception nothing written on the <u>Church</u> since <u>St. Paul's</u> time, is comparable to the works of St. Augustine." He has corrected, perfected, and even excelled the beautiful pages of <u>St. Cyprian</u> on the Divine institution of the <u>Church</u>, its authority, its essential marks, and its mission in the economy of <u>grace</u> and the administration of the <u>sacraments</u>. The <u>Protestant</u> critics, Dorner, Bindemann, Böhringer and especially Reuter, loudly proclaim, and sometimes even exaggerate, this rôle of the <u>Doctor</u> of <u>Hippo</u>; and while Harnack does not quite agree with them in every respect he does not hesitate to say (History of Dogma, II, c. iii): "It is one of the points upon which Augustine specially <u>affirms</u> and strengthens the <u>Catholic idea</u>.... He was the first [!] to transform the authority of the <u>Church</u>." He was not the first, for Dorner acknowledges (Augustinus, 88) that <u>Optatus of Mileve</u> had expressed the basis of the same <u>doctrines</u>. Augustine, however, deepened, systematized, and completed the views of <u>St. Cyprian</u> and <u>Optatus</u>. But it is impossible here to go into detail. (*See* Specht, Die Lehre von der Kirche nach dem hl. Augustinus, Paderborn, 1892.)

The Pelagian controversy and the Doctor of Grace

The close of the struggle against the <u>Donatists</u> almost coincided with the beginnings of a very grave <u>theological</u> dispute which not only was to demand Augustine's unremitting attention up to the <u>time</u> of his death, but was to become an <u>eternal</u> problem for individuals and for the <u>Church</u>. Farther on we shall enlarge upon Augustine's

system; here we need only indicate the phases of the controversy. <u>Africa</u>, where <u>Pelagius</u> and his <u>disciple</u> Celestius had sought refuge after the taking of <u>Rome</u> by Alaric, was the principal centre of the first <u>Pelagian</u> disturbances; as early as 412 a <u>council held at Carthage</u> condemned <u>Pelagians</u> for their attacks upon the <u>doctrine</u> of <u>original sin</u>. Among other books directed against them by Augustine was his famous "<u>De naturâ et gratiâ</u>". Thanks to his activity the condemnation of these innovators, who had succeeded in deceiving a <u>synod</u> convened at Diospolis in Palestine, was reiterated by <u>councils</u> held later at <u>Carthage</u> and <u>Mileve</u> and confirmed by <u>Pope</u> <u>Innocent I</u> (417). A second period of <u>Pelagian</u> intrigues developed at <u>Rome</u>, but <u>Pope Zosimus</u>, whom the stratagems of Celestius had for a moment deluded, being enlightened by Augustine, pronounced the solemn condemnation of these <u>heretics</u> in 418. Thenceforth the combat was conducted in writing against <u>Julian of</u> <u>Eclanum</u>, who assumed the leadership of the party and <u>violently</u> attacked Augustine.

Towards 426 there entered the lists a school which afterwards acquired the name of <u>Semipelagian</u>, the first members being <u>monks</u> of <u>Hadrumetum</u> in <u>Africa</u>, who were followed by others from <u>Marseilles</u>, led by <u>Cassian</u>, the celebrated <u>abbot</u> of Saint-Victor. Unable to admit the absolute <u>gratuitousness</u> of <u>predestination</u>, they sought a middle course between Augustine and <u>Pelagius</u>, and maintained that <u>grace</u> must be given to those who <u>merit</u> it and denied to others; hence goodwill has the precedence, it desires, it asks, and <u>God</u> rewards. Informed of their views by <u>Prosper of Aquitaine</u>, the <u>holy Doctor</u> once more expounded, in <u>"De Prædestinatione Sanctorum"</u>, how even these first desires for <u>salvation</u> are due to the <u>grace of God</u>, which therefore absolutely controls our <u>predestination</u>.

Struggles against Arianism and closing years

In 426 the holy Bishop of Hippo, at the age of seventy-two, wishing to spare his episcopal city the turmoil of an election after his death, <u>caused</u> both <u>clergy</u> and people to <u>acclaim</u> the choice of the <u>deacon</u> Heraclius as his auxiliary and <u>successor</u>, and transferred to him the administration of externals. Augustine might then have enjoyed some rest had <u>Africa</u> not been agitated by the undeserved disgrace and the revolt of Count Boniface (427). The <u>Goths</u>, sent by the Empress Placidia to oppose Boniface, and the <u>Vandals</u>, whom the latter summoned to his assistance, were all <u>Arians</u>. Maximinus, an <u>Arian bishop</u>, entered <u>Hippo</u> with the imperial troops. The <u>holy Doctor</u> defended the <u>Faith</u> at a public conference (428) and in various writings. Being deeply grieved at the devastation of <u>Africa</u>, he laboured to effect a reconciliation between Count Boniface and the empress. Peace was indeed reestablished, but not with Genseric, the <u>Vandal</u> king. Boniface, vanquished, sought refuge in <u>Hippo</u>, whither many <u>bishops</u> had already fled for protection and this well fortified city was to suffer the horrors of an eighteen months' siege. Endeavouring to control his anguish, Augustine continued to refute <u>Julian of Eclanum</u>; but early in the siege he was stricken with what he realized to be a fatal illness, and, after three months of admirable patience and fervent <u>prayer</u>, departed from this land of exile on 28 August, 430, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

Saint Basil the Great (329-379)

One of the original four Doctors of the Eastern Church

<u>Bishop</u> of <u>Caesarea</u>, and one of the most distinguished <u>Doctors of the Church</u>. Born probably 329; died 1 January, 379. He ranks after <u>Athanasius</u> as a defender of the Oriental Church against the <u>heresies</u> of the fourth century. With his friend <u>Gregory of Nazianzus</u> and his brother <u>Gregory of Nyssa</u>, he makes up the trio known as "The Three Cappadocians", far outclassing the other two in practical genius and actual achievement.

Life

St. Basil the Elder, father of St. Basil the Great, was the son of a <u>Christian</u> of good birth and his wife, Macrina (Acta SS., January, II), both of whom suffered for the <u>faith</u> during the <u>persecution</u> of Maximinus Galerius (305-

314), spending several years of hardship in the wild mountains of <u>Pontus</u>. St. Basil the Elder was noted for his virtue (Acta SS, May, VII) and also won considerable reputation as a teacher in <u>Caesarea</u>. He was not a <u>priest</u> (Cf. Cave, Hist. Lit., I, 239). He married Emmelia, the daughter of a <u>martyr</u> and became the father of ten children. Three of these, Macrina, Basil, and <u>Gregory</u> are <u>honoured</u> as <u>saints</u>; and of the sons, Peter, <u>Gregory</u>, and Basil attained the dignity of the episcopate.

Under the care of his father and his grandmother, the elder Macrina, who preserved the traditions of their countryman, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus (c. 213-275) Basil was formed in habits of piety and study. He was still young when his father died and the family moved to the estate of the elder Macrina at Annesi in Pontus, on the banks of the Iris. As a boy, he was sent to school at Caesarea, then "a metropolis of letters", and conceived a fervent admiration for the local bishop, Dianius. Later, he went to Constantinople, at that time "distinguished for its teachers of philosophy and rhetoric", and thence to Athens. Here he became the inseparable companion of Gregory of Nazianzus, who, in his famous panegyric on Basil (Or. xliii), gives a most interesting description of their academic experiences. According to him, Basil was already distinguished for brilliancy of mind and seriousness of character and associated only with the most earnest students. He was able, grave, industrious, and well advanced in rhetoric, grammar, philosophy, astronomy, geometry, and medicine. (As to his not knowing Latin, see Fialon, Etude historique et littéraire sur St. Basile, Paris, 1869). We know the names of two of Basil's teachers at Athens — Prohaeresius, possibly a Christian, and Himerius, a pagan. It has been affirmed, though probably incorrectly, that Basil spent some time under Libanius. He tells us himself that he endeavoured without success to attach himself as a pupil to Eustathius (Ep., I). At the end of his sojourn at Athens, Basil being laden, says St. Gregory of Nazianzus "with all the learning attainable by the nature of man", was well equipped to be a teacher. Caesarea took possession of him gladly "as a founder and second patron" (Or. xliii), and as he tells us (ccx), he refused the splendid offers of the citizens of Neo-Caesarea, who wished him to undertake the education of the youth of their city.

To the successful student and distinguished professor, "there now remained", says Gregory (Or. xliii), "no other need than that of spiritual perfection". Gregory of Nyssa, in his life of Macrina, gives us to understand that Basil's brilliant success both as a university student and a professor had left traces of worldliness and selfsufficiency on the soul of the young man. Fortunately, Basil came again in contact with Dianius, Bishop of Caesarea, the object of his boyish affection, and Dianius seems to have baptized him, and ordained him Reader soon after his return to Caesarea. It was at the same time also that he fell under the influence of that very remarkable woman, his sister Macrina, who had meanwhile founded a religious community on the family estate at Annesi. Basil himself tells us how, like a man roused from deep sleep, he turned his eves to the marvellous truth of the Gospel, wept many tears over his miserable life, and prayed for guidance from God: "Then I read the Gospel, and saw there that a great means of reaching perfection was the selling of one's goods, the sharing of them with the poor, the giving up of all care for this life, and the refusal to allow the soul to be turned by any sympathy towards things of earth" (Ep. ccxxiii). To learn the ways of perfection, Basil now visited the monasteries of Egypt, Palestine, Coele-Syria, and Mesopotamia. He returned, filled with admiration for the austerity and piety of the monks, and founded a monastery in his native Pontus, on the banks of the Iris, nearly opposite Annesi. (Cf. Ramsay, Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor, London, 1890, p. 326). Eustathius of Sebaste had already introduced the eremitical life into Asia Minor; Basil added the cenobitic or community form, and the new feature was imitated by many companies of men and women. (Cf. Sozomen, Church History VI.27; Epiphanius, Haer., lxxv, 1: Basil, Ep. ccxxiii: Tillemont, Mém., IX, Art, XXI, and note XXVI.) Basil became known as the father of Oriental monasticism, the forerunner of St. Benedict. How well he deserved the title, how seriously and in what spirit he undertook the systematizing of the religious life, may be seen by the study of his Rule. He seems to have read Origen's writings very systematically about this time, for in union with Gregory of Nazianzus, he published a selection of them called the "Philocalia".

Basil was drawn from his retreat into the area of <u>theological</u> controversy in 360 when he accompanied two delegates from <u>Seleucia</u> to the emperor at Constantinople, and supported his namesake of <u>Ancyra</u>. There is some dispute as to his <u>courage</u> and his perfect <u>orthodoxy</u> on this occasion (cf. Philostorgius, Hist. Eccl., IV, xii; answered by <u>Gregory of Nyssa</u>, *Answer to Eunomius' Second Book* <u>I</u>, and Maran, Proleg., vii; <u>Tillemont</u>, Mém.,

note XVIII). A little later, however, both qualities seem to have been sufficiently in evidence, as Basil forsook Dianius for having signed the <u>heretical</u> creed of <u>Rimini</u>. To this time (c. 361) may be referred the "Moralia"; and a little later came two books against <u>Eunomius</u> (363) and some correspondence with <u>Athanasius</u>. It is possible, also, that Basil wrote his monastic rules in the briefer forms while in <u>Pontus</u>, and enlarged them later at Caesarea. There is an account of an invitation from <u>Julian</u> for Basil to present himself a court and of Basil's refusal, coupled with an admonition that angered the emperor and endangered Basil's safety. Both incident and correspondence however are questioned by some critics.

Basil still retained considerable influence in <u>Caesarea</u>, and it is regarded as fairly probable that he had a hand in the election of the successor of Dianius who died in 362, after having been reconciled to Basil. In any case the new bishop, Eusebius, was practically placed in his office by the elder Gregory of Nazianzus. Eusebius having persuaded the reluctant Basil to be ordained priest, gave him a prominent place in the administration of the diocese (363). In ability for the management of affairs Basil so far eclipsed the bishop that ill-feeling rose between the two. "All the more eminent and wiser portion of the church was roused against the bishop" (Greg. Naz., Or. xliii; Ep. x), and to avoid trouble Basil again withdrew into the solitude of Pontus. A little later (365) when the attempt of Valens to impose Arianism on the clergy and the people necessitated the presence of a strong personality, Basil was restored to his former position, being reconciled to the bishop by St. Gregory of Nazianzus. There seems to have been no further disagreement between Eusebius and Basil and the latter soon became the real head of the diocese. "The one", says Gregory of Nazianzus (Or. xliii), "led the people the other led their leader". During the five years spent in this most important office, Basil gave evidence of being a man of very unusual powers. He laid down the law to the leading citizens and the imperial governors, settled disputes with wisdom and finality, assisted the spiritually needy, looked after "the support of the poor, the entertainment of strangers, the care of maidens, legislation written and unwritten for the monastic life, arrangements of prayers, (liturgy?), adornment of the sanctuary" (op. cit.). In time of famine, he was the saviour of the poor.

In 370 Basil succeeded to the See of Caesarea, being consecrated according to tradition on 14 June. Caesarea was then a powerful and wealthy city (Sozomen, Church History V.5). Its bishop was Metropolitan of Cappadocia and Exarch of Pontus which embraced more than half of Asia Minor and comprised eleven provinces. The see of Caesarea ranked with Ephesus immediately after the patriarchal sees in the councils, and the bishop was the superior of fifty chorepiscopi (Baert). Basil's actual influence, says Jackson (Prolegomena, XXXII) covered the whole stretch of country "from the Balkans to the Mediterranean and from the Aegean to the Euphrates". The need of a man like Basil in such a see as Caesarea was most pressing, and he must have known this well. Some think that he set about procuring his own election; others (e.g. Maran, Baronius, Ceillier) say that he made no attempt on his own behalf. In any event, he became Bishop of Caesarea largely by the influence of the elder Gregory of Nazianzus. His election, says the younger Gregory (loc. cit.), was followed by disaffection on the part of several suffragan bishops "on whose side were found the greatest scoundrels in the city". During his previous administration of the diocese Basil had so clearly defined his ideas of discipline and orthodoxy, that no one could doubt the direction and the vigour of his policy. St. Athanasius was greatly pleased at Basil's election (Ad Pallad., 953; Ad Joann. et Ant., 951); but the Arianizing Emperor Valens, displayed considerably annoyance and the defeated minority of bishops became consistently hostile to the new metropolitan. By years of tactful conduct, however, "blending his correction with consideration and his gentleness with firmness" (Greg. Naz., Or. xliii), he finally overcame most of his opponents.

Basil's letters tell the story of his tremendous and varied activity; how he worked for the exclusion of unfit candidates from the sacred ministry and the deliverance of the <u>bishops</u> from the temptation of <u>simony</u>; how he required exact discipline and the faithful observance of the canons from both <u>laymen</u> and <u>clerics</u>; how he rebuked the <u>sinful</u>, followed up the offending, and held out hope of pardon to the penitent. (Cf. Epp. xliv, xlv, and xlvi, the beautiful letter to a fallen virgin, as well as Epp. liii, liv, lv, clxxxviii, cxcix, ccxvii, and Ep. clxix, on the strange incident of Glycerius, whose story is well filled out by Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, New York, 1893, p. 443 sqq.) If on the one hand he strenuously defended <u>clerical rights</u> and <u>immunities</u> (Ep. civ), on the other he trained his <u>clergy</u> so strictly that they grew famous as the type of all that a

priest should be (Epp. cii, ciii). Basil did not confine his activity to <u>diocesan</u> affairs, but threw himself vigorously into the troublesome <u>theological</u> disputes then rending the unity of <u>Christendom</u>. He drew up a summary of the <u>orthodox faith</u>; he attacked by word of mouth the <u>heretics</u> near at hand and wrote tellingly against those afar. His correspondence shows that he paid visits, sent messages, gave interviews, instructed, reproved, rebuked, threatened, reproached, undertook the protection of nations, cities, <u>individuals</u> great and small. There was very little chance of opposing him successfully, for he was a cool, persistent, fearless fighter in defence both of <u>doctrine</u> and of principles. His bold stand against <u>Valens</u> parallels the meeting of <u>Ambrose</u> with <u>Theodosius</u>. The emperor was dumbfounded at the <u>archbishop's</u> calm indifference to his presence and his wishes. The incident, as narrated by <u>Gregory of Nazianzus</u>, not only tells much concerning Basil's character but throws a clear light on the type of <u>Christian bishop</u> with which the emperors had to deal and goes far to explain why <u>Arianism</u>, with little court behind it, could make so little impression on the ultimate history of <u>Catholicism</u>.

While assisting Eusebius in the care of his diocese, Basil had shown a marked interest in the poor and afflicted; that interest now displayed itself in the erection of a magnificent institution, the Ptochoptopheion, or Basileiad, a house for the care of friendless strangers, the medical treatment of the sick poor, and the industrial training of the unskilled. Built in the suburbs, it attained such importance as to become practically the centre of a new city with the name of *he kaine polis* or "Newtown". It was the motherhouse of like institutions erected in other dioceses and stood as a constant reminder to the rich of their privilege of spending wealth in a truly Christian way. It may be mentioned here that the social obligations of the wealthy were so plainly and forcibly preached by St. Basil that modern sociologists have ventured to claim him as one of their own, though with no more foundation than would exist in the case of any other consistent teacher of the principles of Catholic ethics. The truth is that St. Basil was a practical lover of Christian poverty, and even in his exalted position preserved that simplicity in food and clothing and that austerity of life for which he had been remarked at his first renunciation of the world.

In the midst of his labours, Basil underwent suffering of many kinds. Athanasius died in 373 and the elder Gregory in 374, both of them leaving gaps never to be filled. In 373 began the painful estrangement from Gregory of Nazianzus. Anthimus, Bishop of Tyana, became an open enemy, Apollinaris "a cause of sorrow to the churches" (Ep. cclxiii), Eustathius of Sebaste a traitor to the Faith and a personal foe as well. Eusebius of Samosata was banished, Gregory of Nyssa condemned and deposed. When Emperor Valentinian died and the Arians recovered their influence, all Basil's efforts must have seemed in vain. His health was breaking, the Goths were at the door of the empire, Antioch was in schism, Rome doubted his sincerity, the bishops refused to be brought together as he wished. "The notes of the church were obscured in his part of Christendom, and he had to fare on as best he might,--admiring, courting, yet coldly treated by the Latin world, desiring the friendship of Rome, yet wounded by her reserve,--suspected of heresy by Damasus, and accused by Jerome of pride" (Newman, The Church of the Fathers). Had he lived a little longer and attended the Council of Constantinople (381), he would have seen the death of its first president, his friend Meletius, and the forced resignation of its second, Gregory of Nazianzus. Basil died 1 January, 379. His death was regarded as a public bereavement; Jews, pagans, and foreigners vied with his own flock in doing him honour. The earlier Latin martyrologies (Hieronymian and Bede) make no mention of a feast of St. Basil. The first mention is by Usuard and Ado who place it on 14 June, the supposed date of Basil's consecration to the episcopate. In the Greek "Menaea" he is commemorated on 1 January, the day of his death. In 1081, John, Patriarch of Constantinople, in consequence of a vision, established a feast in common honour of St. Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom, to be celebrated on 30 January. The Bollandists give an account of the origin of this feast; they also record as worthy of note that no relics of St. Basil are mentioned before the twelfth century, at which time parts of his body, together with some other very extraordinary relics were reputed to have been brought to Bruges by a returning Crusader. Baronius (c. 1599) gave to the Naples Oratory a relic of St. Basil sent from Constantinople to the pope. The Bollandists and Baronius print descriptions of Basil's personal appearance and the former reproduce two icons, the older copied from a codex presented to Basil, Emperor of the East (877-886).

By common consent, Basil ranks among the greatest figures in <u>church history</u> and the rather extravagant panegyric by <u>Gregory of Nazianzus</u> has been all but equalled by a host of other eulogists. Physically delicate and occupying his exalted position but a few years, Basil did magnificent and enduring work in an age of more violent world convulsions than <u>Christianity</u> has since experienced. (Cf. <u>Newman</u>, *The <u>Church</u> of the Fathers*). By personal virtue he attained distinction in an age of <u>saints</u>; and his purity, his monastic fervour, his stern simplicity, his friendship for the poor became traditional in the history of <u>Christian</u> asceticism. In fact, the impress of his genius was stamped indelibly on the Oriental conception of <u>religious life</u>. In his hands the great <u>metropolitan see</u> of Caesarea took shape as the sort of model of the <u>Christian</u> diocese; there was hardly any detail of episcopal activity in which he failed to mark out guiding lines and to give splendid example. Not the least of his glories is the fact that toward the officials of the State he maintained that fearless dignity and independence which later history has shown to be an indispensable condition of healthy life in the <u>Catholic</u> episcopate.

Some difficulty has arisen out of the correspondence of St. Basil with the Roman See. That he was in communion with the Western bishops and that he wrote repeatedly to Rome asking that steps be taken to assist the Eastern Church in her struggle with schismatics and heretics is undoubted; but the disappointing result of his appeals drew from him certain words which require explanation. Evidently he was deeply chagrined that Pope Damasus on the one hand hesitated to condemn Marcellus and the Eustathians, and on the other preferred Paulinus to Meletius in whose right to the See of Antioch St. Basil most firmly believed. At the best it must be admitted that St. Basil criticized the pope freely in a private letter to Eusebius of Samosata (Ep. ccxxxix) and that he was indignant as well as hurt at the failure of his attempt to obtain help from the West. Later on, however, he must have recognized that in some respects he had been hasty; in any event, his strong emphasis of the influence which the Roman See could exercise over the Eastern bishops, and his abstaining from a charge of anything like usurpation are great facts that stand out obviously in the story of the disagreement. With regard to the question of his association with the Semi-Arians, Philostorgius speaks of him as championing the Semi-Arian cause, and Newman says he seems unavoidably to have Arianized the first thirty years of his life. The explanation of this, as well as of the disagreement with the Holy See, must be sought in a careful study of the times, with due reference to the unsettled and changeable condition of theological distinctions, the lack of anything like a final pronouncement by the Church's defining power, the "lingering imperfections of the Saints" (Newman), the substantial orthodoxy of many of the so-called Semi-Arians, and above all the great plan which Basil was steadily pursuing of effecting unity in a disturbed and divided Christendom.

Writings

Dogmatic

Of the five books against <u>Eunomius</u> (c. 364) the last two are classed as spurious by some critics. The work assails the equivalent <u>Arianism</u> of <u>Eunomius</u> and defends the Divinity of the Three Persons of the Trinity; it is well summarized by Jackson (Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers, Series II, VIII). The work *On the Holy Spirit*, or treatise on the Holy Spirit (c. 375) was evoked in part by the Macedonian denial of the Divinity of the Third Person and in part by charges that Basil himself had "slurred over the Spirit" (Gregory Naz., Ep. lviii), that he had advocated communion with all such a should admit simply that the Holy Ghost was not a creature (Basil, Ep. cxiii), and that he had sanctioned the use of a novel <u>doxology</u>, namely, "Glory be to the Father with the Son together with the Holy Ghost" (De Sp. S., I, i) The treatise teaches the <u>doctrine</u> of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, while avoiding the phrase "God, the Holy Ghost" for prudential reasons (Greg. Naz., Or. xliii). Wuilcknis and Swete affirm the necessity of some such reticence on Basil's part. (Cf. Jackson, op. cit., p. XXIII, note.) With regard to Basil's teaching on the Third Person, as expressed in his work against <u>Eunomius</u> (III, i), a controversy arose at the <u>Council of Florence</u> between the Latins and the Greeks; but strong arguments both external and internal, availed to place Basil on the side of the "Filioque". The dogmatic writings were edited separately by Goldhorn, in his "S. Basilii Opera Dogmatica Selecta" (Leipzig, 1854). The *On the Holy Spirit*,

was translated into English by Johnston (Oxford, 1892); by Lewis in the Christian Classic Series (1888); and by Jackson (op. cit.).

Exegetical

These include nine <u>homilies</u> "On the Hexaemeron" and thirteen (Maran) genuine <u>homilies</u> on particular Psalms. A lengthy commentary on the first sixteen chapters of Isaias is of <u>doubtful</u> authenticity (Jackson), though by a contemporary hand. A commentary on Job has disappeared. "The Hexaemeron" was highly admired by <u>Gregory of Nazianzus</u> (Or. xliii, no. 67). It is translated entire by Jackson (op. cit.). The <u>homilies</u> on the Psalms are moral and hortatory rather than strictly <u>exegetical</u>. In interpreting the Scripture, Basil uses both the literal and the allegorical methods, but favours the literal system of Antioch. His second <u>homily</u> contains a denunciation of <u>usury</u> which has become famous.

Homiletical

Twenty-four sermons, <u>doctrinal</u>, moral, and panegyrical in character, are looked upon as generally genuine, certain critical difficulties, however, remaining still unsolved. Eight of these sermons were translated into Latin by Rufinus. The discourses place Basil among the very greatest of <u>Christian</u> preachers and evince his special gift for preaching upon the responsibilities of wealth. The most noteworthy in the collection are the <u>homilies</u> on the rich (vi and vii) copied by St. Ambrose (De Nabuthe Jez., v, 21-24), and the <u>homily</u> (xxii) on the study of pagan literature. The latter was edited by Fremion (Paris, 1819, with French translation), Sommer (Paris, 1894), Bach (Münster, 1900), and Maloney (New York, 1901). With regard to Basil's style and his success as a preacher much has been written. (Cf. Villemain, "Tableau d'éloq. Chrét. au IVe siècle", Paris, 1891; Fialon, "Etude Litt. sur St. B.", Paris, 1861); Roux, "Etude sur la prédication de B. le Grand", <u>Strasburg</u>, 1867; Croiset, "Hist. de la litt. Grecque", Paris, 1899.)

Moral and ascetical

This group contains much of spurious or doubtful origin. Probably authentic are the latter two of the three prefatory treatises, and the five treatises: "Morals", "On the Judgment of God", "On Faith", "The Longer Monastic Rules", "The Shorter Monastic Rules". The twenty-four sermons on morals are a cento of extracts from the writings of Basil made by <u>Simeon Metaphrastes</u>. Concerning the authenticity of the Rules there has been a good deal of discussion. As is plain from these treatises and from the <u>homilies</u> that touch upon ascetical or moral subjects, St. Basil was particularly felicitous in the field of spiritual instruction.

Correspondence

The extant letters of Basil are 366 in number, two-thirds of them belonging to the period of his episcopate. The so-called "Canonical Epistles" have been assailed as spurious, but are almost surely genuine. The correspondence with Julian and with Libanius is probably apocryphal; the correspondence with <u>Apollinarus</u> is uncertain. All of the 366 letters are translated in the "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers". Some of the letters are really dogmatic treatises, and others are apologetic replies to personal attacks. In general they are very useful for their revelation of the <u>saint's</u> character and for the pictures of his age which they offer.

Liturgical

A so-called <u>"Liturgy of St. Basil"</u> exists in Greek and in Coptic. It goes back at least to the sixth century, but its connexion with Basil has been a matter of critical discussion (Brightman, "Liturgies, Eastern and Western", Oxford, 1896, I; Probst, "Die Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts und deren Reform", Münster, 1893, 377-412).

Editions of St. Basil

The *editio princeps* of the original text of the extant works of Basil appeared at Basle, 1551, and the first complete Latin translation at <u>Rome</u>, 1515 (autograph <u>manuscript</u> in the British Museum). The best edition is that of the <u>Maurist Benedictines</u>, Garnier and Maran (Paris, 1721-30), republished with appendixes by <u>Migne</u> (P.G., XXIX-XXXII). For fragments attributed to Basil with more or less <u>certainty</u>, and edited by Matthaei, <u>Mai</u>, Pitra, and others, see Bardenhewer, "Patrologie" (Freiburg, 1901), 247. Portions of letters recently discovered in <u>Egyptian</u> papyri were published by H. Landwehr, "Grieschische Handschriften aus Fayûm", in "Philologus", XLIII (1884).

The Venerable Bede (673-735) Added by Pope Leo XIII in 1899

Historian and <u>Doctor of the Church</u>, born 672 or 673; died 735. In the last chapter of his great work on the "Ecclesiastical History of the English People" Bede has told us something of his own life, and it is, practically speaking, all that we <u>know</u>. His words, written in 731, when death was not far off, not only show a simplicity and <u>piety</u> characteristic of the man, but they throw a light on the composition of the work through which he is best remembered by the world at large. He writes:

Thus much concerning the <u>ecclesiastical history</u> of Britain, and especially of the race of the English, I, Baeda, a servant of Christ and a <u>priest</u> of the <u>monastery</u> of the blessed apostles St. Peter and <u>St. Paul</u>, which is at <u>Wearmouth</u> and at Jarrow (in Northumberland), have with the Lord's help composed so far as I could gather it either from ancient documents or from the traditions of the elders, or from my own <u>knowledge</u>. I was born in the territory of the said <u>monastery</u>, and at the age of seven I was, by the care of my relations, given to the most reverend Abbot Benedict [<u>St. Benedict Biscop</u>], and afterwards to Ceolfrid, to be <u>educated</u>. From that time I have spent the whole of my life within that <u>monastery</u>, devoting all my pains to the study of the Scriptures, and amid the observance of monastic discipline and the daily charge of singing in the <u>Church</u>, it has been ever my delight to learn or teach or write. In my nineteenth year I was admitted to the <u>diaconate</u>, in my thirtieth to the <u>priesthood</u>, both by the hands of the most reverend Bishop John [<u>St. John of Beverley</u>], and at the bidding of Abbot Ceolfrid. From the time of my admission to the <u>priesthood</u> to my present fifty-ninth year, I have endeavored for my own use and that of my brethren, to make brief notes upon the holy Scripture, either out of the works of the venerable Fathers or in conformity with their meaning and interpretation.

After this Bede inserts a list or *Indiculus*, of his previous writings and finally concludes his great work with the following words:

And I <u>pray</u> thee, loving <u>Jesus</u>, that as Thou hast graciously given me to drink in with delight the words of Thy <u>knowledge</u>, so Thou wouldst mercifully grant me to attain one day to Thee, the fountain of all wisdom and to appear forever before Thy face.

It is plain from Bede's letter to Bishop Egbert that the historian occasionally visited his friends for a few days, away from his own monastery of Jarrow, but with such rare exceptions his life seems to have been one peaceful round of study and prayer passed in the midst of his own community. How much he was beloved by them is made manifest by the touching account of the <u>saint's</u> last sickness and death left us by Cuthbert, one of his disciples. Their studious pursuits were not given up on account of his illness and they read aloud by his bedside, but constantly the reading was interrupted by their tears. "I can with truth declare", writes Cuthbert of his beloved master, "that I never saw with my eyes or heard with my ears anyone return thanks so unceasingly to the <u>living God</u>." Even on the day of his death (the vigil of the <u>Ascension</u>, 735) the <u>saint</u> was still busy dictating a translation of the Gospel of St. John. In the evening the boy Wilbert, who was writing it, said to him: "There is

still one sentence, dear master, which is not written down." And when this had been supplied, and the boy had told him it was finished, "Thou hast spoken <u>truth</u>", Bede answered, "it is finished. Take my head in thy hands for it much delights me to sit opposite any holy place where I used to <u>pray</u>, that so sitting I may call upon my Father." And thus upon the floor of his cell singing, "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost" and the rest, he peacefully breathed his last breath.

The title *Venerabilis* seems to have been associated with the name of Bede within two generations after his death. There is of course no early authority for the legend repeated by Fuller of the "dunce-monk" who in composing an epitaph on Bede was at a loss to complete the line: *Hac sunt in fossa Bedae ossa* and who next morning found that the angels had filled the gap with the word *venerabilis*. The title is used by Alcuin, Amalarius and seemingly Paul the Deacon, and the important Council of Aachen in 835 describes him as *venerabilis et modernis temporibus doctor admirabilis Beda*. This decree was specially referred to in the petition which Cardinal Wiseman and the English bishops addressed to the Holy See in 1859 praying that Bede might be declared a Doctor of the Church. The question had already been debated even before the time of Benedict XIV, but it was only on 13 November, 1899, that Leo XIII decreed that the feast of Venerable Bede with the title of *Doctor Ecclesiae* should be celebrated throughout the <u>Church</u> each year on 27 May. A local cultus of St. Bede had been maintained at York and in the North of England throughout the <u>Middle Ages</u>, but his feast was not so generally observed in the South, where the <u>Sarum Rite</u> was followed.

Bede's influence both upon English and foreign scholarship was very great, and it would probably have been greater still but for the devastation inflicted upon the Northern monasteries by the inroads of the Danes less than a century after his death. In numberless ways, but especially in his moderation, gentleness, and breadth of view, Bede stands out from his contemporaries. In point of scholarship he was undoubtedly the most learned man of his time. A very remarkable trait, noticed by Plummer (I, p. xxiii), is his sense of literary property, an extraordinary thing in that age. He himself scrupulously noted in his writings the passages he had borrowed from others and he even begs the copyists of his works to preserve the references, a recommendation to which they, alas, have paid but little attention. High, however, as was the general level of Bede's culture, he repeatedly makes it clear that all his studies were subordinated to the interpretation of Scripture. In his "De Schematibus" he says in so many words: "Holy Scripture is above all other books not only by its authority because it is Divine, or by its utility because it leads to eternal life, but also by its antiquity and its literary form" (positione *dicendi*). It is perhaps the highest tribute to Bede's genius that with so uncompromising and evidently sincere a conviction of the inferiority of human learning, he should have acquired so much real culture. Though Latin was to him a still living tongue, and though he does not seem to have consciously looked back to the Augustan Age of Roman Literature as preserving purer models of literary style than the time of Fortunatus or St. Augustine, still whether through native genius or through contact with the classics, he is remarkable for the relative purity of his language, as also for his lucidity and sobriety, more especially in matters of historical criticism. In all these respects he presents a marked contrast to St. Aldhelm who approaches more nearly to the Celtic type.

Writings and editions

No adequate edition founded upon a careful collation of <u>manuscripts</u> has ever been published of Bede's works as a whole. The text printed by Giles in 1884 and reproduced in <u>Migne</u> (XC-XCIV) shows little if any advance on the basic edition of 1563 or the Cologne edition of 1688. It is of course as an historian that Bede is chiefly remembered. His great work, the "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum", giving an account of <u>Christianity</u> in <u>England</u> from the beginning until his own day, is the foundation of all our <u>knowledge</u> of British history and a masterpiece eulogized by the scholars of every age. Of this work, together with the "Historia Abbatum", and the "Letter to Egbert", Plummer has produced an edition which may fairly be called final (2 vols., Oxford, 1896). Bede's remarkable industry in collecting materials and his critical use of them have been admirably illustrated in Plummer's Introduction (pp. xliii-xlvii). The "History of the Abbots" (of the twin <u>monasteries</u> of <u>Wearmouth</u> and Jarrow), the Letter to Egbert", the metrical and prose lives of <u>St. Cuthbert</u>, and the other smaller pieces are

also of great value for the light they shed upon the state of <u>Christianity</u> in Northumbria in Bede's own day. The "Ecclesiastical History" was translated into Anglo-Saxon at the instance of <u>King Alfred</u>. It has often been translated since, notably by <u>T. Stapleton</u> who printed it (1565) at <u>Antwerp</u> as a controversial weapon against the <u>Reformation</u> divines in the reign of Elizabeth. The Latin text first appeared in <u>Germany</u> in 1475; it is noteworthy that no edition even of the Latin was printed in <u>England</u> before 1643. Smith's more accurate text saw the light in 1742.

Bede's chronological treatises "De temporibus liber" and "De temporum ratione" also contain summaries of the general history of the world from the Creation to 725 and 703, respectively. These historical portions have been satisfactorily edited by Mommsen in the "Monumenta Germaniae historica" (4to series, 1898). They may be counted among the earliest specimens of this type of general chronical and were largely copied and imitated. The topographical work "De locis sanctis" is a description of Jerusalem and the holy places based upon Adamnan and Arculfus. Bede's work was edited in 1898 by Geyer in the "Itinera Hierosolymitana" for the Vienna "Corpus Scriptorum". That Bede compiled a Martyrologium we know from his own statement. But the work attributed to him in extant manuscripts has been so much interpolated and supplemented that his share in it is quite uncertain.

Bede's <u>exegetical</u> writings both in his own <u>idea</u> and in that of his contemporaries stood supreme in importance among his works, but the list is long and cannot fully be given here. They included a commentary upon the <u>Pentateuch</u> as a whole as well as on selected portions, and there are also commentaries on the Books of Kings, Esdras, Tobias, the Canticles, etc. In the <u>New Testament</u> he has certainly interpreted <u>St. Mark</u>, <u>St. Luke</u>, the <u>Acts</u>, the <u>Canonical Epistles</u>, and the <u>Apocalypse</u>. But the authenticity of the commentary on St. Matthew printed under his name is more than <u>doubtful</u>. (Plaine in "Revue Anglo-Romaine", 1896, III, 61.) The <u>homilies</u> of Bede take the form of commentaries upon the Gospel. The collection of fifty, divided into two books, which are attributed to him by Giles (and in <u>Migne</u>) are for the most part authentic, but the genuineness of a few is open to suspicion. (Morin in "Revue Bénédictine", IX, 1892, 316.)

Various didactic works are mentioned by Bede in the list which he has left us of his own writings. Most of these are still preserved and there is no reason to <u>doubt</u> that the texts we possess are authentic. The grammatical treatises "De arte metricâ" and "De orthographiâ" have been adequately edited in modern times by Keil in his "Grammatici Latini" (Leipzig, 1863). But the larger works "De naturâ rerum", "De temporibus", "De temporium ratione", dealing with <u>science</u> as it was then understood and especially with <u>chronology</u>, are only accessible in the unsatisfactory texts of the earlier editors and Giles. Beyond the metrical life of <u>St. Cuthbert</u> and some verses incorporated in the Ecclesiastical History" we do not possess much poetry that can be assigned to Bede with confidence, but, like other scholars of his age, he certainly wrote a good deal of verse. He himself mentions his "book of <u>hymns</u>" composed in different meters or rhythms. So <u>Alcuin</u> says of him: *Plurima versifico cecinit quoque carmina plectro*. It is possible that the shorter of the two metrical <u>calendars</u> printed among his works is genuine. The Penitential ascribed to Bede, though accepted as genuine by Haddan and Stubbs and Wasserschleben, is probably not his (Plummer, I, 157).

Venerable Bede is the earliest witness of pure <u>Gregorian tradition</u> in <u>England</u>. His works "Musica theoretica" and "De arte Metricâ" (<u>Migne</u>, XC) are found especially valuable by present-day scholars engaged in the study of the primitive form of the chant.

Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) Added by Pope Pius VIII in 1830

Born in 1090, at Fontaines, near Dijon, France; died at Clairvaux, 21 August, 1153.

His parents were Tescelin, lord of Fontaines, and Aleth of Montbard, both belonging to the highest nobility of <u>Burgundy</u>. Bernard, the third of a <u>family</u> of seven children, six of whom were sons, was <u>educated</u> with particular care, because, while yet unborn, a devout man had foretold his great destiny. At the age of nine years, Bernard was sent to a much renowned <u>school</u> at Chatillon-sur-Seine, kept by the secular canons of Saint-Vorles. He had a great taste for literature and devoted himself for some time to poetry. His success in his studies won the admiration of his masters, and his growth in virtue was no less marked. Bernard's great desire was to excel in literature in order to take up the study of <u>Sacred Scripture</u>, which later on became, as it were, his own tongue. "Piety was his all," says <u>Bossuet</u>. He had a special devotion to the <u>Blessed Virgin</u>, and there is no one who speaks more sublimely of the Queen of <u>Heaven</u>. Bernard was scarcely nineteen years of age when his mother died. During his youth, he did not escape trying <u>temptations</u>, but his virtue triumphed over them, in many instances in a heroic manner, and from this time he thought of retiring from the world and living a life of solitude and <u>prayer</u>.

St. Robert, Abbot of Molesmes, had founded, in 1098, the monastery of Cîteaux, about four leagues from Dijon, with the purpose of restoring the <u>Rule of St. Benedict</u> in all its rigour. Returning to Molesmes, he left the government of the new <u>abbey</u> to St. Alberic, who died in the year 1109. St. Stephen had just succeeded him (1113) as third <u>Abbot</u> of <u>Cîteaux</u>, when Bernard with thirty young noblemen of <u>Burgundy</u>, sought admission into the order. Three years later, St. Stephen sent the young Bernard, at the head of a band of <u>monks</u>, the third to leave <u>Cîteaux</u>, to found a new house at Vallée d'Absinthe, or Valley of Bitterness, in the <u>Diocese of Langres</u>. This Bernard named Claire Vallée, of <u>Clairvaux</u>, on the 25th of June, 1115, and the names of Bernard and <u>Clairvaux</u> thence became inseparable. During the absence of the <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Langres</u>, Bernard was blessed as <u>abbot</u> by <u>William of Champeaux</u>, <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Châlons-sur-Marne</u>, who saw in him the predestined man, servum Dei. From that moment a strong friendship sprang up between the <u>abbot</u> and the <u>bishop</u>, who was professor of <u>theology</u> at Notre Dame of <u>Paris</u>, and the founder of the <u>cloister</u> of St. Victor.

The beginnings of <u>Clairvaux</u> were trying and painful. The regime was so austere that Bernard's health was impaired by it, and only the influence of his friend <u>William of Champeaux</u>, and the authority of the General Chapter could make him mitigate his austerities. The <u>monastery</u>, however, made rapid progress. Disciples flocked to it in great numbers, desirous of putting themselves under the direction of Bernard. His father, the aged Tescelin, and all his brothers entered <u>Clairvaux</u> as religious, leaving only Humbeline, his sister, in the world and she, with the consent of her husband, soon took the veil in the <u>Benedictine</u> Convent of Jully. <u>Clairvaux</u> becoming too small for the religious who crowded there, it was <u>necessary</u> to send out bands to found new houses. n 1118, the Monastery of the Three Fountains was founded in the Diocese of Châlons; in 1119, that of Fontenay in the Diocese of Auton (now Dijon) and in 1121, that of Foigny, near Vervins, in the Diocese of Laon (now <u>Soissons</u>), Notwithstanding this prosperity, the <u>Abbot</u> of <u>Clairvaux</u> had his trials. During an absence from <u>Clairvaux</u>, the <u>Grand Prior</u> of Cluny, Bernard of Uxells, sent by the Prince of Priors, to use the expression of Bernard, went to <u>Clairvaux</u> and enticed away the <u>abbot's</u> cousin, Robert of Châtillon. This was the occasion of the longest, and most touching of Bernard's letters.

In the year 1119, Bernard was present at the first general chapter of the order convoked by Stephen of <u>Cîteaux</u>. Though not yet thirty years old, Bernard was listened to with the greatest attention and respect, especially when he developed his thoughts upon the revival of the primitive spirit of regularity and fervour in all the monastic orders. It was this general chapter that gave definitive form to the constitutions of the order and the regulations of the "Charter of Charity" which <u>Pope Callixtus II</u> confirmed 23 December, 1119. In 1120 Bernard composed his first work "De Gradibus Superbiae et Humilitatis" and his <u>homilies</u> which he entitles "De Laudibus Mariae". The <u>monks</u> of Cluny had not seen, with satisfaction, those of <u>Cîteaux</u> take the first place among the <u>religious</u> orders for regularity and fervour. For this reason there was a temptation on the part of the "Black Monks" to make it appear that the rules of the new order were impracticable. At the solicitation of <u>William of St. Thierry</u>, Bernard defended himself by publishing his "Apology" which is divided into two parts. In the first part he proves himself innocent of the invectives against Cluny, which had been attributed to him, and in the second he gives his reasons for his attack upon averred abuses. He protests his profound esteem for the <u>Benedictines</u> of Cluny whom he declares he loves equally as well as the other <u>religious</u> orders. Peter the Venerable, <u>Abbot</u> of

Cluny, answered the <u>Abbot</u> of <u>Clairvaux</u> without wounding charity in the least, and assured him of his great admiration and sincere friendship. In the meantime Cluny established a reform, and <u>Suger</u> himself, the minister of Louis le Gros, and <u>Abbot</u> of St. Denis, was converted by the apology of Bernard. He hastened to terminate his worldly life and restore discipline in his <u>monastery</u>. The <u>zeal</u> of Bernard did not stop here; it extended to the <u>bishops</u>, the <u>clergy</u>, and the <u>faithful</u>, and remarkable conversions of <u>persons</u> engaged in worldly pursuits were among the fruits of his labours. Bernard's letter to the <u>Archbishop</u> of <u>Sens</u> is a real treatise "De Officiis Episcoporum". About the same time he wrote his work on "Grace and Free Will".

In the year 1128, Bernard assisted at the Council of Troyes, which had been convoked by Pope Honorius II, and was presided over by Cardinal Matthew, Bishop of Albano. The purpose of this council was to settle certain disputes of the bishops of Paris, and regulate other matters of the Church of France. The bishops made Bernard secretary of the council, and charged him with drawing up the synodal statutes. After the council, the Bishop of Verdun was deposed. There then arose against Bernard unjust reproaches and he was denounced even in Rome, as a monk who meddled with matters that did not concern him. Cardinal Harmeric, on behalf of the pope, wrote Bernard a sharp letter of remonstrance. "It is not fitting" he said "that noisy and troublesome frogs should come out of their marshes to trouble the Holy See and the cardinals". Bernard answered the letter by saying that, if he had assisted at the council than yourself? Forbid those noisy troublesome frogs to come out of their holes, to leave their marshes . . . Then your friend will no longer be exposed to the accusations of pride and presumption". This letter made a great impression upon the cardinal, and justified its author both in his eyes and before the Holy See. It was at this council that Bernard traced the outlines of the Rule of the Knights Templars who soon became the ideal of the French nobility. Bernard praises it in his "De Laudibus Novae Militiae".

The influence of the Abbot of Clairvaux was soon felt in provincial affairs. He defended the rights of the Church against the encroachments of kings and princes, and recalled to their duty Henry Archbishop of Sens, and Stephen de Senlis, Bishop of Paris. On the death of Honorius II, which occurred on the 14th of February, 1130, a schism broke out in the Church by the election of two popes, Innocent II and Anacletus II. Innocent II having been banished from Rome by Anacletus took refuge in France. King Louis le Gros convened a national council of the French bishops at Etampes, and Bernard, summoned thither by consent of the bishops, was chosen to judge between the rival popes. He decided in favour of Innocent II, caused him to be recognized by all the great Catholic powers, went with him into Italy, calmed the troubles that agitated the country, reconciled Pisa with Genoa, and Milan with the pope and Lothaire. According to the desire of the latter, the pope went to Liège to consult with the emperor upon the best means to be taken for his return to Rome, for it was there that Lothaire was to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the pope. From Liège, the pope returned to France, paid a visit to the Abbey of St. Denis, and then to Clairvaux where his reception was of a simple and purely religious character. The whole pontifical court was touched by the saintly demeanor of this band of monks. In the refectory only a few common fishes were found for the pope, and instead of wine, the juice of herbs was served for drink, says an annalist of Cîteaux. It was not a table feast that was served to the pope and his followers, but a feast of virtues. The same year Bernard was again at the Council of Reims at the side of Innocent II, whose oracle he was; and then in Aquitaine where he succeeded for the time in detaching William, Count of Poitiers, from the cause of Anacletus.

In 1132, Bernard accompanied Innocent II into Italy, and at Cluny the pope abolished the dues which Clairvaux used to pay to this celebrated <u>abbey</u>--an action which gave rise to a quarrel between the "White Monks" and the "Black Monks" which lasted twenty years. In the month of May, the pope supported by the army of Lothaire, entered <u>Rome</u>, but Lothaire, feeling himself too weak to resist the partisans of Anacletus, retired beyond the Alps, and <u>Innocent</u> sought refuge in <u>Pisa</u> in September, 1133. In the meantime the <u>abbot</u> had returned to <u>France</u> in June, and was continuing the work of peacemaking which he had commenced in 1130. Towards the end of 1134, he made a second journey into Aquitaine, where William X had relapsed into <u>schism</u>. This would have died out of itself if William could have been detached from the cause of Gerard, who had usurped the <u>See of</u> <u>Bordeaux</u> and retained that of <u>Angoulême</u>. Bernard invited William to the Mass which he celebrated in the

Church of La Couldre. At the moment of the Communion, placing the Sacred Host upon the paten, he went to the door of the church where William was, and pointing to the Host, he adjured the Duke not to despise God as he did His servants. William yielded and the schism ended. Bernard went again to Italy, where Roger of Sicily was endeavouring to withdraw the Pisans from their allegiance to Innocent. He recalled the city of Milan, which had been deceived and misled by the ambitious prelate Anselm, Archbishop of Milan, to obedience to the pose, refused the Archbishopric of Milan, and returned finally to Clairvaux. Believing himself at last secure in his cloister Bernard devoted himself with renewed vigour to the composition of those pious and learned works which have won for him the title of "Doctor of the Church". He wrote at this time his sermons on the "Canticle of Canticles". In 1137 he was again forced to leave his solitude by order of the pope to put an end to the quarrel between Lothaire and Roger of Sicily. At the conference held at Palermo, Bernard succeeded in convincing Roger of the rights of Innocent II and in silencing Peter of Pisa who sustained Anacletus. The latter died of grief and disappointment in 1138, and with him the schism. Returning to Clairvaux, Bernard occupied himself in sending bands of monks from his too-crowded monastery into Germany, Sweden, England, Ireland, Portugal, Switzerland, and Italy. Some of these, at the command of Innocent II, took possession of Three Fountains Abbey, near the Salvian Waters in Rome, from which Pope Eugenius III was chosen. Bernard resumed his commentary on the "Canticle of Canticles", assisted in 1139, at the Second General Lateran Council and the Tenth Oecumenical, in which the surviving adherents of the schism were definitively condemned. About the same time, Bernard was visited at Clairvaux by St. Malachi, metropolitan of the Church in Ireland, and a very close friendship was formed between them. St. Malachi would gladly have taken the Cistercian habit, but the sovereign pontiff would not give his permission. He died, however, at Clairvaux in 1148.

In the year 1140, we find Bernard engaged in other matters which disturbed the peace of the <u>Church</u>. Towards the close of the eleventh century, the <u>schools</u> of <u>philosophy</u> and <u>theology</u>, dominated by the passion for discussion and a spirit of independence which had introduced itself into political and religious questions, became a veritable public arena, with no other motive than that of <u>ambition</u>. This exaltation of <u>human reason</u> and <u>rationalism</u> found an ardent and powerful adherent in <u>Abelard</u>, the most eloquent and learned man of the age after Bernard. "The history of the calamities and the refutation of his doctrine by St. Bernard", says <u>Ratisbonne</u>, "form the greatest episode of the twelfth century". <u>Abelard's</u> treatise on the Trinity had been condemned in 1121, and he himself had thrown his book into the fire. But in 1139 he advocated new <u>errors</u>. Bernard, informed of this by <u>William of St. Thierry</u>, wrote to <u>Abelard</u> who answered in an insulting manner. Bernard then denounced him to the <u>pope</u> who caused a <u>general council</u> to be held at <u>Sens</u>. <u>Abelard</u> asked for a public discussion with Bernard; the latter showed his opponent's <u>errors</u> with such clearness and force of <u>logic</u> that he was unable to make any reply, and was <u>obliged</u>, after being condemned, to retire. he <u>pope</u> confirmed the judgment of the council, <u>Abelard</u> submitted without resistance, and retired to Cluny to live under Peter the Venerable, where he died two years later.

Innocent II died in 1143. His two successors, Celestin II and Lucius, reigned only a short time, and then Bernard saw one of his disciples, Bernard of Pisa, Abbott of Three Fountains, and known thereafter as Eugenius III, raised to the Chair of St. Peter. Bernard sent him, at his own request, various instructions which compose the "Book of Consideration", the predominating idea of which is that the reformation of the <u>Church</u> ought to commence with the <u>sanctity</u> of the head. Temporal matters are merely accessories; the principal are <u>piety</u>, meditation, or consideration, which ought to precede action. The book contains a most beautiful page on the papacy, and has always been greatly esteemed by the <u>sovereign pontiffs</u>, many of whom used it for their ordinary reading.

Alarming news came at this time from the East. <u>Edessa</u> had fallen into the hands of the <u>Turks</u>, and <u>Jerusalem</u> and Antioch were threatened with similar disaster. Deputations of the <u>bishops</u> of <u>Armenia</u> solicited aid from the <u>pope</u>, and the King of <u>France</u> also sent ambassadors. The <u>pope</u> commissioned Bernard to preach a new <u>Crusade</u> and granted the same <u>indulgences</u> for it which <u>Urban II</u> had accorded to the first. A parliament was convoked at Vézelay in <u>Burgundy</u> in 1146, and Bernard preached before the assembly. The King, Louis le Jeune, Queen Eleanor, and the princes and lords present prostrated themselves at the feet of the <u>Abbot</u> of <u>Clairvaux</u> to receive the cross. The saint was <u>obliged</u> to use portions of his habit to make crosses to satisfy the <u>zeal</u> and ardour of the

multitude who wished to take part in the <u>Crusade</u>. Bernard passed into <u>Germany</u>, and the <u>miracles</u> which multiplied almost at his every step undoubtedly contributed to the success of his mission. The Emperor Conrad and his nephew <u>Frederick Barbarossa</u>, received the <u>pilgrims'</u> cross from the hand of Bernard, and Pope Eugenius, to encourage the enterprise, came in person to <u>France</u>. It was on the occasion of this visit, 1147, that a council was held at <u>Paris</u>, at which the <u>errors</u> of <u>Gilbert de la Porée</u>, <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Poitiers</u>, were examined. He advanced among other absurdities that the essence and the <u>attributes of God</u> are not <u>God</u>, that the properties of the Persons of the Trinity are not the <u>persons</u> themselves in fine that the Divine Nature did not become incarnate. The discussion was warm on both sides. The decision was left for the council which was held at <u>Reims</u> the following year (1148), and in which Eon de l'Etoile was one of the judges. Bernard was chosen by the council to draw up a profession of <u>faith</u> directly opposed to that of Gilbert, who concluding by stating to the Fathers: "If you believe and assert differently than I have done I am willing to believe and speak as you do". The consequence of this declaration was that the <u>pope</u> condemned the assertions of Gilbert without denouncing him personally. After the council the <u>pope</u> paid a visit to <u>Clairvaux</u>, where he held a general chapter of the order and was able to realize the prosperity of which Bernard was the <u>soul</u>.

The last years of Bernard's life were saddened by the failure of the Crusade he had preached, the entire responsibility for which was thrown upon him. He had accredited the enterprise by miracles, but he had not guaranteed its success against the misconduct and perfidy of those who participated in it. Lack of discipline and the over-confidence of the German troops, the intrigues of the Prince of Antioch and Queen Eleanor, and finally the avarice and evident treason of the Christian nobles of Syria, who prevented the capture of Damascus, appear to have been the cause of disaster. Bernard considered it his duty to send an apology to the pope and it is inserted in the second part of his "Book of Consideration". There he explains how, with the crusaders as with the Hebrew people, in whose favour the Lord had multiplied his prodigies, their sins were the cause of their misfortune and miseries. The death of his contemporaries served as a warning to Bernard of his own approaching end. The first to die was Suger (1152), of whom the Abbot wrote to Eugenius III: "If there is any precious vase adorning the palace of the King of Kings it is the soul of the venerable Suger". Thibaud, Count of Champagne, Conrad, Emperor of Germany, and his son Henry died the same year. From the beginning of the year 1153 Bernard felt his death approaching. The passing of Pope Eugenius had struck the fatal blow by taking from him one whom he considered his greatest friend and consoler. Bernard died in the sixty-third year of his age, after forty years spent in the cloister. He founded one hundred and sixty-three monasteries in different parts of Europe; at his death they numbered three hundred and forty-three. He was the first Cistercian monk placed on the calendar of saints and was canonized by Alexander III, 18 January 1174. Pope Pius VIII bestowed on him the title of Doctor of the Church. The Cistercians honour him as only the founders of orders are honoured, because of the wonderful and widespread activity which he gave to the Order of Cîteaux.

The works of St. Bernard are as follows:

- "De Gradibus Superbiae", his first treatise;
- "Homilies on the Gospel 'Missus est'" (1120);
- "Apology to William of St. Thierry" against the claims of the monks of Cluny;
- "On the Conversion of Clerics", a book addressed to the young <u>ecclesiastics</u> of <u>Paris</u> (1122);
- "De Laudibus Novae Militiae", addressed to Hughes de Payns, first Grand Master and Prior of Jerusalem (1129). This is a eulogy of the <u>military order</u> instituted in 1118, and an exhortation to the <u>knights</u> to conduct themselves with <u>courage</u> in their several stations.
- "De amore Dei" wherein St. Bernard shows that the manner of loving <u>God</u> is to <u>love</u> Him without measure and gives the different degree of this <u>love</u>;
- "Book of Precepts and Dispensations" (1131), which contains answers to questions upon certain points of the <u>Rule of St. Benedict</u> from which the <u>abbot</u> can, or cannot, dispense;
- "De Gratiâ et Libero Arbitrio" in which the <u>Catholic dogma</u> of grace and <u>free will</u> is <u>proved</u> according to the principles of <u>St. Augustine;</u>
- "Book of Considerations", addressed to **Pope Eugenius III**;
- "De Officiis Episcoporum", addressed to Henry, <u>Archbishop</u> of <u>Sens</u>.

His sermons are also numerous:

- "On Psalm 90, 'Qui habitat'" (about 1125);
- "On the Canticle of Canticles". St. Bernard explained in eighty-six sermons only the first two chapters of the <u>Canticle of Canticles</u> and the first verse of the third chapter.
- There are also eighty-six "Sermons for the Whole Year"; his "Letters" number 530.

Many other letters, treatises, etc., falsely attributed to him are found among his works, such as the "l'Echelle du Cloître", which is the work of <u>Guigues</u>, Prior of La Grande Chartreuse, les Méditations, l'Edification de la Maison intérieure, etc.

Saint Bonaventure (1217-74) Added by Pope Sixtus V in 1588

Doctor of the Church, Cardinal-Bishop of Albano, Minister General of the Friars Minor, born at Bagnorea in the vicinity of Viterbo in 1221; died at Lyons, 15 July, 1274.

Nothing is known of Bonaventure's parents save their names: Giovanni di Fidanza and Maria Ritella. How his baptismal name of John came to be changed to that of Bonaventure is not clear. An attempt has been made to trace the latter name to the exclamation of St. Francis, O buona ventura, when Bonaventure was brought as an infant to him to be cured of a dangerous illness. This derivation is highly improbable; it seems based on a late fifteenth-century legend. Bonaventure himself tells us (Legenda S. Francisci Prolog.) that while yet a child he was preserved from death through the intercession of St. Francis, but there is no evidence that this cure took place during the lifetime of St. Francis or that the name Bonaventure originated in any prophetical words of St. Francis. It was certainly borne by others before the Seraphic Doctor. No details of Bonaventure's youth have been preserved. He entered the Order of Friars Minor in 1238 or 1243; the exact year is uncertain. Wadding and the **Bollandists** bold for the later date, but the earlier one is supported by Sbaradea, Bonelli, Panfilo da Magliano, and Jeiler, and appears more probable. It is certain that Bonaventure was sent from the Roman Province, to which he belonged, to complete his studies at the University of Paris under Alexander of Hales, the great founder of the Franciscan School. The latter died in 1246, according to the opinion generally received, though not yet definitely established, and Bonaventure seems to have become his pupil about 1242. Be this as it may, Bonaventure received in 1248 the "licentiate" which gave him the right to teach publicly as Magister regens, and he continued to lecture at the university with great success until 1256, when he was compelled to discontinue, owing to the then violent outburst of opposition to the Mendicant orders on the part of the secular professors at the university. The latter, jealous, as it seems, of the academic successes of the Dominicans and Franciscans, sought to exclude them from teaching publicly. The smouldering elements of discord had been fanned into a flame in 1256, when Guillaume de Saint-Amour published a work entitled "The Perils of the Last Times", in which he attacked the Friars with great bitterness. It was in connexion with this dispute that Bonaventure wrote his treatise, "De paupertate Christi". It was not, however, Bonaventure, as some have erroneously stated, but Blessed John of Parma, who appeared before Alexander IV at Anagni to defend the Franciscans against their adversary. The Holy See having, as is well known, re-established the Mendicants in all their privileges, and Saint-Amour's book having been formally condemned, the degree of Doctor was solemnly bestowed on St. Bonaventure and St. Thomas Aquinas at the university, 23 October, 1257.

In the meantime Bonaventure, though not yet thirty-six years old, had on 2 February, 1257, been elected Minister General of the Friars Minor — an office of peculiar difficulty, owing to the fact that the order was distracted by internal dissensions between the two factions among the Friars designated respectively the *Spirituales* and the *Relaxati*. The former insisted upon the literal observance of the original Rule, especially in regard to poverty, while the latter wished to introduce innovations and mitigations. This lamentable controversy had moreover been aggravated by the enthusiasm with which many of the "Spiritual" Friars had adopted the

doctrines connected with the name of Abbot Joachim of Floris and set forth in the so-called "Evangelium aeternum". The introduction to this pernicious book, which proclaimed the approaching dispensation of the Spirit that was to replace the Law of Christ, was falsely attributed to Bl. John of Parma, who in 1267 had retired from the government of the order in favour of Bonaventure. The new general lost no time in striking vigorously at both extremes within the order. On the one hand, he proceeded against several of the Joachimite "Spirituals" as heretics before an ecclesiastical tribunal at Città della Pieve; two of their leaders were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and John of Parma was only saved from a like fate through the personal intervention of Cardinal Ottoboni, afterwards Adrian V. On the other hand, Bonaventure had, in an encyclical letter issued immediately after his election, outlined a programme for the reformation of the *Relaxati*. These reforms he sought to enforce three years later at the General Chapter of Narbonne when the constitutions of the order which he had revised were promulgated anew. These so-called "Constitutiones Narbonenses" are distributed under twelve heads, corresponding to the twelve chapters of the Rule, of which they form an enlightened and prudent exposition, and are of capital importance in the history of Franciscan legislation. The chapter which issued this code of laws requested Bonaventure to write a "legend" or life of St. Francis which should supersede those then in circulation. This was in 1260. Three years later Bonaventure, having in the meantime visited a great part of the order, and having assisted at the dedication of the chapel on La Verna and at the translation of the remains of St. Clare and of St. Anthony, convoked a general chapter of the order of Pisa at which his newly composed life of St. Francis was officially approved as the standard biography of the saint to the exclusion of all others. At this chapter of 1263, Bonaventure fixed the limits of the different provinces of the order and, among other ordinances, prescribed that at nightfall a bell should be rung in honour of the Annunciation, a pious practice from which the Angelus seems to have originated. There are no grounds, however, for the assertion that Bonaventure in this chapter prescribed the celebration of the feast of the Immaculate Conception in the order. In 1264, at the earnest request of Cardinal Cajetan, Bonaventure consented to resume the direction of the Poor Clares which the Chapter of Pisa had entirely renounced the year before. He required the Clares, however, to acknowledge occasionally in writing that the favours tendered them by the Friars were voluntary acts of charity not arising from any obligation whatsoever. It is said that Pope Urban IV acted at Bonaventure's suggestion in attempting to establish uniformity of observance throughout all the monasteries of Clares. About this time (1264) Bonaventure founded at Rome the Society of the Gonfalone in honour of the Blessed Virgin which, if not the first confraternity instituted in the Church, as some have claimed, was certainly one of the earliest. In 1265 Clement IV, by a Bull dated 23 November, nominated Bonaventure to the vacant Archbishopric of York, but the saint, in keeping with his singular humility, steadfastly refused this honour and the pope yielded.

In 1266 Bonaventure convened a general chapter in Paris at which, besides other enactments, it was decreed that all the "legends" of St. Francis written before that of Bonaventure should be forthwith destroyed, just as the Chapter of Narbonne had in 1260 ordered the destruction of all constitutions before those then enacted. This decree has excited much hostile criticism. Some would fain see in it a deliberate attempt on Bonaventure's part to close the primitive sources of Franciscan history, to suppress the real Francis, and substitute a counterfeit in his stead. Others, however, regard the decree in question as a purely liturgical ordinance intended to secure uniformity in the choir "legends". Between these two conflicting opinions the truth seems to be that this edict was nothing more than another heroic attempt to wipe out the old quarrels and start afresh. One cannot but regret the circumstances of this decree, but when it is recalled that the appeal of the contending parties was ever to the words and actions of St. Francis as recorded in the earlier "legends", it would be unjust to accuse the chapter of "literary vandalism" in seeking to proscribe the latter. We have no details of Bonaventure's life between 1266 and 1269. In the latter year he convoked his fourth general chapter at Assisi, in which it was enacted that a Mass be sung every Saturday throughout the order in honour of the Blessed Virgin, not, however, in honour of her Immaculate Conception as Wadding among others has erroneously stated. It was probably soon after this chapter that Bonaventure composed his "Apologia pauperum", in which he silences Gerard of Abbeville who by means of an anonymous libel had revived the old university feud against the Friars. Two years later, Bonaventure was mainly instrumental in reconciling the differences among the cardinals assembled at Viterbo to elect a successor to Clement IV, who had died nearly three years before; it was on Bonaventure's advice that, 1 September, 1271, they unanimously chose Theobald Visconti of Piacenza who took the title of Gregory X. That the cardinals seriously authorized Bonaventure to nominate himself, as some writers aver, is

most improbable. Nor is there any <u>truth</u> in the popular story that Bonaventure on arriving at <u>Viterbo</u> advised the citizens to lock up the <u>cardinals</u> with a view to hastening the election. In 1272 Bonaventure for the second time convened a general chapter at <u>Pisa</u> in which, apart from general enactments to further regular observances new decrees were issued respecting the direction of the <u>Poor Clares</u>, and a solemn anniversary was instituted on 25 August in memory of <u>St. Louis</u>. This was the first step towards the <u>canonization</u> of the holy king, who had been a special friend of Bonaventure, and at whose request Bonaventure composed his "Office of the Passion". On 23 June, 1273, Bonaventure, much against his will, was created <u>Cardinal-Bishop</u> of <u>Albano</u>, by <u>Gregory X</u>. It is said that the <u>pope's</u> envoys who brought him the <u>cardinal's</u> hat found the <u>saint</u> washing dishes outside a <u>convent</u> near Florence and were requested by him to hang it on a tree nearby until his hands were free to take it. Bonaventure continued to govern the <u>Order of Friars Minor</u> until 20 May, 1274, when at the General Chapter of <u>Lyons</u>, Jerome of Ascoli, afterwards <u>Nicholas IV</u>, was elected to succeed him. Meanwhile Bonaventure had been charged by <u>Gregory X</u> to prepare the questions to be discussed at the <u>Fourteenth Oecumenical Council</u>, which opened at <u>Lyons</u> 7 May, 1274.

The pope himself presided at the council, but he confided the direction of its deliberations to Bonaventure, especially charging him to confer with the Greeks on the points relating to the <u>abjuration</u> of their <u>schism</u>. It was largely due to Bonaventure's efforts and to those of the <u>Friars</u> whom he had sent to Constantinople, that the Greeks accepted the union effected 6 July, 1274. Bonaventure twice addressed the assembled Fathers, on 18 May, during a session of the Council, when he preached on Baruch 5:5, and on 29 June, during <u>pontifical Mass</u> celebrated by the pope. While the council was still in session, Bonaventure died, Sunday, 15 July, 1274. The exact cause of his death is unknown, but if we may credit the chronicle of Peregrinus of Bologna, Bonaventure's secretary, which has recently (1905) been recovered and edited, the <u>saint</u> was poisoned. He was <u>buried</u> on the evening following his death in the church of the <u>Friars Minor</u> at <u>Lyons</u>, being <u>honoured</u> with a splendid funeral which was attended by the pope, the King of <u>Aragon</u>, the <u>cardinals</u>, and the other members of the council. The funeral oration was delivered by Pietro di Tarantasia, O.P., <u>Cardinal-Bishop</u> of <u>Ostia</u>, afterwards <u>Innocent V</u>, and on the following day during the fifth session of the council, <u>Gregory X</u> spoke of the irreparable loss the <u>Church</u> had sustained by the death of Bonaventure, and commanded all <u>prelates</u> and <u>priests</u> throughout the whole world to celebrate <u>Mass</u> for the repose of his <u>soul</u>.

Bonaventure enjoyed especial veneration even during his lifetime because of his stainless character and of the miracles attributed to him. It was Alexander of Hales who said that Bonaventure seemed to have escaped the curse of Adam's sin. And the story of St. Thomas visiting Bonaventure's cell while the latter was writing the life of St. Francis and finding him in an ecstasy is well known. "Let us leave a saint to work for a saint", said the Angelic Doctor as he withdrew. When, in 1434, Bonaventure's remains were translated to the new church erected at Lyons in honour of St. Francis, his head was found in a perfect state of preservation, the tongue being as red as in life. This miracle not only moved the people of Lyons to choose Bonaventure as their special patron, but also gave a great impetus to the process of his canonization. Dante, writing long before, had given expression to the popular mind by placing Bonaventure among the saints in his "Paradiso", and no canonization was ever more ardently or universally desired than that of Bonaventure. That its inception was so long delayed was mainly due to the deplorable dissensions within the order after Bonaventure's death. Finally on 14 April, 1482, Bonaventure was enrolled in the catalogue of the saints by Sixtus IV. In 1562 Bonaventure's shrine was plundered by the Huguenots and the urn containing his body was burned in the public square. His head was preserved through the heroism of the superior, who hid it at the cost of his life but it disappeared during the French Revolution and every effort to discover it has been in vain. Bonaventure was inscribed among the principal Doctors of the Church by Sixtus V, 14 March, 1557. His feast is celebrated 14 July.

Bonaventure, as Hefele remarks, united in himself the two elements whence proceed whatever was noble and sublime, great and beautiful, in the <u>Middle Ages</u>, viz., tender <u>piety</u> and profound learning. These two qualities shine forth conspicuously in his writings. Bonaventure wrote on almost every subject treated by the <u>Schoolmen</u>, and his writings are very numerous. The greater number of them deal with philosophy and <u>theology</u>. No work of Bonaventure's is exclusively <u>philosophical</u>, but in his "Commentary on the Sentences", his "Breviloquium", his "Itinerarium Mentis in Deum" and his "De reductione Artium ad Theologiam", he deals with the most important

and difficult questions of philosophy in such a way that these four works taken together contain the elements of a complete system of philosophy, and at the same time bear striking witness to the mutual interpenetration of philosophy and theology which is a distinguishing mark of the Scholastic period. The Commentary on the "Sentences" remains without doubt Bonaventure's greatest work; all his other writings are in some way subservient to it. It was written, superiorum praecepto (at the command of his superiors) when he was only twenty-seven and is a theological achievement of the first rank. It comprises more than four thousand pages in folio and treats extensively and profoundly of God and the Trinity, the Creation and Fall of Man, the Incarnation and Redemption, Grace, the Sacraments, and the Last Judgment, that is to say, traverses the entire field of Scholastic theology. Like the other medieval Summas, Bonaventure's "Commentary" is divided into four books. In the first, second, and fourth Bonaventure can compete favourably with the best commentaries on the Sentences, but it is admitted that in the third book he surpasses all others. The "Breviloquium", written before 1257, is, as its name implies, a shorter work. It is to some extent a summary of the "Commentary" containing as Scheeben says, the quintessence of the theology of the time, and is the most sublime compendium of dogma in our possession. It is perhaps the work which will best give a popular notion of Bonaventure's theology; in it his powers are seen at their best. Whilst the "Breviloquium" derives all things from God, the "Itinerarium Mentis in Deum" proceeds in the opposite direction, bringing all things back to their Supreme End. The latter work, which formed the delight of Gerson for more than thirty years, and from which Bl. Henry Suso drew so largely, was written on Mount la Verna in 1259. The relation of the finite and infinite, the natural and supernatural, is again dealt with by Bonaventure, in his "De reductione Artium ad Theologiam", a little work written to demonstrate the relation which philosophy and the arts bear to theology, and to prove that they are all absorbed in it as into a natural centre. It must not be inferred, however, that philosophy in Bonaventure's view does not possess an existence of its own. The passages in Bonaventure's works on which such an opinion might be founded only go to prove that he did not regard philosophy as the chief or last end of scientific research and speculation. Moreover, it is only when compared with theology that he considers philosophy of an inferior order. Considered in itself, philosophy is, according to Bonaventure, a true science, prior in point of time to theology. Again, Bonaventure's pre-eminence as a mystic must not he suffered to overshadow his labours in the domain of philosophy, for he was undoubtedly one of the greatest philosophers of the Middle Ages.

Bonaventure's philosophy, no less than his theology, manifests his profound respect for tradition. He regarded new opinions with disfavour and ever strove to follow those generally received in his time. Thus, between the two great influences which determined the trend of Scholasticism about the middle of the thirteenth century, there can be no doubt that Bonaventure ever remained a faithful disciple of Augustine and always defended the teaching of that Doctor; yet he by no means repudiated the teaching of Aristotle. While basing his doctrine on that of the old school, Bonaventure borrowed not a little from the new. Though he severely criticized the defects of Aristotle, he is said to have quoted more frequently from the latter than any former Scholastic had done. Perhaps he inclined more, on the whole, to some general views of Plato than to those of Aristotle, but he cannot therefore be called a Platonist. Although he adopted the hylomorphic theory of matter and form, Bonaventure, following Alexander of Hales, whose Summa he appears to have had before him in composing his own works, does not limit matter to corporeal beings, but holds that one and the same kind of matter is the substratum of spiritual and corporeal beings alike. According to Bonaventure, materia prima is not a mere indeterminatum quid, but contains the rationes seminales infused by the Creator at the beginning, and tends towards the acquisition of those special forms which it ultimately assumes. The substantial form is not in Bonaventure's opinion, essentially, one, as St. Thomas taught. Another point in which Bonaventure, as representing the Franciscan school, is at variance with St. Thomas is that which concerns the possibility of creation from eternity. He declares that reason can demonstrate that the world was not created ab aeterno. In his system of ideology Bonaventure does not favour either the doctrine of Plato or that of the Ontologists. It is only by completely misunderstanding Bonaventure's teaching that any ontologistic interpretation can be read into it. For he is most emphatic in rejecting any direct or immediate vision of God or of His Divine attributes in this life. For the rest, the psychology of Bonaventure differs in no essential point from the common teaching of the Schoolmen. The same is true, as a whole, of his theology.

Bonaventure's theological writings may be classed under four heads: dogmatic, mystic, exegetical, and homiletic. His dogmatic teaching is found chiefly in his "Commentary on the Sentences" and in his "Breviloquium". Treating of the Incarnation, Bonaventure does not differ substantially from St. Thomas. In answer to the question: "Would the Incarnation have taken place if Adam had not sinned?", he answers in the negative. Again, notwithstanding his deep devotion to the Blessed Virgin, he favours the opinion which does not exempt her from original sin, quia magis consonat fidei pietati et sanctorum auctoritati. But Bonaventure's treatment of this question marked a distinct advance, and he did more perhaps than anyone before Scotus to clear the ground for its correct presentation. His treatise on the sacraments is largely practical and is characterized by a distinctly devotional element. This appears especially in his treatment of the Holy Eucharist. He rejects the doctrine of physical, and admits only a moral, efficacy in the sacraments. It is much to be regretted that Bonaventure's views on this and other controverted questions should be so often misrepresented, even by recent writers. For example, at, least three of the latest and best known manuals of dogma in treating of such questions as "De angelorum natura", "De scientia Christi", "De natura distinctionis inter caritatem et gratiam sanctificantem", "De causalitate sacramentorum", "De statu parvulorum sine baptismo morientium", gratuitously attribute opinions to Bonaventure which are entirely at variance with his real teaching. To be sure Bonaventure, like all the Scholastics, occasionally put forward opinions not strictly correct in regard to questions not yet defined or clearly settled, but even here his teaching represents the most profound and acceptable ideas of his age and marks a notable stage in the evolution of knowledge. Bonaventure's authority has always been very great in the Church. Apart from his personal influence at Lyons (1274), his writings carried great weight at the subsequent councils at Vienna (1311), Constance (1417), Basle (1435), and Florence (1438). At Trent (1546) his writings, as Newman remarks (Apologia, ch. v) had a critical effect on some of the definitions of dogma, and at the Vatican Council (1870), sentences from them were embodied in the decrees concerning papal supremacy and infallibility.

Only a small part of Bonaventure's writings is properly mystical. These are characterized by brevity and by a faithful adherence to the teaching of the Gospel. The perfecting of the soul by the uprooting of vice and the implanting of virtue is his chief concern. There is a degree of prayer in which ecstasy occurs. When it is attained, God is sincerely to be thanked. It must, however, be regarded only as incidental. It is by no means essential to the possession of perfection in the highest degree. Such is the general outline of Bonaventure's mysticism which is largely a continuation and development of what the St. Victors had already laid down. The shortest and most complete summary of it is found in his "De Triplici Via", often erroneously entitled the "Incendium Amoris", in which he distinguishes the different stages or degrees of perfect charity. What the "Breviloquium" is to Scholasticism, the "De Triplici Via" is to mysticism: a perfect compendium of all that is best in it. Savonarola made a pious and learned commentary upon it. Perhaps the best known of Bonaventure's other mystical and ascetical writings are the "Soliloquium", a sort of dialogue containing a rich collection of passages from the Fathers on spiritual questions; the "Lignum vitae", a series of forty-eight devout meditations on the life of Christ, the "De sex alis seraphim", a precious opuscule on the virtues of superiors, which Father Claudius Acquaviva caused to be printed separately and circulated throughout the Society of Jesus; the "Vitis mystica", a work on the Passion, which was for a long time erroneously ascribed to St. Bernard, and "De Perfectione vitae", a treatise which depicts the virtues that make for religious perfection, and which appears to have been written for the use of Blessed Isabella of France, who had founded a monastery of Poor Clares at Longchamps.

Bonaventure's <u>exegetical</u> works were highly esteemed in the <u>Middle Ages</u> and still remain a treasure house of thoughts and treatises. They include commentaries on the Books of Ecclesiastes and Wisdom and on the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John. In addition to his commentary on the <u>Fourth Gospel</u>, Bonaventure composed "Collationes in Joannem", ninety-one conferences on subjects relating to it. His "Collationes in Hexameron" is a work of the same kind, but its title, which did not originate with Bonaventure, is somewhat misleading. It consists of an unfinished course of instructions delivered at <u>Paris</u> in 1273. Bonaventure did not intend in these twenty-one discourses to explain the work of the six days, but rather to draw some analogous instructions from the first chapter of Genesis, as a warning to his auditors against some <u>errors</u> of the day. It is an exaggeration to say that Bonaventure had regard only to the mystical sense of Scripture. In such of his writings as are properly

<u>excegetical</u> he follows the text, though he also develops the practical conclusions <u>deduced</u> from it, for in the composition of these works he had the advantage of the preacher mainly in view. Bonaventure had conceived the most sublime <u>idea</u> of the ministry of preaching, and notwithstanding his manifold labours in other fields, this ministry ever held an especial place among his labours. He neglected no opportunity of preaching, whether to the <u>clergy</u>, the people, or his own <u>Friars</u>, and <u>Bl. Francis of Fabriano</u> (d. 1322), his contemporary and auditor, bears witness that Bonaventure's renown as a preacher almost surpassed his fame as a teacher. He preached before <u>popes</u> and kings, in <u>Spain</u> and <u>Germany</u>, as well as in <u>France</u> and <u>Italy</u>. Nearly five hundred authentic sermons of Bonaventure have come down to us; the greater part of them were delivered in <u>Paris</u> before the <u>university</u> while Bonaventure was professor there, or after he had become minister general. Most of them were taken down by some of his auditors and thus preserved to posterity. In his <u>sermons</u> he follows the <u>Scholastic</u> method of putting forth the divisions of his subject and then expounding each division according to the different senses.

Besides his philosophical and theological writings, Bonaventure left a number of works referring to the religious life, but more especially to the Franciscan Order. Among the latter is his well-known explanation of the Rule of the Friars Minor; in this work, written at a time when the dissensions within the order as to the observance of the Rule were so painfully marked, he adopted a conciliatory attitude, approving neither the interpretation of the Zelanti nor that of the Relaxati. His aim was to promote harmony in essentials. With this end in view, he had chosen a middle course at the outset and firmly adhered to it during the seventeen years of his generalship. If anyone could have succeeded in uniting the order, it would have been Bonaventure; but the via media proved impracticable, and Bonaventure's personality only served to hold in check the elements of discord, subsequently represented by the Conventuals and the Fraticelli. Following upon his explanation of the Rule comes Bonaventure's important treatise embodying the Constitutions of Narbonne already referred to. There is also an answer by Bonaventure to some questions concerning the Rule, a treatise on the guidance of novices, and an opuscule in which Bonaventure states why the Friars Minor preach and hear confessions, besides a number of letters which give us a special insight into the saint's character. These include official letters written by Bonaventure as general to the superiors of the order, as well as personal letters addressed like that "Ad innominatum magistrum" to private individuals. Bonaventure's beautiful "Legend" or life of St. Francis completes the writings in which he strove to promote the spiritual welfare of his brethren. This well-known work is composed of two parts of very unequal value. In the first Bonaventure publishes the unedited facts that he had been able to gather at Assisi and elsewhere; in the other he merely abridges and repeats what others, and especially Celano, had already recorded. As a whole, it is essentially a *legenda pacis*, compiled mainly with a view to pacifying the unhappy discord still rayaging the order. St. Bonaventure's aim was to present a general portrait of the holy founder which, by the omission of certain points that had given rise to controversy, should be acceptable to all parties. This aim was surely legitimate even though from a critical standpoint the work may not be a perfect biography. Of this "Legenda Major", as it came to be called, Bonaventure made an abridgment arranged for use in choir and known as the "Legenda Minor".

Bonaventure was the <u>true</u> heir and follower of <u>Alexander of Hales</u> and the continuator of the old <u>Franciscan</u> <u>school</u> founded by the *Doctor Irrefragabilis*, but he surpassed the latter in acumen, fertility of <u>imagination</u>, and originality of expression. His proper place is beside his friend <u>St. Thomas</u>, as they are the two greatest <u>theologians</u> of <u>Scholasticism</u>. If it be <u>true</u> that the system of <u>St. Thomas</u> is more finished than that of Bonaventure, it should be borne in mind that, whereas Thomas was free to give himself to study to the end of his days, Bonaventure had not yet received the Doctor's degree when he was called to govern his order and overwhelmed with multifarious cares in consequence. The heavy responsibilities which he bore till within a few weeks of his death were almost incompatible with further study and even precluded his completing what he had begun before his thirty-sixth year. Again, in attempting to make a comparison between Bonaventure and <u>St. Thomas</u>, we should remember that the two <u>saints</u> were of a different bent of mind; each had qualities in which he excelled; one was in a sense the complement of the other; one supplied what the other lacked. Thus Thomas was analytical, Bonaventure synthetical; Thomas was the <u>Christian Aristotle</u>, Bonaventure the <u>true</u> disciple of <u>Augustine</u>; Thomas was the teacher of the <u>schools</u>, Bonaventure of practical life; Thomas enlightened the mind, Bonaventure inflamed the heart; Thomas extended the <u>Kingdom of God</u> by the <u>love</u> of <u>theology</u>, Bonaventure

by the theology of love. Even those who hold that Bonaventure does not reach the level of St. Thomas in the sphere of Scholastic speculation concede that as a mystic he far surpasses the Angelic Doctor. In this particular realm of theology, Bonaventure equals, if he does not excel, St. Bernard himself. Leo XIII rightly calls Bonaventure the Prince of Mystics: "Having scaled the difficult heights of speculation in a most notable manner, he treated of mystical theology with such perfection that in the common opinion of the learned he is facile princeps in that field." (Allocutio of 11 October, 1890.) It must not be concluded, however, that Bonaventure's mystical writings constitute his chief title to fame. This conclusion, in so far as it seems to imply a deprecation of his labours in the field of Scholasticism, is opposed to the explicit utterances of several pontiffs and eminent scholars, is incompatible with Bonaventure's acknowledged reputation in the Schools, and is excluded by an intelligent perusal of his works. As a matter of fact, the half of one volume of the ten comprising the Quaracchi edition suffices to contain Bonaventure's ascetic and mystic writings. Although Bonaventure's mystical works alone would suffice to place him in the foremost rank, yet he may justly be called a mystic rather than a Scholastic only in so far as every subject he treats of is made ultimately to converge upon God. This abiding sense of God's presence which pervades all the writings of Bonaventure is perhaps their fundamental attribute. To it we may trace that all-pervading unction which is their peculiar characteristic. As Sixtus V aptly expresses it: "In writing he united to the highest erudition an equal amount of the most ardent piety: so that whilst enlightening his readers he also touched their hearts penetrating to the inmost recesses of their souls" (Bull, Triumphantis Jerusalem). St. Antoninus, Denis the Carthusian, Louis of Granada, and Father Claude de la Colombière, among others, have also noted this feature of Bonaventure's writings. Invariably he aims at arousing devotion as well as imparting knowledge. He never divorces the one from the other, but treats learned subjects devoutly and devout subjects learnedly. Bonaventure, however, never sacrifices truth to devotion, but his tendency to prefer an opinion which arouses devotion to a dry and uncertain speculation may go far towards explaining not a little of the widespread popularity his writings enjoyed among his contemporaries and all succeeding ages. Again Bonaventure is distinguished from the other Scholastics not only by the greater warmth of his religious teaching, but also by its practical tendency as Trithemius notes (Scriptores Eccles.). Many purely speculative questions are passed over by Bonaventure; there is a directness about all he has written. No useful purpose, he declares, is achieved by mere controversy. He is ever tolerant and modest. Thus while he himself accepts the literal interpretations of the first chapter of Genesis, Bonaventure acknowledges the admissibility of a different one and refers with admiration to the figurative explanation propounded by St. Augustine. He never condemns the opinions of others and emphatically disclaims anything like finality for his own views. Indeed he asserts the littleness of his authority, renounces all claims to originality and calls himself a "poor compiler". No doubt Bonaventure's works betray some of the defects of the learning of his day, but there is nothing in them that savours of useless subtlety. "One does not find in his pages", notes Gerson (De Examin. Doctrin.) "vain trifles or useless cavils, nor does he mix as do so many others, worldly digressions with serious theological discussions. "This", he adds, "is the reason why St. Bonaventure has been abandoned by those Scholastics who are devoid of piety, of whom the number is alas! but too large". It has been said that Bonaventure's mystical spirit unfitted him for subtle analysis. Be this as it may, one of the greatest charms of Bonaventure's writings is their simple clearness. Though he had necessarily to make use of the Scholastic method, he rose above dialectics, and though his argumentation may at times seem too cumbersome to find approval in our time, yet he writes with an ease and grace of style which one seeks in vain among the other Schoolmen. To the minds of his contemporaries impregnated with the mysticism of the Middle Ages, the spirit that breathed in Bonaventure's writings seemed to find its parallel only in the lives of those that stand nearest to the Throne, and the title of "Seraphic Doctor" bestowed upon Bonaventure is an undeniable tribute to his all-absorbing love for God. This title seems to have been first given to him in 1333 in the Prologue of the "Pantheologia" by Raynor of Pisa, O.P. He had already received while teaching in Paris the name of Doctor Devotus.

The <u>Franciscan Order</u> has ever regarded Bonaventure as one of the greatest <u>Doctors</u> and from the beginning his teaching found many distinguished expositors within the order, among the earliest being his own pupils, John Peckham later <u>Archbishop</u> of <u>Canterbury</u>, <u>Matthew of Aquasparta</u>, and Alexander of Alexandria (d. 1314), both of whom became ministers general of the order. The last named wrote a "Summa quaestionum S. Bonaventura. Other well-known commentaries are by John of Erfurt (d. 1317), Verilongus (d. 1464), Brulifer (d. c. 1497), de

Combes (d. 1570), Trigosus (d. 1616), Coriolano (d. 1625), Zamora (d. 1649), Bontemps (d. 1672), <u>Hauzeur</u> (d. 1676), Bonelli (d. 1773), etc. From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century the influence of Bonaventure was undoubtedly somewhat overshadowed by that of <u>Duns Scotus</u>, owing largely to the prominence of the latter as champion of the <u>Immaculate Conception</u> in the disputes between the <u>Franciscans</u> and <u>Dominicans</u>. <u>Sixtus V</u>, however, founded a special chair at <u>Rome</u> for the study of St. Bonaventure; such chairs also existed in several <u>universities</u>, notably at <u>Ingolstadt</u>, <u>Salzburg</u>, <u>Valencia</u>, and Osuna. It is worthy of note that the <u>Capuchins</u> forbade their Friars to follow <u>Scotus</u> and ordered them to return to the study of St. Bonaventure. The centenary celebrations of 1874 appear to have revived interest in the life and work of St. Bonaventure. Certain it is that since then the study of his writings has steadily increased.

Unfortunately not all of Bonaventure's writings have come down to us. Some were lost before the invention of printing. On the other hand, several works have in the course of time been attributed to him which are not his. Such are the "Centiloquium", the "Speculum Disciplinæ", which is probably the work of Bernard of Besse, Bonaventure's secretary; the rhythmical "Philomela", which seems to be from the pen of John Peckham; the "Stimulus Amoris" and the "Speculum B.V.M.", written respectively by James of Milan and Conrad of Saxony; "The Legend of St. Clare", which is by Thomas of Celano; the "Meditationes vitae Christi" composed by a Friar Minor for a Poor Clare, and the "Biblia pauperum" of the Dominican Nicholas of Hanapis. Those familiar with the catalogues of European libraries are aware that no writer since the Middle Ages had been more widely read or copied than Bonaventure. The earliest catalogues of his works are those given by Salimbene (1282), Henry of Ghent (d. 1293), Ubertino of Casale (1305), Ptolemy of Lucca (1327) and the "Chronicle of the XXIV Generals" (1368). The fifteenth century saw no less than fifty editions of Bonaventure's works. More celebrated than any preceding edition was that published at Rome (1588-96) by order of Sixtus V (7 vols. in fol.). It was reprinted with but slight emendations at Metz in 1609 and at Lyons in 1678. A fourth edition appeared at Venice (13 vols. in 4to) 1751, and was reprinted at Paris in 1864. All these editions were very imperfect in so far as they include spurious works and omit genuine ones. They have been completely superseded by the celebrated critical edition published by the Friars Minor at Ouaracchi, near Florence. Any scientific study of Bonaventure must be based upon this edition, upon which not only Leo XIII (13 December, 1885) and Pius X (11 April, 1904), but scholars of all creeds have lavished the highest encomiums. Nothing seems to have been omitted which could make this edition perfect and complete. In its preparation the editors visited over 400 libraries and examined nearly 52,000 manuscripts, while the first volume alone contains 20,000 variant readings. It was commenced by Father Fidelis a Fanna (d. 1881) and completed by Father Ignatius Jeiler (d. 1904): "Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventuræ S. H. B. Episcopi Cardinalis Opera Omnia, — edita studio et cura P. P. Collegii S. Bonaventura in fol. ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi] 1882-1902". In this edition the works of the saint are distributed through the ten volumes as follows: the first four contain his great "Commentaries on the Book of Sentences": the fifth comprises eight smaller scholastic works such as the "Breviloquium" and "Itinerarium"; the sixth and seventh are devoted to his commentaries on Scripture; the eighth contains his mystical and ascetic writings and works having special reference to the order; the ninth his sermons; whilst the tenth is taken up with the index and a short sketch of the saint's life and writings by Father Ignatius Jeiler.

We do not possess any formal, contemporary biography of St. Bonaventure. That written by the Spanish <u>Franciscan</u>, Zamorra, who flourished before 1300, has not been preserved. The references to Bonaventure's life contained in the works of <u>Salimbene</u> (1282), <u>Bernard of Besse</u> (c. 1380), <u>Bl. Francis of Fabriano</u> (d. 1322), Angelo Clareno (d. 1337), <u>Ubertino of Casale</u> (d. 1338), <u>Bartholomew of Pisa</u> (d. 1399) and the "Chronicle of the XXIV Generals" (c. 1368), are in vol. X of the Quaracchi Edition (pp. 39-72).

Saint Catherine of Siena (1347-80) Added by Pope Paul VI in 1970

Dominican Tertiary, born at Siena, 25 March, 1347; died at Rome, 29 April, 1380.

She was the youngest but one of a very large family. Her father, Giacomo di Benincasa, was a dyer; her mother, Lapa, the daughter of a local poet. They belonged to the lower middle-class faction of tradesmen and petty notaries, known as "the Party of the Twelve", which between one revolution and another ruled the Republic of Siena from 1355 to 1368. From her earliest childhood Catherine began to see visions and to practise extreme austerities. At the age of seven she consecrated her virginity to Christ; in her sixteenth year she took the habit of the Dominican Tertiaries, and renewed the life of the anchorites of the desert in a little room in her father's house. After three years of celestial visitations and familiar conversation with Christ, she underwent the mystical experience known as the "spiritual espousals", probably during the carnival of 1366. She now rejoined her family, began to tend the sick, especially those afflicted with the most repulsive diseases, to serve the poor, and to labour for the conversion of sinners. Though always suffering terrible physical pain, living for long intervals on practically no food save the Blessed Sacrament, she was ever radiantly happy and full of practical wisdom no less than the highest spiritual insight. All her contemporaries bear witness to her extraordinary personal charm, which prevailed over the continual persecution to which she was subjected even by the friars of her own order and by her sisters in religion. She began to gather disciples round her, both men and women, who formed a wonderful spiritual fellowship, united to her by the bonds of mystical love. During the summer of 1370 she received a series of special manifestations of Divine mysteries, which culminated in a prolonged trance, a kind of mystical death, in which she had a vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, and heard a Divine command to leave her cell and enter the public life of the world. She began to dispatch letters to men and women in every condition of life, entered into correspondence with the princes and republics of Italy, was consulted by the papal legates about the affairs of the Church, and set herself to heal the wounds of her native land by staying the fury of civil war and the ravages of faction. She implored the pope, Gregory XI, to leave Avignon, to reform the clergy and the administration of the Papal States, and ardently threw herself into his design for a crusade, in the hopes of uniting the powers of Christendom against the infidels, and restoring peace to Italy by delivering her from the wandering companies of mercenary soldiers. While at Pisa, on the fourth Sunday of Lent, 1375, she received the Stigmata, although, at her special prayer, the marks did not appear outwardly in her body while she lived.

Mainly through the misgovernment of the papal officials, war broke out between Florence and the Holy See, and almost the whole of the Papal States rose in insurrection. Catherine had already been sent on a mission from the pope to secure the neutrality of Pisa and Lucca. In June, 1376, she went to Avignon as ambassador of the Florentines, to make their peace; but, either through the bad faith of the republic or through a misunderstanding caused by the frequent changes in its government, she was unsuccessful. Nevertheless she made such a profound impression upon the mind of the pope, that, in spite of the opposition of the French king and almost the whole of the Sacred College, he returned to Rome (17 January, 1377). Catherine spent the greater part of 1377 in effecting a wonderful spiritual revival in the country districts subject to the Republic of Siena, and it was at this time that she miraculously learned to write, though she still seems to have chiefly relied upon her secretaries for her correspondence. Early in 1378 she was sent by Pope Gregory to Florence, to make a fresh effort for peace. Unfortunately, through the factious conduct of her Florentine associates, she became involved in the internal politics of the city, and during a popular tumult (22 June) an attempt was made upon her life. She was bitterly disappointed at her escape, declaring that her sins had deprived her of the red rose of martyrdom. Nevertheless, during the disastrous revolution known as "the tumult of the Ciompi", she still remained at Florence or in its territory until, at the beginning of August, news reached the city that peace had been signed between the republic and the new pope. Catherine then instantly returned to Siena, where she passed a few months of comparative quiet, dictating her "Dialogue", the book of her meditations and revelations.

In the meanwhile the <u>Great Schism</u> had broken out in the <u>Church</u>. From the outset Catherine enthusiastically adhered to the <u>Roman</u> claimant, <u>Urban VI</u>, who in November, 1378, summoned her to <u>Rome</u>. In the <u>Eternal</u> <u>City</u> she spent what remained of her life, working strenuously for the reformation of the <u>Church</u>, serving the <u>destitute</u> and afflicted, and dispatching eloquent letters in behalf of <u>Urban</u> to high and low in all directions. Her strength was rapidly being consumed; she besought her <u>Divine Bridegroom</u> to let her bear the punishment for all the <u>sins</u> of the world, and to receive the <u>sacrifice</u> of her body for the <u>unity</u> and renovation of the <u>Church</u>; at last it seemed to her that the Bark of <u>Peter</u> was laid upon her shoulders, and that it was crushing her to death

with its weight. After a prolonged and mysterious agony of three months, endured by her with supreme <u>exultation and delight</u>, from <u>Sexagesima Sunday</u> until the <u>Sunday</u> before the <u>Ascension</u>, she died. Her last political work, accomplished practically from her death-bed, was the reconciliation of <u>Pope Urban VI</u> with the Roman Republic (1380).

Among Catherine's principal followers were Fra Raimondo delle Vigne, of <u>Capua</u> (d. 1399), her confessor and biographer, afterwards General of the <u>Dominicans</u>, and Stefano di Corrado Maconi (d. 1424), who had been one of her secretaries, and became <u>Prior General</u> of the <u>Carthusians</u>. Raimondo's book, the "Legend", was finished in 1395. A second life of her, the "Supplement", was written a few years later by another of her associates, Fra Tomaso Caffarini (d. 1434), who also composed the "Minor Legend", which was translated into <u>Italian</u> by Stefano Maconi. Between 1411 and 1413 the depositions of the surviving witnesses of her life and work were collected at <u>Venice</u>, to form the famous "Process". Catherine was <u>canonized</u> by <u>Pius II</u> in 1461. The emblems by which she is known in <u>Christian art</u> are the lily and book, the <u>crown of thorns</u>, or sometimes a heart--referring to the <u>legend</u> of her having changed hearts with <u>Christ</u>. Her principal <u>feast</u> is on the 30th of April, but it is popularly celebrated in <u>Siena</u> on the <u>Sunday</u> following. The <u>feast</u> of her <u>Espousals</u> is kept on the Thursday of the carnival.

The works of St. Catherine of Siena rank among the classics of the <u>Italian language</u>, written in the beautiful <u>Tuscan</u> vernacular of the fourteenth century. Notwithstanding the existence of many excellent <u>manuscripts</u>, the printed editions present the text in a frequently mutilated and most unsatisfactory condition. Her writings consist of

- the "Dialogue", or "Treatise on <u>Divine Providence</u>";
- a collection of nearly four hundred letters; and
- a series of "Prayers".

The "Dialogue" especially, which treats of the whole spiritual life of <u>man</u> in the form of a series of colloquies between the <u>Eternal Father</u> and the <u>human soul</u> (represented by Catherine herself), is the <u>mystical</u> counterpart in prose of <u>Dante's</u> "Divina Commedia".

A smaller work in the dialogue form, the "Treatise on Consummate Perfection", is also ascribed to her, but is probably spurious. It is impossible in a few words to give an adequate conception of the manifold character and contents of the "Letters", which are the most complete expression of Catherine's many-sided personality. While those addressed to popes and sovereigns, rulers of republics and leaders of armies, are documents of priceless value to students of <u>history</u>, many of those written to private citizens, men and <u>women</u> in the <u>cloister</u> or in the world, are as fresh and illuminating, as wise and practical in their advice and guidance for the devout <u>Catholic</u> today as they were for those who sought her counsel while she lived. Others, again, lead the reader to <u>mystical</u> heights of <u>contemplation</u>, a rarefied atmosphere of <u>sanctity</u> in which only the few privileged spirits can hope to dwell. The key-note to Catherine's teaching is that <u>man</u>, whether in the <u>cloister</u> or in the world, must ever abide in the cell of self-knowledge, which is the stable in which the traveller through <u>time</u> to <u>eternity</u> must be born again.

Saint Cyril of Alexandria (376-444)

Added by Pope Leo XIII in 1883

<u>Doctor of the Church</u>. St. Cyril has his feast in the <u>Western Church</u> on the 28th of January; in the Greek Menaea it is found on the 9th of June, and (together with <u>St. Athanasius</u>) on the 18th of January.

He seems to have been of an Alexandrian <u>family</u> and was the son of the brother of Theophilus, <u>Patriarch</u> of <u>Alexandria</u>; if he is the Cyril addressed by <u>Isidore of Pelusium</u> in Ep. xxv of Bk. I, he was for a time a <u>monk</u>. He

accompanied Theophilus to Constantinople when that bishop held the "Synod of the Oak" in 402 and deposed St. John Chrysostom. Theophilus died 15 Oct., 412, and on the 18th Cyril was consecrated his uncle's successor, but only after a riot between his supporters and those of his rival Timotheus. Socrates complains bitterly that one of his first acts was to plunder and shut the churches of the Novatians. He also drove out of Alexandria the Jews, who had formed a flourishing community there since Alexander the Great. But they had caused tumults and had massacred the Christians, to defend whom Cyril himself assembled a mob. This may have been the only possible defence, since the Prefect of Egypt, Orestes, who was very angry at the expulsion of the Jews was also jealous of the power of Cyril, which certainly rivaled his own. Five hundred monks came down from Nitria to defend the patriarch. In a disturbance which arose, Orestes was wounded in the head by a stone thrown by a monk named Ammonius. The prefect had Ammonius tortured to death, and the young and fiery patriarch honoured his remains for a time as those of a martyr. The Alexandians were always riotous as we learn from Socrates (VII, vii) and from St. Cvril himself (Hom, for Easter, 419). In one of these riots, in 422, the prefect Callistus was killed, and in another was committed the murder of a female philosopher Hypatia, a highlyrespected teacher of neo-Platoism, of advanced age and (it is said) many virtues. She was a friend of Orestes, and many believed that she prevented a reconciliation between the prefect and patriarch. A mob led by a lector, named Peter, dragged her to a church and tore her flesh with potsherds till she died. This brought great disgrace, says Socrates, on the Church of Alexandria and on its bishop; but a lector at Alexandria was not a cleric (Scr., V, xxii), and Socrates does not suggest that Cyril himself was to blame. Damascius, indeed, accuses him, but he is a late authority and a hater of Christians.

Theophilus, the persecutor of <u>Chrysostom</u>, had not the privilege of communion with <u>Rome</u> from that saint's death, in 406, until his own. For some years Cyril also refused to insert the name of <u>St. Chrysostom</u> in the <u>diptychs</u> of his Church, in spite of the requests of <u>Chrysostom's</u> supplanter, Atticus. Later he seems to have yielded to the representations of his spiritual father, <u>Isidore of Pelusium</u> (Isid., Ep. I, 370). Yet even after the Council of Ephesus that saint still found something to rebuke in him on this matter (Ep. I, 310). But at last Cyril seems to have long since been trusted by <u>Rome</u>.

It was in the winter of 427-28 that the Antiochene Nestorius became Patriarch of Constantinople. His heretical teaching soon became known to Cyril. Against him Cyril taught the use of the term *Theotokus* in his Paschal letter for 429 and in a letter to the monks of Egypt. A correspondence with Nestorius followed, in a more moderate tone than might have been expected. Nestorius sent his sermons to Pope Celestine, but he received no reply, for the latter wrote to St. Cyril for further information. Rome had taken the side of St. John Chrysostom against Theophilus, but had neither censured the <u>orthodoxy</u> of the latter, nor consented to the patriarchal powers exercised by the bishops of Constantinople. To St. Celestine Cyril was not only the first prelate of the East, he was also the inheritor of the traditions of <u>Athanasius</u> and Peter. The pope's confidence was not misplaced. Cyril had learnt prudence. Peter had attempted unsuccessfully to appoint a <u>Bishop</u> of Constantinople; Theophilus had deposed another. Cyril, though in this case Alexandria was in the right, does not act in his own name, but denounces Nestorius to St. Celestine, since ancient custom, he says, persuaded him to bring the matter before the pope. He relates all that had occurred, and begs Celestine to <u>decree</u> what he sees fit (*typosai to dokoun--a* phrase which Dr. Bright chooses to weaken into "formulate his opinion"), and communicate it also to the Bishops of <u>Macedonia</u> and of the East (i.e. the Antiochene Patriarchate).

The <u>pope's</u> reply was of astonishing severity. He had already commissioned Cassian to write his well known treatise on the Incarnation. He now summoned a council (such Roman councils had somewhat the office of the modern <u>Roman Congregations</u>), and dispatched a letter to Alexandria with enclosures to Constantinople, <u>Philippi, Jerusalem</u>, and Antioch. Cyril is to take to himself the authority of the <u>Roman See</u> and to admonish Nestorius that unless he recants within ten days from the receipt of this ultimatum, he is separated from "our body" (the <u>popes</u> of the day had the habit of speaking of the other churches as the members, of which they are the head; the body is, of course the <u>Catholic Church</u>). If Nestorius does not submit, Cyril is to "provide for" the <u>Church</u> of Constantinople. Such a sentence of <u>excommunication</u> and deposition is not to be confounded with the mere withdrawal of actual communion by the <u>popes</u> from Cyril himself at an earlier date, from Theophilus, or, in <u>Antioch</u>, from <u>Flavian</u> or Meletius. It was the <u>decree</u> Cyril had asked for. As Cyril had twice written to

Nestorius, his citation in the name of the <u>pope</u> is to be counted as a third warning, after which no grace is to be given.

St. Cyril summoned a council of his suffragans, and composed a letter which were appended twelve propositions for Nestorius to anathematize. The epistle was not conciliatory, and Nestorius may well have been taken aback. The twelve propositions did not emanate from Rome, and were not equally clear; one or two of them were later among the authorities invoked by the Monophysite heretics in their own favour. Cyril was the head of the rival theological school to that of Antioch, where Nestorius had studied, and was the hereditary rival of the Constantinopolitan would-be patriarch. Cyril wrote also to John, Patriarch of Antioch, informing him of the facts, and insinuating that if John should support his old friend Nestorius, he would find himself isolated over against Rome, Macedonia, and Egypt. John took the hint and urged Nestorius to yield. Meanwhile, in Constantinople itself large numbers of the people held aloof from Nestorius, and the Emperor Theodosius II had been persuaded to summon a general council to meet at Ephesus. The imperial letters were dispatched 19 November, whereas the bishops sent by Cyril arrived at Constantinople only on 7 December. Nestorius, somewhat naturally, refused to accept the message sent by his rival, and on the 13th and 14th of December preached publicly against Cyril as a calumniator, and as having used bribes (which was probably as true as it was usual); but he declared himself willing to use the word Theotokos. These sermons he sent to John of Antioch, who preferred them to the anathematizations of Cyril. Nestorius, however, issued twelve propositions with appended <u>anathemas</u>. If Cyril's propositions might be taken to deny the two natures in Christ, those of Nestorius hardly veiled his belief in two distinct persons. Theodoret urged John yet further, and wrote a treatise against Cyril, to which the latter replied with some warmth. He also wrote an "Answer" in five books to the sermons of Nestorius.

As the fifteenth-century <u>idea</u> of an oecumenical council superior to the <u>pope</u> had yet to be invented, and there was but one precedent for such an assembly, we need not be surprised that St. Celestine welcomed the initiative of the emperor, and hoped for peace through the assembly. (See <u>COUNCIL OF EPHESUS</u>.) Nestorius found the churches of Ephesus closed to him, when he arrived with the imperial commissioner, Count Candidian, and his own friend, Count <u>Irenaeus</u>. Cyril came with fifty of his <u>bishops</u>. Palestine, Crete, <u>Asia Minor</u>, and Greece added their quotient. But John of Antioch and his suffragans were delayed. Cyril may have believed, rightly or wrongly, that John did not wish to be present at the trial of his friend Nestorius, or that he wished to gain time for him, and he opened the council without John, on 22 June, in spite of the request of sixty-eight <u>bishops</u> for a delay. This was an initial <u>error</u>, which had disastrous results.

The legates from Rome had not arrived, so that Cyril had no answer to the letter he had written to Celestine asking "whether the holy synod should receive a man who condemned what it preached, or, because the time of delay had elapsed, whether the sentence was still in force". Cyril might have presumed that the pope, in agreeing to send legates to the council, intended Nestorius to have a complete trial, but it was more convenient to assume that the Roman ultimatum had not been suspended, and that the council was bound by it. He therefore took the place of president, not only as the highest of rank, but also as still holding the place of Celestine, though he cannot have received any fresh commission from the pope. Nestorius was summoned, in order that he might explain his neglect of Cyril's former monition in the name of the pope. He refused to receive the four bishops whom the council sent to him. Consequently nothing remained but formal procedure. For the council was bound by the canons to depose Nestorius for contumacy, as he would not appear, and by the letter of Celestine to condemn him for heresy, as he had not recanted. The correspondence between Rome, Alexandria, and Constantinople was read, some testimonies where read from earlier writers show the errors of Nestorius. The second letter of Cyril to Nestorius was approved by all the bishops. The reply of Nestorius was condemned. No discussion took place. The letter of Cyril and the ten anathemaizations raised no comment. All was concluded at one sitting. The council declared that it was "of necessity impelled" by the canons and by the letter of Celestine to declare Nestorius deposed and excommunicated. The papal legates, who had been detained by bad weather, arrived on the 10th of July, and they solemnly confirmed the sentence by the authority of St. Peter, for the refusal of Nestorius to appear had made useless the permission which they brought from the pope to grant him forgiveness if he should repent. But meanwhile John of Antioch and his party had arrived on the 26th

and 27th of June. They formed themselves into a rival council of forty-three <u>bishops</u>, and deposed Memnon, <u>Bishop</u> of Ephesus, and St. Cyril, accusing the latter of <u>Apollinarianism</u> and even of <u>Eunomianism</u>. Both parties now appealed to the emperor, who took the amazing decision of sending a count to treat Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon as being all three lawfully deposed. They were kept in close custody; but eventually the emperor took the <u>orthodox</u> view, though he dissolved the council; Cyril was allowed to return to his <u>diocese</u>, and Nestorius went into retirement at Antioch. Later he was banished to the Great Oasis of <u>Egypt</u>.

Meanwhile Pope Celestine was dead. His successor, <u>St. Sixtus III</u>, confirmed the council and attempted to get <u>John of Antioch</u> to <u>anathematize</u> Nestorius. For some time the strongest opponent of Cyril was Theodoret, but eventually he approved a letter of Cyril to Acacius of Berhoea. John sent Paul, <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Emesa</u>, as his plenipotentiary to Alexandria, and he patched up reconciliation with Cyril. Though Theodoret still refused to denounce the defence of Nestorius, John did so, and Cyril declared his joy in a letter to John. <u>Isidore of Pelusium</u> was now afraid that the impulsive Cyril might have yielded too much (Ep. i, 334). The great patriarch composed many further treatises, dogmatic letters, and sermons. He died on the 9th or the 27th of June, 444, after an episcopate of nearly thirty-two years.

St. Cyril as a theologian

The principal fame of St. Cyril rests upon his defence of Catholic doctrine against Nestorius. That heretic was undoubtedly confused and uncertain. He wished, against Apollinarius, to teach that Christ was a perfect man, and he took the denial of a human personality in Our Lord to imply an Apollinarian incompleteness in His Human Nature. The union of the human and the Divine natures was therefore to Nestorius an unspeakably close junction, but not a union in one hypostasis. St. Cyril taught the personal, or hypostatic, union in the plainest terms; and when his writings are surveyed as a whole, it becomes certain that he always held the true view, that the one Christ has two perfect and distinct natures, Divine and human. But he would not admit two physeis in Christ, because he took physis to imply not merely a nature but a subsistent (i.e. personal) nature. His opponents misrepresented him as teaching that the Divine person suffered, in His human nature; and he was constantly accused of Apollinarianism. On the other hand, after his death Monophysitism was founded upon a misinterpretation of his teaching. Especially unfortunate was the formula "one nature incarnate of God the Word" (*mia physis tou Theou Logou sesarkomene*), which he took from a treatise on the Incarnation which he believed to be by his great predecessor St. Athanasius. By this phrase he intended simply to emphasize against Nestorius the unity of Christ's Person; but the words in fact expressed equally the single Nature taught by Eutyches and by his own successor Diascurus. He brings out admirably the necessity of the full doctrine of the humanity to God, to explain the scheme of the redemption of man. He argues that the flesh of Christ is truly the flesh of God, in that it is life-giving in the Holy Eucharist. In the richness and depth of his philosophical and devotional treatment of the Incarnation we recognize the disciple of Athanasius. But the precision of his language, and perhaps of his thought also, is very far behind that which St. Leo developed a few years after Cyril's death.

Cyril was a man of great <u>courage</u> and force of character. We can often discern that his natural vehemence was repressed and schooled, and he listened with <u>humility</u> to the severe admonitions of his master and advisor, <u>St.</u><u>Isidore</u>. As a <u>theologian</u>, he is one of the great writers and thinkers of early times. Yet the troubles that arose out of the Council of Ephesus were due to his impulsive action; more patience and diplomacy might possibly even have prevented the vast <u>Nestorian sect</u> from arising at all. In spite of his own firm grasp of the <u>truth</u>, the whole of his patriarch fell away, a few years after his time, into a <u>heresy</u> based on his writings, and could never be regained by the <u>Catholic Faith</u>. But he has always been greatly <u>venerated</u> in the <u>Church</u>. His letters, especially the second letter to Nestorius, were not only approved by the Council of Ephesus, but by many subsequent councils, and have frequently been appealed to as tests of <u>orthodoxy</u>. In the East he was always <u>honoured</u> as one of the greatest of the Doctors. His <u>Mass</u> and <u>Office</u> as a <u>Doctor of the Church</u> were approved by <u>Leo XIII</u> in 1883.

His writings

The <u>exegetical</u> works of St. Cyril are very numerous. The seventeen books "On Adoration in Spirit and in Truth" are an exposition of the typical and spiritual nature of the <u>Old Law</u>. The *Glaphyra* or "brilliant", Commentaries on <u>Pentateuch</u> are of the same nature. Long explanations of Isaias and of the minor Prophets give a mystical interpretation after the Alexandrian manner. Only fragments are extant of other works on the <u>Old Testament</u>, as well as of expositions of Matthew, Luke, and some of the Epistles, but of that of St. Luke much is preserved in a Syriac version. Of St. Cyril's sermons and letters the most interesting are those which concern the <u>Nestorian</u> controversy. Of a great apologetic work in the twenty books against <u>Julian the Apostate</u> ten books remain. Among his <u>theological</u> treatises we have two large works and one small one on the <u>Holy Trinity</u>, and a number of treatises and tracts belonging to the <u>Nestorian</u> controversy.

The first collected edition of St. Cyril's works was by J. Aubert, 7 vols., Paris, 1638; several earlier editions of some portions in Latin only are enumerated by Fabricius. Cardinal Mai added more material in the second and third volumes of his "Bibliotheca nova Patrum", II-III, 1852; this is incorporated, together with much matter from the Catenæ published by Ghislerius (1633), Corderius, Possinus, and Cranor (1838), in Migne's reprint of Aubert's edition (P.G. LXVIII-LXVII, Paris, 1864). Better editions of single works include P. E. Pusey, "Cyrilli Alex. Epistolae tres oecumenicae, libri V c. Nestorium, XII capitum explanatio, XII capitum defensio utraque scholia de Incarnatione Unigeniti" (Oxford, 1875); "De recta fide ad principissas de recta fide ad Augustas, quad unus Christus, dialogus apologeticus ad Imp." (Oxford, 1877); "Cyrilli Alex. in XII Prophetas" (Oxford, 1868, 2 vols.); "In divi Joannis Evangelium" (Oxford, 1872, 3 vols., including the fragments on the Epistles). "Three Epistles, with revised text and English translation" (Oxford, 1872); translations in the Oxford "Library of the Fathers"; "Commentary on St. John", I (1874), II (1885); Five tomes against Nestorius" (1881); R. Payne Smith, "S. Cyrilli Alex. Comm. in Lucae evang. quae supersunt Syriace e manuscripts apud Mus. Brit." (Oxford, 1858); the same translated into English (Oxford, 1859, 2 vols.); W. Wright, "Fragments of the Homilies of Cyril of Alex. on St. Luke, edited from a Nitrian manuscript" (London, 1874); J. H. Bernard, "On Some Fragments of an Uncial manuscript of St. Cyril of Alex. Written on Papyrus" (Trans. of R. Irish Acad., XXIX, 18, Dublin, 1892); "Cyrilli Alex. librorum c. Julianum fragmenta syriaca", ed. E. Nestle etc. in "Scriptorum grecorum, qui Christianam impugnaverunt religionem", fasc. III (Leipzig, 1880). Fragments of the "Liber Thesaurorum" in Pitra, "Analecta sacra et class.", I (Paris, 1888).

Saint Cyril of Jerusalem (315-87) Added by Pope Leo XIII in 1883

Bishop of Jerusalem and Doctor of the Church, born about 315; died probably 18 March, 386. In the East his feast is observed on the 18th of March, in the West on the 18th or 20th. Little is known of his life. We gather information concerning him from his younger contemporaries, Epiphanius, Jerome, and Rufinus, as well as from the fifth-century historians, Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret. Cyril himself gives us the date of his "Catecheses" as fully seventy years after the Emperor Probus, that is about 347, if he is exact. Constans (d. 350) was then still alive. Mader thinks Cyril was already bishop, but it is usually held that he was at this date only as a priest. St. Jerome relates (Chron. ad ann. 352) that Cyril had been ordained priest by St. Maximus, his predecessor, after whose death the episcopate was promised to Cyril by the metropolitan, Acacius of Caesarea, and the other Arian bishops, on condition that he should repudiate the ordination he had received from Maximus. He consented to minister as deacon only, and was rewarded for this impiety with the see. Maximus had consecrated Heraclius to succeed himself, but Cyril, by various frauds, degraded Heraclius to the priesthood. So says <u>St. Jerome</u>; but <u>Socrates</u> relates that Acacius drove out St. Maximus and substituted St. Cyril. A guarrel soon broke out between Cyril and Acacius, apparently on a guestion of precedence or jurisdiction. At Nicaea the metropolitan rights of Caesarea had been guarded, while a special dignity had been granted to Jerusalem. Yet St. Maximus had held a synod and had ordained bishops. This may have been as much as the cause of Acacius' enmity to him as his attachment to the Nicene formula. On the other hand, Cyril's correct <u>Christology</u> may have been the real though veiled ground of the hostility of Acacius to him. At all events, in 357 Acacius caused Cyril to be exiled on the charge of selling church furniture during a famine. Cyril took refuge with Silvanus, <u>Bishop</u> of Taraus. He appeared at the Council of <u>Seleucia</u> in 359, in which the <u>Semi-Arian</u> party was triumphant. Acacius was deposed and St. Cyril seems to have returned to his <u>see</u>. But the emperor was displeased at the turn of events, and, in 360, Cyril and other moderates were again driven out, and only returned at the accession of <u>Julian</u> in 361. In 367 a <u>decree</u> of <u>Valens</u> banished all the <u>bishops</u> who had been restored by <u>Julian</u>, and Cyril remained in exile until the death of the persecutor in 378. In 380, <u>St. Gregory of Nyssa</u> came to Jerusalem on the recommendation of a council held at Antioch in the preceding year. He found the Faith in accord with the <u>truth</u>, but the city a prey to parties and corrupt in <u>morals</u>. St. Cyril attended the great Council of Constantinople in 381, at which <u>Theodosius</u> had ordered the Nicene <u>faith</u>, now a law of the empire, to be promulgated. St. Cyril then formally accepted the <u>homoousion</u>; <u>Socrates</u> and <u>Sozomen</u> call this an act of repentance. <u>Socrates</u> gives 385 for St. Cyril's death, but <u>St. Jerome</u> tells us that St. Cyril lived eight years under <u>Theodosius</u>, that is, from January 379.

Writings

The extant works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem include a sermon on the Pool of Bethesda, a letter to the Emperor Constantius, three small fragments, and the famous "Catecheses". The letter describes a wonderful cross of light, extending from Calvary to the Mount of Olives, which appeared in the air on the nones of May, after Pentecost, toward the beginning of the saint's episcopate. The catechetical lectures are among the most precious remains of Christian antiquity. The include an introductory address, eighteen instructions delivered in Lent to those who were preparing for baptism, and five "mystagogical" instructions given during Easter week to the same persons after their baptism. They contain interesting local references as to the finding of the Cross, the position of Calvary in relation to the walls, to the other holy places, and to the great basilica built by Constantine in which these conferences were delivered. They seem to have been spoken extempore, and written down afterwards. The style is admirably clear, dignified, and logical; the tone is serious and full of piety. The subject is thus divided: 1. Hortatory. 2. On sin, and confidence in God's pardon. 3. On baptism, how water receives the power of sanctifying: as it cleanses the body, so the Spirit seals the soul. 4. An abridged account of the Faith. 5. On the nature of faith. 6-18. On the Creed: 6. On the monarchy of God, and the various heresies which deny it. 7. On the Father. 8. His omnipotence. 9. The Creator. 10. On the Lord Jesus Christ. 11. His Eternal Sonship. 12. His virgin birth. 13. His Passion. 14. His Resurrection and Ascension. 15. His second coming. 16-17 On the Holy Ghost. 18. On the resurrection of the body and the Catholic Church. The first mystagogical *catechesis* explains the renunciations of Satan, etc. which preceded baptism; the second is on the effects of baptism, the third on confirmation, the fourth on Holy Communion, and the fifth on holy Mass for the living and the dead. The hearers are told to observe the *disciplina arcani*; Rom. they must repeat nothing to heathens and catechumens; the book also has a note to the same effect.

A few points may be noted. The mythical origin of the <u>Septuagint</u> is told, and the story of the phoenix, so popular from Clement onwards. The description of Mass speaks of the mystical washing of the <u>priest's</u> hands, the <u>kiss of peace</u>, the "Sursum Corda", etc., and the Preface with its mention of the <u>angels</u>, the Sanctus, the <u>Epiclesis</u>, the transmutation of the elements by the <u>Holy Ghost</u>, the <u>prayer</u> for the whole Church and for the spirits of the departed, followed by the <u>Paternoster</u>, which is briefly explained. Then come the "Sancta Sanctis" and the Communion. "Approaching do not come with thy palms stretched flat nor with fingers separated. But making thy left hand a seat for thy right, and hollowing thy palm, receive the Body of Christ, responding <u>Amen</u>. And having with care hallowed thine eyes by the touch of the Holy Body, take it, vigilant lest thou drop any of it. For shouldst thou lose any of it, it is as though thou wast deprived of a member of thy own body." "Then after Communion of the Body of Christ, approach the Chalice of His Blood, not extending thy hands, but bending low, and with adoration and reverence saying <u>Amen</u>, sanctify thyself by receiving also the Blood of Christ. And while thy lips are yet wet, touch them with thy hands, and sanctify thy eyes and thy forehead and thy other senses" (Cat. Myst., v, 22, 21-22). We are to make the <u>sign of the cross</u> when we eat and drink, sit, go to bed, get up, talk, walk, in short, in every action (Cat. iv, 14). Again: "if thou should be in foreign cities, do

not simply ask where is the church (*kyriakon*), for the <u>heresies</u> of the impious try to call their caves *kyriaka*, nor simply where is the <u>Church</u> (*ekklesia*), but where is the <u>Catholic Church</u>, for this is the proper name of this holy Mother of all" (Cat. xviii, 26).

Doctrine

St. Cyril's <u>doctrine</u> is expressed in his creed, which seems to have run thus:

I <u>believe</u> in one <u>God</u>, the Father Almighty, Creator of <u>Heaven</u> and earth and of all things visible and invisible. And in one <u>Lord Jesus Christ</u>, the only-begotten <u>Son of God</u>, begotten by the Father <u>true God</u> before all ages, <u>God</u> of <u>God</u>, Life of Life, Light of Light, by Whom all things were made. Who *for us men and for our <u>salvation</u>* came down, and was incarnate *by the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary*, and was made man. He was crucified . . . and buried. He rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures, and sat at the right hand of the Father. And He cometh in glory to judge the living and the dead, whose kingdom shall have no end. And in one Holy Ghost, the <u>Paraclete</u>, Who spake by the <u>prophets</u>; and in one <u>baptism</u> of repentance for the remission of <u>sins</u>, and in one <u>holy Catholic Church</u>, and in the <u>resurrection of the body</u>, and in life everlasting.

The italicized words are uncertain. St. Cyril teaches the Divinity of the Son with perfect plainness, but avoids the word <u>"consubstantial</u>", which he probably thought liable to misunderstanding. He never mentions <u>Arianism</u>, though he denounces the <u>Arian</u> formula, "There was a time when the Son was not". He belonged to the <u>Semi-Arian</u>, or <u>Homoean</u> party, and is content to declare that the Son is "in all things like the Father". He communicated freely with <u>bishops</u> such a Basil of <u>Ancyra</u> and <u>Eustathius of Sebaste</u>. He not only does not explain that the <u>Holy Trinity</u> has one <u>Godhead</u>, but he does not even say the Three Persons are one <u>God</u>. The one <u>God</u> for him is always the Father. "There is one <u>God</u>, the Father of <u>Christ</u>, and one <u>Lord Jesus Christ</u>, the only-begotten <u>Son of the only God</u>, and one Holy Ghost, Who sanctifies and deifies all things" (Cat. iv, 16). But he rightly says: "We do not divide the <u>Holy Trinity</u> as some do, neither do we make a melting into one like Sabellius" (Cat. xvi, 4). Cyril never actually calls the Holy Ghost <u>God</u>, but He is to be <u>honoured</u> together with the Father and the Son (Cat. iv, 16). There is therefore nothing incorrect in his <u>doctrine</u>, only the explicit use of the Nicene formulae is wanting, and these, like St. Meletius and others of his party, he fully accepted at a later date.

St. Cyril's teaching about the Blessed Sacrament is of the first importance, for he was speaking freely, untrammelled by the "discipline of the secret". On the Real Presence he is unambiguous: "Since He Himself has declared and said of the bread: This is My Body, who shall dare to doubt any more? And when He asserts and says: This is My Blood, who shall ever hesitate and say it is not His Blood?" Of the Transformation, he argues, if Christ could change water into wine, can He not change wine into His own Blood? The bread and wine are symbols: "In the type of bread is given thee the Body, in the type of wine the Blood is given thee"; but they do not remain in their original condition, they have been changed, though the senses cannot tell us this: "Do not think it mere bread and wine, for it is the Body and Blood of Christ, according to the Lord's declaration". "Having learned this and being assured of it, that appears to be bread is not bread, though perceived by the taste, but the Body of Christ, and what appears to be wine is not wine, though the taste says so, but the Blood of Christ . . . strengthen thy heart, partaking of it as spiritual (food), and rejoice the face of thy soul". It is difficult not to see the whole doctrine of Transubstantiation in these explicit words. Confirmation is with blessed chrism: "As the bread of the Eucharist after the invocation of the Holy Ghost is not bread, but the Body of Christ, so this holy myrrh is no longer simple, as one might say, after the invocation, but a gift of Christ and capable by the presence of the Holy Ghost of giving His divinity" (ii, 4). St. Peter and St. Paul went to Rome, the heads (prostatai) of the Church. Peter is ho koryphaiotatos kai protostates ton apostolon. The Faith is to be proved out of Holy Scripture. St. Cyril, as the Greek Fathers generally, gives the Hebrew canon of the Old Testament omitting the deutero-canonical books. But yet he often quotes them as Scripture. In the New Testament he does not acknowledge the Apocalypse.

There have been many editions of St. Cyril's works:--(Vienna, 1560); G. Morel (Paris, 1564); J. Prévot (Paris, 1608); T. Milles (London, 1703); the <u>Benedictine</u> edition of <u>Dom Touttée</u> (Paris, 1720; reprinted at <u>Venice</u>, 1763); a new edition from <u>manuscripts</u>, by G.C. Reischl, 8vo (Munich, 1848; 2nd vol. by J. Rupp, 1860); <u>Migne</u> gives the Bened. ed. in P.G., XXXIII; Photius Alexandrides (2 vols., Jerusalem, 1867-8); Eng. tr. in Library of the Fathers (Oxford).

Saint Ephrem the Syrian (306-73)

Added by Pope Benedict XV in 1920

(EPHREM, EPHRAIM).

Born at Nisibis, then under Roman rule, early in the fourth century; died June, 373. The name of his father is unknown, but he was a pagan and a priest of the goddess Abnil or Abizal. His mother was a native of Amid. Ephraem was instructed in the Christian mysteries by St. James, the famous Bishop of Nisibis, and was baptized at the age of eighteen (or twenty-eight). Thenceforth he became more intimate with the holy bishop, who availed himself of the services of Ephraem to renew the moral life of the citizens of Nisibis, especially during the sieges of 338, 346, and 350. One of his biographers relates that on a certain occasion he cursed from the city walls the Persian hosts, whereupon a cloud of flies and mosquitoes settled on the army of Sapor II and compelled it to withdraw. The adventurous campaign of Julian the Apostate, which for a time menaced Persia, ended, as is well known, in disaster, and his successor, Jovianus, was only too happy to rescue from annihilation some remnant of the great army which his predecessor had led across the Euphrates. To accomplish even so much the emperor had to sign a disadvantageous treaty, by the terms of which Rome lost the Eastern provinces conquered at the end of the third century; among the cities retroceded to Persia was Nisibis (363). To escape the cruel persecution that was then raging in Persia, most of the Christian population abandoned Nisibis en masse. Ephraem went with his people, and settled first at Beit-Garbaya, then at Amid, finally at Edessa, the capital of Osrhoene, where he spent the remaining ten years of his life, a hermit remarkable for his severe asceticism. Nevertheless he took an interest in all matters that closely concerned the population of Edessa. Several ancient writers say that he was a deacon; as such he could well have been authorized to preach in public. At this time some ten heretical sects were active in Edessa; Ephraem contended vigorously with all of them, notably with the disciples of the illustrious philosopher Bardesanes. To this period belongs nearly all his literary work; apart from some poems composed at Nisibis, the rest of his writings-sermons, hymns, exegetical treatises-date from his sojourn at Edessa. It is not improbable that he is one of the chief founders of the theological "School of the Persians", so called because its first students and original masters were Persian Christian refugees of 363. At his death St. Ephraem was borne without pomp to the cemetery "of the foreigners". The Armenian monks of the monastery of St. Sergius at Edessa claim to possess his body.

The aforesaid facts represent all that is historically certain concerning the career of Ephraem (see BOUVY, "Les sources historiques de la vie de S. Ephrem" in "Revue Augustinienne", 1903, 155-61). All details added later by Syrian biographers are at best of <u>doubtful</u> value. To this class belong not only the legendary and occasionally puerile traits so dear to Oriental writers, but also others seemingly reliable, e.g. an alleged journey to <u>Egypt</u> with a sojourn of eight years, during which he is said to have confuted publicly certain spokesmen of the <u>Arian heretics</u>. The relations of St. Ephraem and <u>St. Basil</u> are narrated by very reliable authors, e.g. <u>St. Gregory of Nyssa</u> (the Pseudo?) and <u>Sozomen</u>, according to whom the <u>hermit</u> of <u>Edessa</u>, attracted by the great reputation of St. Basil, resolved to visit him at Caesarea. He was warmly received and was <u>ordained deacon</u> by St. Basil; four years later he refused both the <u>priesthood</u> and the episcopate that St. Basil of Greek, this meeting with St. Basil is not improbable; some good critics, however, hold the evidence insufficient, and therefore reject it, or at least withhold their adhesion. The life of St. Ephraem, therefore, offers not a few obscure problems; only the general outline of his career is known to us. It is <u>certain</u>, however, that while he lived he was very influential among the Syrian <u>Christians</u> of <u>Edessa</u>, and that his memory was revered by all, Orthodox, <u>Monophysites</u>, and

<u>Nestorians</u>. They call him the "sun of the Syrians," the "column of the Church", the "harp of the Holy Spirit". More extraordinary still is the homage paid by the Greeks who rarely mention Syrian writers. Among the works of <u>St. Gregory of Nyssa</u> (P.G., XLVI, 819) is a sermon (though not acknowledged by some) which is a real panegyric of St. Ephraem. Twenty years after the latter's death <u>St. Jerome</u> mentions him as follows in his catalogue of illustrious <u>Christians</u>: "Ephraem, <u>deacon</u> of the <u>Church of Edessa</u>, wrote many works [*opuscula*] in Syriac, and became so famous that his writings are publicly read in some churches after the <u>Sacred Scriptures</u>. I have read in Greek a volume of his on the Holy Spirit; though it was only a translation, I recognized therein the sublime genius of the man" (*Illustrious Men*<u>115</u>). Theodoret of Cyrus also praised his poetic genius and <u>theological knowledge</u> (Hist. Eccl., IV, xxvi). <u>Sozomen</u> pretends that Ephraem wrote 3,000,000 verses, and gives the names of some of his disciples, some of whom remained <u>orthodox</u>, while others fell into <u>heresy</u> (*Church History*<u>III.16</u>). From the Syrian and Byzantine Churches the fame of Ephraem spread among all <u>Christians</u>. The Roman Martyrology mentions him on 1 February. In their <u>menologies</u> and synaxaria Greeks and Russians, <u>Jacobites</u>, Chaldeans, <u>Copts</u>, and <u>Armenians honour</u> the <u>holy deacon</u> of <u>Edessa</u>.

Works of St. Ephraem

The works of this saint are so numerous and important that it is impossible to treat them here in detail. Let it suffice to consider briefly: (1) the text and the principal versions and editions of his writings; (2) his <u>exceptical</u> writings; (3) his poetical writings.

Texts and principal versions and editions

The Syriac original of Ephraem's writings is preserved in many manuscripts, one of which dates from the fifth century. Through much transcription, however, his writings, particularly those used in the various liturgies, have suffered no little interpolation. Moreover, many of his exegetical works have perished, or at least have not yet been found in the libraries of the Orient. Numerous versions, however, console us for the loss of the originals. He was still living, or at least not long dead, when the translation of his writing into Greek was begun. Armenian writers seem to have undertaken the translation of his Biblical commentaries. The Mechitarists have edited in part those commentaries and hold the Armenian versions as very ancient (fifth century). The Monophysites, it is well known, were wont from an early date to translate or adapt many Syriac works. The writings of Ephraem were eventually translated into Arabic and Ethiopian (translations as yet unedited). In medieval times some of his minor works were translated from the Greek into Slavonic and Latin. From these versions were eventually made French, German, Italian, and English adaptations of the ascetic writings of St. Ephraem. The first printed (Latin) edition was based on a translation from the Greek done by Ambrogio Traversari (St. Ambrose of Camaldoli), and issued from the press of Bartholomew Guldenbeek of Sultz, in 1475. A far better edition was executed by Gerhard Vossius (1589-1619), the learned provost of Tongres, at the request of Gregory XIII. In 1709 Edward Thwaites edited, from the manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, the Greek text, hitherto known only in fragments. The Syriac original was unknown in Europe until the fruitful Oriental voyage (1706-07) of the Maronites Gabriel Eva, Elias, and especially Joseph Simeon Assemani (1716-17), which resulted in the discovery of a precious collection of manuscripts in the Nitrian (Egypt) monastery of Our Lady. These manuscripts found their way at once to the Vatican Library. In the first half of the nineteenth century the British Museum was notably enriched by similar fortunate discoveries of Lord Prudhol (1828), Curzon (1832), and Tattam (1839, 1841). All recent editions of the Syriac original of Ephraem's writings are based on these manuscripts. In the Bibliotheque Nationale (Paris) and the Bodleian (Oxford) are a few Syriac fragments of minor importance. Joseph Simeon Assemani hastened to make the best use of his newly found manuscripts and proposed at once to Clement XII a complete edition of the writings of Ephraem in the Syriac original and the Greek versions, with a new Latin version of the entire material. He took for his own share the edition of the Greek text. The Syriac text was entrusted to the Jesuit Peter Mobarak (Benedictus), a native Maronite. After the death of Mobarak, his labours were continued by Stephanus Evodius Assemani. Finally this monumental edition of the works of Ephraem appeared at Rome (1732-46) in six folio volumes. It was completed by the labours of Overbeck (Oxford, 1865) and **Bickell** (Carmina Nisibena, 1866), while other

savants edited newly found fragments (Zingerle, P. Martin, <u>Rubens</u> Duval). A splendid edition (Mechlin, 1882-1902) of the <u>hymns</u> and sermons of St. Ephraem is owing to the late Monsignor T. J. Lamy. However, a complete edition of the vast works of the great Syriac doctor is yet to be executed.

Exegetical writings

Ephraem wrote commentaries on the entire Scriptures, both the Old and the New Testament, but much of his work has been lost. There is extant in Syriac his commentary on Genesis and on a large portion of Exodus; for the other books of the Old Testament we have A Syriac abridgment, handed down in a catena of the ninth century by the Syriac monk Severus (851-61). The commentaries on Ruth, Esdras, Nehemias, Esther, the Psalms, Proverbs, the Canticle of Canticles, and Ecclesiasticus are lost. Of his commentaries on the New Testament there has survived only an Armenian version. The Scriptural canon of Ephraem resembles our own very closely. It seems doubtful that he accepted the deuterocanonical writings; at least no commentary of his on these books has reached us. On the other hand he accepted as canonical the apocryphal Third Epistle to the Corinthians, and wrote a commentary on it. The Scriptural text used by Ephraem is the Syriac Peshito, slightly differing, however, from the printed text of that very ancient version. The New Testament was known to him, as to all Syrians, both Eastern and Western, before the time of Rabulas, in the harmonized "Diatessaron" of Tatian; it is also this text which serves as the basis of his commentary. His text of the Acts of the Apostles appears to have been one closely related to that call the "Occidental". (J. R. Harris, "Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron", London, 1905; J. H. Hill, "A Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of St. Ephraem the Syrian", Edinburgh, 1896; F. C. Burkitt, "St Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel, Corrected and Arranged", in "Texts and Studies", Cambridge, 1901, VII, 2.) The exegesis of Ephraem is that of the Syriac writers generally, whether hellenized or not, and is closely related to that of Aphraates, being, like the latter, quite respectful of Jewish traditions and often based on them. As an exegete, Ephraem is sober, exhibits a preference for the literal sense, is discreet in his use of allegory; in a word, he inclines strongly to the Antiochene School, and reminds us in particular of Theodoret. He admits in Scripture but few Messianic passages in the literal sense, many more, however, prophetic of Christ in the typological sense, which here is to be carefully distinguished from the allegorical sense. It is not improbable that most of his commentaries were written for the Christian Persian school (Schola Persarum) at Nisibis; as seen above, he was one of its founders, also one of its most distinguished teachers.

Poetical writings

Most of Ephraem's sermons and exhortations are in verse, though a few sermons in prose have been preserved. If we put aside his <u>exceptical</u> writings, the rest of his works may be divided into <u>homilies</u> and <u>hymns</u>. The <u>homilies</u> (Syriac *memrê*, i.e. discourses) are written in seven-syllable verse, often divided into two parts of three and four syllables respectively. He celebrates in them the feast of <u>Our Lord</u> and of the <u>saints</u>; sometimes he expounds a Scriptural narrative or takes up a spiritual or edifying theme. In the East the Lessons for the <u>ecclesiastical</u> services (see <u>DIVINE OFFICE</u>; <u>BREVIARY</u>) were often taken from the <u>homilies</u> of Ephraem. The <u>hymns</u> (Syriac *madrashê*, i.e. instructions) offer a greater variety both of style and rhythm. They were written for the choir service of <u>nuns</u>, and were destined to be chanted by them; hence the division into strophes, the last verses of each strophe being repeated in a kind of refrain. This refrain is indicated at the beginning of each <u>hymn</u>, after the manner of an antiphon; there is also an indication of the musical key in which the <u>hymn</u> should be sung. The following may serve as an illustration. It is taken from an Epiphany <u>hymn</u> (ed. Lamy, I, p. 4).

Air: Behold the month.

Refrain: Glory to Thee from Thy flock on the day of Thy manifestation.

Strophe: He has renewed the heavens, because the foolish ones had adored all the stars / He has renewed the earth which had lost its vigour through Adam / A new creation was made by His spittle / And He Who is all-

powerful made straight both bodies and minds Refrain: Glory to Thee etc.

Mgr. Lamyu, the learned editor of the hymns; noted seventy-five different rhythms and airs. Some hymns are acrostic, i.e., sometimes each strophe begins with a letter of the alphabet, as in the case with several (Hebrew) metrical pieces in the Bible, or again the fist letters of a number of verses or strophes form a given word. In the latter way Ephraem signed several of his hymns. In Syriac poetry St. Ephraem is a pioneer of genius, the master often imitated but never equalled. He is not, however, the inventor of Syriac poetry; this honour seems due to the aforesaid heretic Bardesanes of Edessa. Ephraem himself tells us that in the neighbourhood of Nisibis and Edessa the poems of this Gnostic and his son Harmonius contributed efficaciously to the success of their false teachings. Indeed, if Ephraem entered the same field, it was with the hope of vanquishing heresy with its own weapons perfected by himself. The Western reader of the hymns of Ephraem is inclined to wonder at the enthusiasm of his admirers in the ancient Syriac Church. His "lyricism" is by no means what we understand by that term. His poetry seems to us prolix, tiresome, colourless, lacking in the person note, and in general devoid of charm. To be just, however, it must be remembered that his poems are known to most readers only in versions, from which of course the original rhythm has disappeared---precisely the charm and most striking feature of this poetry. These hymns, moreover, were not written for private reading, but were meant to be sung by alternating choirs. We have only to compare the Latin psalms as sung in the choir of a Benedictine monastery with the private reading of them by the priest in the recitation of his Breviary. Nor must we forget that literary taste is not everywhere and at all times the same. We are influenced by Greek thought more deeply than we are aware or like to admit: In literature we admire most the qualities of lucidity, sobriety, and varied action. Orientals, on the other hand, never weary of endless repetition of the same thought in slightly altered form; they delight in pretty verbal niceties, in the manifold play of rhythm and accent, rhyme and assonance, and acrostic. In this respect it is scarcely necessary to remind the reader of the well-known peculiarities and qualities of Arabic poetry.

St. Francis de Sales (1567-1622) Added by Blessed Pope Pius IX in 1877

Bishop of Geneva, Doctor of the Universal Church. born at Thorens, in the Duchy of Savoy, 21 August, 1567; died at Lyons, 28 December, 1622. His father, François de Sales de Boisy, and his mother, Françoise de Sionnaz, belonged to old Savoyard aristocratic families. The future saint was the eldest of six brothers. His father intended him for the magistracy and sent him at an early age to the colleges of La Roche and Annecy. From 1583 till 1588 he studied rhetoric and humanities at the college of Clermont, Paris, under the care of the Jesuits. While there he began a course of theology. After a terrible and prolonged temptation to despair, caused by the discussions of the theologians of the day on the question of predestination, from which he was suddenly freed as he knelt before a miraculous image of Our Lady at St. Etienne-des-Grès, he made a vow of chastity and consecrated himself to the Blessed Virgin Mary. In 1588 he studied law at Padua, where the Jesuit Father Possevin was his spiritual director. He received his diploma of doctorate from the famous Pancirola in 1592. Having been admitted as a lawyer before the senate of Chambéry, he was about to be appointed senator. His father had selected one of the noblest heiresses of Savoy to be the partner of his future life, but Francis declared his intention of embracing the ecclesiastical life. A sharp struggle ensued. His father would not consent to see his expectations thwarted. Then Claude de Granier, Bishop of Geneva, obtained for Francis, on his own initiative, the position of Provost of the Chapter of Geneva, a post in the patronage of the pope. It was the highest office in the diocese, M. de Boisy yielded and Francis received Holy Orders (1593).

From the time of the <u>Reformation</u> the seat of the Bishopric of <u>Geneva</u> had been fixed at <u>Annecy</u>. There with <u>apostolic zeal</u>, the new <u>provost</u> devoted himself to preaching, hearing <u>confessions</u>, and the other work of his ministry. In the following year (1594) he volunteered to evangelize Le Chablais, where the Genevans had imposed the Reformed Faith, and which had just been restored to the Duchy of <u>Savoy</u>. He made his

headquarters in the fortress of Allinges. Risking his life, he journeyed through the entire district, preaching constantly; by dint of zeal, learning, kindness and <u>holiness</u> he at last obtained a hearing. He then settled in Thonon, the chief town. He confuted the preachers sent by Geneva to oppose him; he converted the syndic and several prominent <u>Calvinists</u>. At the request of the <u>pope</u>, <u>Clement VIII</u>, he went to Geneva to interview Theodore Beza, who was called the <u>Patriarch</u> of the <u>Reformation</u>. The latter received him kindly and seemed for a while shaken, but had not the <u>courage</u> to take the final steps. A large part of the inhabitants of Le Chablais returned to the <u>true</u> fold (1597 and 1598). Claude de Granier then chose Francis as his coadjutor, in spite of his refusal, and sent him to <u>Rome</u> (1599).

<u>Pope Clement VIII</u> ratified the choice; but he wished to examine the candidate personally, in presence of the <u>Sacred College</u>. The improvised examination was a triumph for Francis. "Drink, my son", said the Pope to him. "from your cistern, and from your living wellspring; may your waters issue forth, and may they become public fountains where the world may quench its thirst." The prophesy was to be realized. On his return from <u>Rome</u> the religious affairs of the territory of Gex, a dependency of <u>France</u>, necessitated his going to <u>Paris</u>. There the coadjutor formed an intimate friendship with <u>Cardinal de Bérulle</u>, Antoine* Deshayes, secretary of <u>Henry IV</u>, and <u>Henry IV</u> himself, who wished "to make a third in this fair friendship" (*être de tiers dans cette belle amitié*). The king made him preach the <u>Lent</u> at Court, and wished to keep him in <u>France</u>. He urged him to continue, by his <u>sermons</u> and writings, to teach those <u>souls</u> that had to live in the world how to have confidence in <u>God</u>, and how to be genuinely and truly <u>pious</u> - <u>graces</u> of which he saw the great necessity.

On the death of Claude de Granier, Francis was consecrated Bishop of Geneva (1602). His first step was to institute catechetical instructions for the faithful, both young and old. He made prudent regulations for the guidance of his clergy. He carefully visited the parishes scattered through the rugged mountains of his diocese. He reformed the religious communities. His goodness, patience and mildness became proverbial. He had an intense love for the poor, especially those who were of respectable family. His food was plain, his dress and his household simple. He completely dispensed with superfluities and lived with the greatest economy, in order to be able to provide more abundantly for the wants of the needy. He heard confessions, gave advice, and preached incessantly. He wrote innumerable letters (mainly letters of direction) and found time to publish the numerous works mentioned below. Together with St. Jane Frances de Chantal, he founded (1607) the Institute of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, for young girls and widows who, feeling themselves called to the religious life, have not sufficient strength, or lack inclination, for the corporal austerities of the great orders. His zeal extended beyond the limits of his own diocese. He delivered the Lent and Advent discourses which are still famous those at Dijon (1604), where he first met the Baroness de Chantal: at Chambéry (1606): at Grenoble (1616, 1617, 1618), where he converted the Ambrose Maréchal de Lesdiguières. During his last stay in Paris (November, 1618, to September, 1619) he had to go into the pulpit each day to satisfy the pious wishes of those who thronged to hear him. "Never", said they, "have such holy, such apostolic sermons been preached." He came into contact here with all the distinguished ecclesiastics of the day, and in particular with St. Vincent de Paul. His friends tried energetically to induce him to remain in France, offering him first the wealthy Abbey of Ste. Geneviève and then the coadjutor-bishopric of Paris, but he refused all to return to Annecy.

In 1622 he had to accompany the Court of <u>Savoy</u> into <u>France</u>. At Lyons he insisted on occupying a small, poorly furnished room in a house belonging to the gardener of the Visitation Convent. There, on 27 December, he was seized with apoplexy. He received the last <u>sacraments</u> and made his profession of <u>faith</u>, repeating constantly the words: "God's will be done! <u>Jesus</u>, my <u>God</u> and my all!" He died next day, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. Immense crowds flocked to visit his remains, which the people of <u>Lyons</u> were anxious to keep in their city. With much difficulty his body was brought back to <u>Annecy</u>, but his heart was left at <u>Lyons</u>. A great number of wonderful favours have been obtained at his <u>tomb</u> in the Visitation Convent of <u>Annecy</u>. His heart, at the time of the <u>French Revolution</u>, was carried by the Visitation <u>nuns</u> from <u>Lyons</u> to <u>Venice</u>, where it is <u>venerated</u> today. St. Francis de Sales was <u>beatified</u> in 1661, and <u>canonized</u> by <u>Alexander VII</u> in 1665; he was proclaimed <u>Doctor of the Universal Church</u> by <u>Pope Pius IX</u>, in 1877.

The following is a list of the principal works of the holy Doctor:

(1) "Controversies", leaflets which the <u>zealous</u> missioner scattered among the inhabitants of Le Chablais in the beginning, when these people did not venture to come and hear him preach. They form a complete <u>proof</u> of the <u>Catholic Faith</u>. In the first part, the author defends the authority of the <u>Church</u>, and in the second and third parts, the rules of <u>faith</u>, which were not observed by the <u>heretical ministers</u>. The primacy of St. Peter is amply vindicated.

(2) "Defense of the Standard of the Cross", a demonstration of the virtue

- of the <u>True Cross</u>;
- of the Crucifix;
- of the <u>Sign of the Cross</u>;
- an explanation of the Veneration of the Cross.

(3) "An Introduction to the Devout Life", a work intended to lead "Philothea", the <u>soul</u> living in the world, into the paths of devotion, that is to say, of <u>true</u> and solid <u>piety</u>. Every one should strive to become <u>pious</u>, and "it is an error, it is even a heresy", to hold that <u>piety</u> is incompatible with any state of life. In the first part the author helps the <u>soul</u> to free itself from all inclination to, or affection for, <u>sin</u>; in the second, he teaches it how to be united to <u>God</u> by <u>prayer</u> and the <u>sacraments</u>; in the third, he exercises it in the practice of virtue; in the fourth, he strengthens it against temptation; in the fifth, he teaches it how to form its resolutions and to persevere. The "Introduction", which is a masterpiece of <u>psychology</u>, practical morality, and common sense, was translated into nearly every language even in the lifetime of the author, and it has since gone through innumerable editions.

(4) "Treatise on the Love of God", an authoritative work which reflects perfectly the mind and heart of Francis de Sales as a great genius and a great saint. It contains twelve books. The first four give us a history, or rather explain the theory, of Divine <u>love</u>, its birth in the <u>soul</u>, its growth, its perfection, and its decay and annihilation; the fifth book shows that this <u>love</u> is twofold - the <u>love</u> of complacency and the <u>love</u> of benevolence; the sixth and seventh treat of *affective* <u>love</u>, which is practised in <u>prayer</u>; the eight and ninth deal with *effective* <u>love</u>, that is, conformity to the will of <u>God</u>, and submission to His good pleasure. The last three resume what has preceded and teach how to apply practically the lessons taught therein.

(5) "Spiritual Conferences"; familiar conversations on religious virtues addressed to the sisters of the Visitation and collected by them. We find in them that practical common sense, keenness of perception and delicacy of feeling which were characteristic of the kind-hearted and energetic Saint.

(6) "Sermons". - These are divided into two classes: those composed previously to his <u>consecration</u> as a <u>bishop</u>, and which he himself wrote out in full; and the discourses he delivered when a <u>bishop</u>, of which, as a rule, only outlines and synopses have been preserved. Some of the latter, however, were taken down *in extenso* by his hearers. <u>Pius IX</u>, in his <u>Bull</u> proclaiming him <u>Doctor of the Church</u> calls the Saint "The Master and Restorer of Sacred Eloquence". He is one of those who at the beginning of the seventeenth century formed the beautiful <u>French language</u>; he foreshadows and prepares the way for the great sacred orators about to appear. He speaks simply, naturally, and from his heart. To speak well we need only <u>love</u> well, was his maxim. His mind was imbued with the Holy Writings, which he comments, and explains, and applies practically with no less accuracy than grace.

(7) "Letters", mostly letters of direction, in which the minister of <u>God</u> effaces himself and teaches the <u>soul</u> to listen to <u>God</u>, the only <u>true</u> director. The advice given is suited to all the circumstances and necessities of life and to all <u>persons</u> of good will. While trying to efface his own <u>personality</u> in these letters, the <u>saint</u> makes himself known to us and unconsciously discovers to us the treasures of his <u>soul</u>.
(8) A large number of very precious treatises or opuscula.

<u>Migne</u> (5 vols., quarto) and Vivès (12 vols., octavo, <u>Paris</u>) have edited the works of St. Francis de Sales. But the edition which we may call definitive was published at <u>Annecy</u> in 1892, by the <u>English Benedictine</u>, Dom Mackey: a work remarkable for its typographical execution, the brilliant criticism that settles the text, the large quantity of hitherto unedited matter, and the interesting study accompanying each volume. Dom Mackey published twelve volumes. Father Navatel, S.J., is continuing the work. We may give here a brief résumé of the

spiritual teaching contained in these works, of which the <u>Church</u> has said: "The writings of Francis de Sales, filled with celestial <u>doctrine</u> are a bright light in the <u>Church</u>, pointing out to <u>souls</u> an easy and safe way to arrive at the <u>perfection of a Christian life</u>." (Breviarium Romanum, 29 January, lect. VI.)

There are two elements in the spiritual life: first, a struggle against our lower nature; secondly, union of our wills with <u>God</u>, in other words, penance and <u>love</u>. St. Francis de Sales looks chiefly to <u>love</u>. Not that he neglects penance, which is absolutely <u>necessary</u>, but he wishes it to be practised from a motive of <u>love</u>. He requires <u>mortification</u> of the senses, but he relies first on <u>mortification</u> of the mind, the will, and the heart. This interior <u>mortification</u> he requires to be unceasing and always accompanied by <u>love</u>. The end to be realized is a life of loving, simple, generous, and constant fidelity to the will of <u>God</u>, which is nothing else than our present <u>duty</u>. The model proposed is Christ, whom we must ever keep before our eyes. "You will study His countenance, and perform your actions as He did" (Introd., 2nd part, ch. i). The practical means of arriving at this perfection are: remembrance of the presence of <u>God</u>, filial prayer, a right intention in all our actions, and frequent recourse to <u>God</u> by <u>pious</u> and confiding ejaculations and interior aspirations.

Besides the Institute of the Visitation, which he founded, the nineteenth century has seen associations of the <u>secular clergy</u> and <u>pious laymen</u>, and several religious congregations, formed under the patronage of the holy Doctor. Among them we may mention the Missionaries of St. Francis de Sales, of <u>Annecy</u>; the <u>Salesians</u>, founded at <u>Turin</u> by the Venerable Don Bosco, specially devoted to the <u>Christian</u> and technical <u>education</u> of the children of the poorer classes; the <u>Oblates of St. Francis de Sales</u>, established at <u>Troyes</u> (<u>France</u>) by Father Brisson, who try to realize in the religious and <u>priestly</u> life the spirit of the holy Doctor, such as we have described it, and such as he bequeathed it to the <u>nuns</u> of the Visitation.

Pope Saint Gregory the Great (540-604)

One of the original four Doctors of the Latin Church

Doctor of the Church; born at Rome about 540; died 12 March 604. Gregory

is certainly one of the most notable figures in <u>Ecclesiastical History</u>. He has exercised in many respects a momentous influence on the <u>doctrine</u>, the organization, and the <u>discipline</u> of the <u>Catholic Church</u>. To him we must look for an explanation of the <u>religious</u> situation of the <u>Middle Ages</u>; indeed, if no account were taken of his work, the evolution of the form of <u>medieval Christianity</u> would be almost inexplicable. And further, in so far as the modern <u>Catholic</u> system is a legitimate development of <u>medieval Catholicism</u>, of this too Gregory may not unreasonably be termed the Father. Almost all the leading principles of the later <u>Catholicism</u> are found, at any rate in germ, in Gregory the Great. (F.H. Dudden, "Gregory the Great", 1, p. v).

This eulogy by a learned non-Catholic writer will justify the length and elaboration of the following article.

From birth to 574

Gregory's <u>father</u> was Gordianus, a <u>wealthy</u> patrician, probably of the famous *gens Amicia*, who owned large estates in <u>Sicily</u> and a mansion on the Caelian Hill in <u>Rome</u>, the ruins of which, apparently in a wonderful state of preservation, still await excavation beneath the Church of St. Andrew and St. Gregory. His mother <u>Silvia</u> appears also to have been of <u>good family</u>, but very little is known of her life. She is <u>honoured</u> as a <u>saint</u>, her <u>feast</u> being kept on 3 November. Portraits of Gordianus and <u>Silvia</u> were <u>painted</u> by Gregory's order, in the <u>atrium</u> of St. Andrew's <u>monastery</u>, and a pleasing description of these may be found in <u>John the Deacon</u> (Vita, IV, lxxxiii).

Besides his mother, two of Gregory's aunts have been <u>canonised</u>, Gordianus's two sisters, Tarsilla and Æmiliana, so that <u>John the Deacon</u> speaks of his <u>education</u> as being that of a <u>saint</u> among <u>saints</u>. Of his early years we <u>know</u> nothing beyond what the history of the period tells us. Between the years 546 and 552 <u>Rome</u> was first captured by the <u>Goths</u> under Totila, and then abandoned by them; next it was garrisoned by Belisarius, and besieged in vain by the <u>Goths</u>, who took it again, however, after the recall of Belisarius, only to lose it once more to Narses. Gregory's <u>mind</u> and <u>memory</u> were both exceptionally receptive, and it is to the effect produced on him by these disasters that we must attribute the tinge of sadness which pervades his writings and especially his clear expectation of a speedy end to the world.

Of his <u>education</u>, we have no details. <u>Gregory of Tours</u> tells us that in grammar, rhetoric and <u>dialectic</u> he was so skilful as to be thought second to none in all <u>Rome</u>, and it seems <u>certain</u> also that he must have gone through a course of <u>legal</u> studies. Not least among the <u>educating</u> influences was the <u>religious</u> atmosphere of his home. He loved to <u>meditate</u> on the <u>Scriptures</u> and to listen attentively to the conversations of his elders, so that he was "devoted to <u>God</u> from his youth up".

His rank and prospects pointed him out naturally for a public career, and he doubtless held some of the subordinate offices wherein a young patrician embarked on public life. That he acquitted himself well in these appears <u>certain</u>, since we find him about the year 573, when little more than thirty years old, filling the important office of prefect of the city of <u>Rome</u>. At that <u>date</u> the brilliant post was shorn of much of its old magnificence, and its responsibilities were reduced; still it remained the highest civil dignity in the city, and it was only after long <u>prayer</u> and inward struggle that Gregory decided to abandon everything and become a <u>monk</u>. This event took place most probably in 574.

His decision once taken, he devoted himself to the work and austerities of his new life with all the natural energy of his <u>character</u>. His <u>Sicilian</u> estates were given up to found six <u>monasteries</u> there, and his home on the Caelian Hill was converted into another under the <u>patronage</u> of <u>St. Andrew</u>. Here he himself took the <u>cowl</u>, so that "he who had been wont to go about the city clad in the *trabea* and aglow with silk and jewels, now clad in a worthless garment served the <u>altar</u> of the <u>Lord</u>" (<u>Gregory of Tours</u>, X, i).

As monk and abbot (c. 574-590)

There has been much discussion as to whether Gregory and his fellow-monks at St. Andrew's followed the <u>Rule</u> of <u>St. Benedict</u>. <u>Baronius</u> and others on his authority have denied this, while it has been asserted as strongly by <u>Mabillon</u> and the <u>Bollandists</u>, who, in the preface to the life of <u>St. Augustine</u> (26 May), retract the opinion expressed earlier in the preface to St. Gregory's life (12 March). The controversy is important only in view of the question as to the form of <u>monasticism</u> introduced by <u>St. Augustine</u> into <u>England</u>, and it may be said that <u>Baronius's</u> view is now practically abandoned.

For about three years Gregory lived in retirement in the <u>monastery</u> of St. Andrew, a period to which he often refers as the <u>happiest</u> portion of his life. His great <u>austerities</u> during this <u>time</u> are recorded by the biographers, and probably <u>caused</u> the weak health from which he constantly suffered in later life.

However, he was soon drawn out of his <u>seclusion</u>, when, in 578, the <u>pope ordained</u> him, much against his <u>will</u>, as one of the seven <u>deacons</u> (*regionarii*) of <u>Rome</u>. The period was one of acute crisis. The Lombards were advancing rapidly towards the city, and the only chance of safety seemed to be in obtaining help from the Emperor Tiberius at <u>Byzantium</u>. <u>Pope Pelagius II</u> accordingly dispatched a special embassy to Tiberius, and sent Gregory along with it as his *apocrisiarius*, or permanent ambassador to the Court of <u>Byzantium</u>. The <u>date</u> of this new appointment seems to have been the spring of 579, and it lasted apparently for about six years.

Nothing could have been more uncongenial to Gregory than the worldly atmosphere of the brilliant <u>Byzantine</u> Court, and to counteract its dangerous influence he followed the <u>monastic life</u> so far as circumstances permitted. This was made easier by the fact that several of his brethren from St. Andrew's accompanied him to <u>Constantinople</u>. With them he <u>prayed</u> and studied the <u>Scriptures</u>, one result of which remains in his "Morals", or series of lectures on the <u>Book of Job</u>, composed during this period at the request of <u>St. Leander of Seville</u>, whose acquaintance Gregory made during his stay in <u>Constantinople</u>.

Much attention was attracted to Gregory by his controversy with <u>Eutychius</u>, <u>Patriarch of Constantinople</u>, concerning the <u>Resurrection</u>. <u>Eutychius</u> had published a treatise on the subject maintaining that the <u>risen</u> bodies of the <u>elect</u> would be "impalpable, more light than air". To this view Gregory objected the palpability of <u>Christ's</u> risen body. The dispute became prolonged and bitter, till at length the emperor intervened, both combatants being summoned to a private audience, where they stated their views. The emperor decided that Gregory was in the right, and ordered <u>Eutychius's</u> book to be burned. The strain of the struggle had been so great that both fell ill. Gregory recovered, but the <u>patriarch</u> succumbed, recanting his <u>error</u> on his death bed.

Mention should be made of the curious fact that, although Gregory's sojourn at <u>Constantinople</u> lasted for six years, he seems never to have mastered even the rudiments of Greek. Possibly he found that the use of an interpreter had its advantages, but he often complains of the incapacity of those employed for this purpose. It must be owned that, so far as obtaining help for <u>Rome</u> was concerned, Gregory's stay at <u>Constantinople</u> was a failure. However, his period as <u>ambassador</u> taught him very plainly a lesson which was to bear great fruit later on when he ruled in <u>Rome</u> as <u>pope</u>. This was the important fact that no help was any longer to be looked for from <u>Byzantium</u>, with the corollary that, if <u>Rome</u> and <u>Italy</u> were to be saved at all, it could only be by vigorous independent action of the powers on the spot. Humanly speaking, it is to the fact that Gregory had acquired this conviction that his later line of action with all its momentous consequences is due.

In the year 586, or possibly 585, he was recalled to <u>Rome</u>, and with the greatest joy returned to St. Andrew's, of which he became <u>abbot</u> soon afterwards. The <u>monastery</u> grew famous under his energetic rule, producing many <u>monks</u> who won renown later, and many vivid pictures of this period may be found in the "Dialogues".

Gregory gave much of his <u>time</u> to lecturing on the <u>Holy Scripture</u> and is recorded to have expounded to his <u>monks</u> the Heptateuch, <u>Books of Kings</u>, the <u>Prophets</u>, the <u>Book of Proverbs</u>, and the <u>Canticle of Canticles</u>. Notes of these lectures were taken at the <u>time</u> by a young student named Claudius, but when transcribed were found by Gregory to contain so many <u>errors</u> that he insisted on their being given to him for correction and revision. Apparently this was never done, for the existing fragments of such works attributed to Gregory are almost certainly spurious.

At this period, however, one important literary enterprise was certainly completed. This was the revision and publication of the "Magna Moralia", or lectures on the <u>Book of Job</u>, undertaken in <u>Constantinople</u> at the request of <u>St. Leander</u>. In one of his letters (<u>Epistle 5.53</u>) Gregory gives an interesting account of the origin of this work.

To this period most probably should be assigned the famous incident of Gregory's meeting with the <u>English</u> youths in the Forum. The first mention of the event is in the <u>Whitby</u> life (c, ix), and the whole story seems to be an <u>English</u> tradition. It is worth notice, therefore, that in the <u>St. Gall manuscript</u> the <u>Angles</u> do not appear as <u>slave</u> boys exposed for sale, but as men visiting <u>Rome</u> of their own <u>free will</u>, whom Gregory expressed a desire to see. It is <u>Venerable Bede</u> (Hist. Eccl., II, i) who first makes them <u>slaves</u>.

In consequence of this meeting Gregory was so fixed with desire to <u>convert</u> the <u>Angles</u> that he obtained permission from <u>Pelagius II</u> to go in person to Britain with some of his fellow-monks as missionaries. The Romans, however, were greatly incensed at the <u>pope's</u> act. With <u>angry</u> words they demanded Gregory's recall, and messengers were at once dispatched to bring him back to <u>Rome</u>, if <u>necessary</u> by force. These men caught up with the little band of missionaries on the third day after their departure, and at once returned with them, Gregory offering no opposition, since he had received what appeared to him as a sign from <u>heaven</u> that his enterprise should be abandoned. The strong feeling of the Roman populace that Gregory must not be allowed to leave <u>Rome</u> is a sufficient <u>proof</u> of the position he now held there. He was in fact the chief adviser and assistant of <u>Pelagius II</u>, towards whom he seems to have acted very much in the capacity of secretary (see the letter of the <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Ravenna</u> to Gregory, <u>Epistle 3.66</u>, "Sedem apostolicam, quam antae moribus nunc etiam honore debito gubernatis"). In this capacity, probably in 586, Gregory wrote his important letter to the <u>schismatical bishops</u> of Istria who had separated from communion with the <u>Church</u> on the question of the <u>Three Chapters</u> (Epp., Appendix, III, iii). This document, which is almost a treatise in length, is an admirable example of Gregory's skill, but it failed to produce any more effort than <u>Pelagius's</u> two previous letters had, and the <u>schism</u> continued.

The year 589 was one of widespread disaster throughout all the empire. In <u>Italy</u> there was an unprecedented inundation. Farms and houses were carried away by the floods. The Tiber overflowed its banks, destroying numerous buildings, among them the granaries of the <u>Church</u> with all the store of corn. Pestilence followed on the floods, and <u>Rome</u> became a very city of the dead. Business was at a standstill, and the streets were deserted save for the wagons which bore forth countless corpses for <u>burial</u> in common pits beyond the city walls.

Then, in February, 590, as if to fill the cup of misery to the brim, <u>Pelagius II</u> died. The choice of a <u>successor</u> lay with the <u>clergy</u> and people of <u>Rome</u>, and without any hesitation they <u>elected</u> Gregory, <u>Abbot</u> of St. Andrew's. In spite of their unanimity Gregory shrank from the dignity thus offered him. He <u>knew</u>, no doubt, that its acceptance meant a final good-bye to the <u>cloister</u> life he loved, and so he not only refused to accede to the <u>prayers</u> of his fellow citizens but also wrote personally to the <u>Emperor Maurice</u>, begging him with all earnestness not to confirm the <u>election</u>. Germanus, prefect of the city, suppressed this letter, however, and sent instead of it the formal schedule of the <u>election</u>.

In the interval while awaiting the <u>emperor's</u> reply the business of the <u>vacant see</u> was transacted by Gregory, in commission with two or three other high officials. As the plague still continued unabated, Gregory called upon the people to join in a vast sevenfold <u>procession</u> which was to start from each of the seven regions of the city and meet at the <u>Basilica</u> of the Blessed Virgin, all <u>praying</u> the while for pardon and the withdrawal of the pestilence. This was accordingly done, and the <u>memory</u> of the event is still preserved by the name "Sant' Angelo" given to the mausoleum of <u>Hadrian</u> from the <u>legend</u> that the <u>Archangel St. Michael</u> was seen upon its summit in the act of sheathing his sword as a sign that the plague was over.

At length, after six months of waiting, came the <u>emperor's</u> confirmation of Gregory's <u>election</u>. The <u>saint</u> was terrified at the news and even meditated flight. He was seized, however, carried to the <u>Basilica of St. Peter</u>, and there <u>consecrated pope</u> on 3 September, 590. The story that Gregory actually fled the city and remained hidden in a forest for three days, when his whereabouts was <u>revealed</u> by a <u>supernatural</u> light, seems to be pure invention. It appears for the first time in the <u>Whitby</u> life (c. vii), and is directly contrary to the words of his contemporary, <u>Gregory of Tours</u> (Hist. Franc., X, i). Still he never ceased to regret his elevation, and his later writings contain numberless expressions of strong feeling on this point.

As pope (590-604)

Fourteen years of <u>life</u> remained to Gregory, and into these he crowded work enough to have exhausted the energies of a lifetime. What makes his achievement more wonderful is his constant ill-health. He suffered almost continually from indigestion and, at intervals, from attacks of slow fever, while for the last half of his pontificate he was a <u>martyr</u> to gout. In spite of these infirmities, which increased steadily, his biographer, <u>Paul</u> the <u>Deacon</u>, tells us "he never rested" (Vita, XV). His work as <u>pope</u> is of so varied a nature that it will be best to take it in sections, although this destroys any exact chronological sequence.

At the very outset of his pontificate Gregory published his "Liber pastoralis curae", or book on the office of a <u>bishop</u>, in which he lays down clearly the lines he considers it his <u>duty</u> to follow. The work, which regards the <u>bishop</u> pre-eminently as the physician of <u>souls</u>, is divided into four parts.

- He points out in the first that only one skilled already as a physician of the <u>soul</u> is fitted to undertake the "supreme rule" of the <u>episcopate</u>.
- In the second he describes how the <u>bishop's</u> life should be ordered from a spiritual point of view;
- in the third, how he ought to teach and admonish those under him,
- and in the fourth how, in spite of his <u>good</u> works, he ought to bear in <u>mind</u> his own weakness, since the better his work the greater the danger of falling through self-confidence.

This little work is the key to Gregory's life as <u>pope</u>, for what he preached he practiced. Moreover, it remained for centuries the textbook of the <u>Catholic episcopate</u>, so that by its influence the ideal of the great <u>pope</u> has moulded the character of the <u>Church</u>, and his spirit has spread into all lands.

Life and work in Rome

As <u>pope</u> Gregory still lived with <u>monastic</u> simplicity. One of his first acts was to banish all the <u>lay</u> attendants, pages, etc., from the <u>Lateran</u> palace, and substitute <u>clerics</u> in their place. There was now no *magister militum* living in <u>Rome</u>, so the control even of military matters fell to the <u>pope</u>. The inroads of the Lombards had filled the city with a multitude of indigent refugees, for whose support Gregory made provision, using for this purpose the existing machinery of the ecclesiastical districts, each of which had its deaconry or "office of <u>alms</u>". The corn thus distributed came chiefly from <u>Sicily</u> and was supplied by the estates of the <u>Church</u>.

The temporal needs of his people being thus provided for, Gregory did not neglect their <u>spiritual</u> wants, and a large number of his <u>sermons</u> have come down to us. It was he who instituted the <u>"stations"</u> still observed and noted in the <u>Roman Missal</u>. He met the <u>clergy</u> and <u>people</u> at some <u>church</u> previously agreed upon, and all together went in <u>procession</u> to the <u>church</u> of the <u>station</u>, where <u>Mass</u> was celebrated and the <u>pope</u> preached. These <u>sermons</u>, which drew immense crowds, are mostly simple, popular expositions of <u>Scripture</u>. Chiefly remarkable is the preacher's mastery of the <u>Bible</u>, which he quotes unceasingly, and his regular use of anecdote to illustrate the point in hand, in which respect he paves the way for the popular preachers of the <u>Middle Ages</u>. In July, 595, Gregory held his first <u>synod</u> in <u>St. Peter's</u>, which consisted almost wholly of the <u>bishops</u> of the <u>suburbicarian sees</u> and the <u>priests</u> of the <u>Roman</u> titular churches. Six <u>decrees</u> dealing with <u>ecclesiastical</u> <u>discipline</u> were passed, some of them merely confirming changes already made by the <u>pope</u> on his own authority.

Much controversy still exists as to the exact extent of Gregory's reforms of the <u>Roman Liturgy</u>. All admit that he did make the following modifications in the pre-existing practice:

- In the <u>Canon of the Mass</u> he inserted the words "diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari";
- he ordered the <u>Pater Noster</u> to be recited in the <u>Canon</u> before the breaking of the <u>Host</u>;
- he provided that the <u>Alleluia</u> should be <u>chanted</u> after the <u>Gradual</u> out of <u>paschal time</u>, to which period, apparently, the <u>Roman</u> use had previously confined it;
- he prohibited the use of the <u>chasuble</u> by <u>subdeacons</u> assisting at <u>Mass</u>;
- he forbade <u>deacons</u> to perform any of the <u>musical</u> portions of the <u>Mass</u> other than singing the <u>Gospel</u>.

Beyond these and some few minor points it seems impossible to conclude with <u>certainty</u> what changes Gregory did make. As to the much-disputed question of the Gregorian Sacramentary and the almost more difficult point of his relation to the <u>plain song or chant</u> of the <u>Church</u>, for Gregory's connection with which matters the earliest authority seems to be John the Deacon (Vita, II, vi, Xvii), see <u>GREGORIAN CHANT</u>; <u>SACRAMENTARY</u>.

There is no lack of evidence, however, to illustrate Gregory's activity as manager of the <u>patrimony of St. Peter</u>. By his day the <u>estates of the Church</u> had reached vast dimensions. Varying estimates place their total area at from 1300 to 1800 square miles, and there seems no reason for supposing this to be an exaggeration, while the income arising therefrom was probably not less than \$1,500,000 a year. The land lay in many places — Campania, <u>Africa</u>, <u>Sicily</u>, and elsewhere — and, as their landlord, Gregory displayed a skill in finance and estate management which excites our admiration no less than it did the surprise of his tenants and agents, who suddenly found that they had a new master who was not to be deceived or cheated.

The management of each patrimony was carried out by a number of agents of varying grades and <u>duties</u> under an official called the <u>rector</u> or <u>defensor</u> of the patrimony. Previously the <u>rectors</u> had usually been <u>laymen</u>, but Gregory established the <u>custom</u> of appointing <u>ecclesiastics</u> to the post. In doing this he probably had in view the many extra <u>duties</u> of an <u>ecclesiastical</u> nature which he called upon them to undertake. Thus examples may be found of such <u>rectors</u> being commissioned to undertake the filling up of <u>vacant sees</u>, holding of local <u>synods</u>, taking action against <u>heretics</u>, providing for the maintenance of <u>churches</u> and <u>monasteries</u>, rectifying abuses in the <u>churches</u> of their district, with the enforcing of <u>ecclesiastical discipline</u> and even the reproof and correction of local <u>bishops</u>. Still Gregory never allowed the <u>rectors</u> to interfere in such matters on their own responsibility.

In the minutiae of estate management nothing was too small for Gregory's personal notice, from the exact number of *sextarii* in a *modius* of corn, or how many solidi went to one golden pound, to the use of <u>false</u> weights by certain minor agents. He finds <u>time</u> to write instructions on every detail and leaves no complaint unattended to, even from the humblest of his multitude of tenants. Throughout the large number of letters which deal with the management of the <u>patrimony</u>, the <u>pope's</u> determination to secure a scrupulously righteous administration is evident. As <u>bishop</u>, he is the trustee of <u>God</u> and <u>St. Peter</u>, and his agents must show that they realize this by their conduct. Consequently, under his able management the <u>estates of the Church</u> increased steadily in value, the tenants were contented, and the revenues paid in with unprecedented regularity.

The only fault ever laid at his door in this <u>matter</u> is that, by his boundless <u>charities</u>, he emptied his treasury. But this, if a fault at all, was a natural consequence of his view that he was the administrator of the <u>property</u> of the <u>poor</u>, for whom he could never do enough.

Relations with the suburbicarian Churches

As <u>patriarchs</u> of the <u>West</u> the <u>popes</u> exercise a special <u>jurisdiction</u> over and above their universal <u>primacy</u> as <u>successors</u> of <u>St. Peter</u>; and among <u>Western churches</u>, this <u>jurisdiction</u> extends in a most intimate manner over the <u>churches</u> of <u>Italy</u> and the isles adjacent.

On the mainland much of this territory was in the hands of the Lombards, with whose <u>Arian clergy</u> Gregory was, of course, not in communion. Whenever opportunity offered, however, he was careful to provide for the needs of the <u>faithful</u> in these parts, frequently uniting them to some neighboring <u>diocese</u>, when they were too few to occupy the energies of a <u>bishop</u>.

On the islands, of which <u>Sicily</u> was by far the most important, the pre-existing <u>church</u> system was maintained. Gregory appointed a <u>vicar</u>, usually the <u>metropolitan</u> of the <u>province</u>, who exercised a general supervision over the whole <u>church</u>. He also insisted strongly on the holding of local <u>synods</u> as ordered by the <u>Council of Nicaea</u>, and letters of his exist addressed to <u>bishops</u> in <u>Sicily</u>, <u>Sardinia</u>, and <u>Gaul</u> reminding them of their <u>duties</u> in this respect.

The supreme instance of Gregory's intervention in the affairs of these <u>dioceses</u> occurs in the case of <u>Sardinia</u>, where the behaviour of Januarius the half-witted, aged <u>Metropolitan</u> of <u>Cagliari</u>, had reduced the <u>church</u> to a state of semi-chaos.

A large number of letters relate to the reforms instituted by the <u>pope</u> (Epistles <u>2.47</u>; <u>3.36</u>; <u>4.9</u>; <u>4.23-27</u>; <u>4.29</u>; <u>5.2</u>; <u>9.1</u>; <u>9.11</u>; 9.202-204; <u>14.2</u>). His care over the <u>election</u> of a new <u>bishop</u> whenever a <u>vacancy</u> occurs is shown in many cases, and if, after his <u>examination</u> of the elect, which is always a searching one, he finds him unfitted

for the post, he has no hesitation in rejecting him and commanding another to be chosen (Epistles 1.15; <u>1.16</u>; <u>7.38</u>; 10.7).

With regard to <u>discipline</u> the <u>pope</u> was specially strict in enforcing the <u>Church's laws</u> as to the <u>celibacy of the</u> <u>clergy</u> (Epistles <u>1.42</u>; <u>4.5</u>; <u>4.26</u>; <u>4.34</u>; 7.1; <u>9.110</u>; 9.218; <u>10.19</u>; <u>11.56</u>; <u>13.38</u>; <u>13.39</u>); the <u>exemption</u> of <u>clerics</u> from lay tribunals (Epistles <u>1.39</u>; 6.11; 9.53; 9.76; <u>9.79</u>; 10.4; <u>11.32</u>; <u>13.1</u>); and the <u>deprivation</u> of all <u>ecclesiastics</u> guilty of criminal or <u>scandalous</u> offences (Epistles <u>1.18</u>; <u>1.42</u>; <u>3.49</u>; <u>4.26</u>; <u>5.17</u>; <u>5.18</u>; <u>7.39</u>; <u>8.24</u>; 9.25; 12.3; 12.10; 12.11; <u>14.2</u>). He was also inflexible with regard to the proper application of church revenues, insisting that others should be as strict as he was in disposing of these funds for their proper ends (Epistles <u>1.10</u>; 1.64; <u>2.20-22</u>; <u>3.22</u>; <u>4.11</u>; 5.12; <u>5.48</u>; 8.7; 11.22; <u>11.56</u>; 13.46; <u>14.2</u>).

Relations with other Churches

With regard to the other <u>Western Churches</u> limits of space prevent any detailed account of Gregory's dealings, but the following quotation, all the more valuable as coming from a <u>Protestant</u> authority, indicates very clearly the line he followed herein:

"In his dealings with the <u>Churches of the West</u>, Gregory acted invariably on the assumption that all were subject to the jurisdiction of the <u>Roman See</u>. Of the <u>rights</u> claimed or exercised by his predecessors he would not abate one tittle; on the contrary, he did everything in his power to maintain, strengthen, and extend what he regarded as the just prerogatives of the <u>papacy</u>. It is <u>true</u> that he respected the <u>privileges</u> of the <u>Western metropolitans</u>, and disapproved of unnecessary interference within the sphere of their jurisdiction canonically exercised. . . . But of his general principle there can be no <u>doubt</u> whatever" (Dudden, I, 475).

In view of later developments Gregory's dealings with the <u>Oriental Churches</u>, and with <u>Constantinople</u> in particular, have a special importance. There cannot be the smallest <u>doubt</u> that Gregory claimed for the <u>Apostolic See</u>, and for himself as <u>pope</u>, a <u>primacy</u> not of <u>honor</u>, but of supreme authority over the <u>Church Universal</u>. In Epistle 13.50, he speaks of "the <u>Apostolic See</u>, which is the head of all <u>Churches</u>", and in Epistle 5.154, he says: "I, albeit unworthy, have been set up in command of the <u>Church</u>." As <u>successor of St. Peter</u>, the <u>pope</u> had received from <u>God</u> a <u>primacy</u> over all <u>Churches</u> (Epistle 2.46; 3.30; 5.37; 7.37). His approval it was which gave force to the <u>decrees</u> of <u>councils or synods</u> (Epistle 9.156), and his authority could annul them (Epistles <u>5.39</u>, <u>5.41</u>, 5.44). To him <u>appeals</u> might be made even against other <u>patriarchs</u>, and by him <u>bishops</u> were judged and corrected if need were (Epistles 2.50; 3.52; 3.63; <u>9.26</u>; <u>9.27</u>).

This position naturally made it impossible for him to permit the use of the title Ecumenical Bishop assumed by the <u>Patriarch</u> of <u>Constantinople</u>, <u>John the Faster</u>, at a <u>synod</u> held in 588. Gregory protested, and a long controversy followed, the question still at issue when the <u>pope</u> died. A discussion of this controversy is needless here, but it is important as showing how completely Gregory regarded the <u>Eastern patriarchs</u> as being subject to himself; "As regards the <u>Church</u> of <u>Constantinople</u>," he writes in <u>Epistle 9.12</u>, "who can <u>doubt</u> that it is subject to the <u>Apostolic See</u>? Why, both our most religious lord the emperor, and our brother the <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Constantinople</u> continually acknowledge it."

At the same time the <u>pope</u> was most careful not to interfere with the canonical <u>rights</u> of the other <u>patriarchs</u> and <u>bishops</u>. With the other <u>Oriental patriarchs</u> his relations were most cordial, as appears from his <u>letters</u> to the <u>patriarchs</u> of <u>Antioch</u> and Alexandria.

Relations with the Lombards and the Franks

Gregory's <u>consecration</u> as <u>pope</u> preceded by a few days only the death of Authari, King of the Lombards, whose queen, the famous Theodelinde, then <u>married</u> Agilulf, Duke of <u>Turin</u>, a warlike and energetic prince. With Agilulf and the Dukes Ariulf of <u>Spoleto</u> and Arichis of <u>Benevento</u>, Gregory soon had to deal, as, when

difficulties arose, Romanus, the <u>exarch</u>, or representative, of the emperor, preferred to remain in sulky inactivity at <u>Ravenna</u>.

It soon became clear that, if any successful resistance was to be made against the Lombards, it must be by the <u>pope's</u> own exertions. How keenly he felt the difficulty and danger of his position appears in some of the earliest letters (Epistles <u>1.3</u>, 1.8, 1.30); but no actual hostilities began till the summer of 592, when the <u>pope</u> received a threatening letter from Ariulf of <u>Spoleto</u>, which was followed almost immediately by the appearance of that chief before the walls of <u>Rome</u>. At the same time Arichis of <u>Benevento</u> advanced on <u>Naples</u>, which happened at the moment to have no <u>bishop</u> nor any officer of high rank in command of the garrison. Gregory at once took the surprising step of appointing a tribune on his own authority to take command of the city (<u>Epistle</u> 2.34), and, when no notice of this strong action was taken by the imperial authorities, the <u>pope</u> conceived the idea of himself arranging a separate peace with the Lombards (Epistle 2.45). No details of this peace have come down to us, but it seems certain that it was actually concluded (<u>Epistle 5.36</u>). Dr. Hodgkin (Italy and her Invaders, v, 366) pronounces Gregory's action herein to have been wise and statesmanlike, but, at the same time, undoubtedly *ultra vires*, being quite beyond any legal competency then possessed by the <u>pope</u>, who thus "made a memorable stride towards complete independence".

Gregory's independent action had the effect of rousing up Romanus the <u>exarch</u>. Wholly ignoring the <u>papal</u> peace, he gathered all his troops, attacked and regained <u>Perugia</u>, and then marched to <u>Rome</u>, where he was received with imperial <u>honours</u>. The next spring, however, he quitted the city and took away its garrison with him, so that both <u>pope</u> and citizens were now more exasperated against him than before. Moreover, the <u>exarch's</u> campaign had roused the Northern Lombards, and King Agilulf marched on <u>Rome</u>, arriving there probably some time in June, 593. The terror aroused by his advance is still mirrored for us in Gregory's <u>homilies</u> on the <u>Prophet Ezechiel</u>, which were delivered at this time. The siege of the city was soon abandoned, however, and Agilulf retired. The continuator of <u>Prosper</u> (Mon. Germ. SS. Antiq., IX, 339) relates that Agilulf met the <u>pope</u> in person on the steps of the <u>Basilica of St. Peter</u>, which was then outside the city walls, and "being melted by Gregory's <u>prayers</u> and greatly moved by the wisdom and <u>religious</u> gravity of this great man, he broke up the siege of the city"; but, in view of the silence both of Gregory himself and of <u>Paul the Deacon</u> on the point, the story seems scarcely probable. In <u>Epistle 5.39</u>, Gregory refers to himself as "the paymaster of the Lombards", and most likely a large payment from the <u>papal</u> treasury was the chief inducement to raise the siege.

The <u>pope's</u> great desire now was to secure a lasting peace with the Lombards, which could only be achieved by a proper arrangement between the imperial authorities and the Lombard chiefs. On Queen Theodelinde, a <u>Catholic</u> and a personal friend, Gregory placed all his hopes. The <u>exarch</u>, however, looked at the whole affair in another light, and, when a whole year was passed in fruitless negotiations, Gregory began once again to mediate a private treaty. Accordingly, in May, 595, the <u>pope</u> wrote to a friend at <u>Ravenna</u> a <u>letter</u> (Epistle 5.34) threatening to make peace with Agilulf even without the <u>consent</u> of the <u>Exarch</u> Romanus. This threat was speedily reported to <u>Constantinople</u>, where the <u>exarch</u> was in high favour, and the <u>Emperor Maurice</u> at once sent off to Gregory a <u>violent letter</u>, now lost, accusing him of being both a <u>traitor</u> and a fool. This letter Gregory received in June, 595. Luckily, the <u>pope's</u> answer has been preserved to us (<u>Epistle 5.36</u>). It must be read in its entirety to be appreciated fully; probably very few emperors, if any, have ever received such a letter from a subject. Still, in spite of his scathing reply, Gregory seems to have realized that independent action could not secure what he wished, and we hear no more about a separate peace.

Gregory's relations with the <u>Exarch</u> Romanus became continually more and more strained until the latter's death in the year 596 or early in 597. The new <u>exarch</u>, Callinicus, was a man of far greater ability and well disposed towards the <u>pope</u>, whose hopes now revived. The official peace negotiations were pushed on, and, in spite of delays, the articles were at length signed in 599, to Gregory's great joy. This peace lasted two years, but in 601 the <u>war</u> broke out again through an aggressive act on the part of Callinicus, who was recalled two years later, when his successor, Smaragdus, again made a peace with the Lombards which endured until after Gregory's death. Two points stand out for special notice in Gregory's dealings with the Lombards: first, his determination that, in spite of the apathy of the imperial authorities, <u>Rome</u> should not pass into the hands of some half-civilized Lombard duke and so sink into insignificance and decay; second, his independent action in appointing governors to cities, providing munitions of <u>war</u>, giving instructions to generals, sending ambassadors to the Lombard king, and even negotiating a peace without the <u>exarch's</u> aid. Whatever the theory may have been, there is no <u>doubt</u> about the fact that, besides his <u>spiritual jurisdiction</u>, Gregory actually exercised no small amount of temporal power.

Of Gregory's relations with the <u>Franks</u> there is no need to write at length, as the intercourse he established with the <u>Frankish</u> kings practically lapsed at his death, and was not renewed for about a hundred years. On the other hand he exercised a great influence on <u>Frankish monasticism</u>, which he did much to strengthen and reshape, so that the work done by the <u>monasteries</u> in civilizing the wild <u>Franks</u> may be attributed ultimately to the first <u>monk-pope</u>.

Relations with the Imperial Government

The reign of Gregory the Great marks an epoch in <u>papal history</u>, and this is specially the case in respect to his attitude towards the imperial Government centered at <u>Constantinople</u>. Gregory seems to have looked upon <u>Church and State</u> as co-operating to form a united whole, which acted in two distinct spheres, ecclesiastical and secular. Over this commonwealth were the <u>pope</u> and the emperor, each supreme in his own department, care being taken to keep these as far as possible distinct and independent.

The latter point was the difficulty. Gregory definitely held that it was a <u>duty</u> of the secular ruler to protect the <u>Church</u> and preserve the "peace of the <u>faith</u>" (Mor., XXXI, viii), and so he is often found to call in the aid of the secular arm, not merely to suppress <u>schism</u>, <u>heresy</u>, or <u>idolatry</u>, but even to enforce <u>discipline</u> among <u>monks</u> and <u>clergy</u> (Epistles 1.72; 2.29; 3.59; 4.7; 4.32; 5.32; 8.4; 11.12; 11.37; 13.36). If the emperor interfered in <u>church</u> matters the <u>pope's</u> policy was to acquiesce if possible, unless <u>obedience</u> was <u>sinful</u>, according to the principle laid down in <u>Epistle 11.29</u>; "Quod ipse [se imperator] fecerit, si canonicum est, sequimur; si vero canonicum non est, in quantum sine peccato nostro, portamus." In taking this line Gregory was undoubtedly influenced by his deep reverence for the emperor, whom he regarded as the representative of <u>God</u> in all things secular, and must still be treated with all possible respect, even when he encroached on the borders of the <u>papal</u> authority.

On his side, although he certainly regarded himself as "superior in place and rank" to the <u>exarch</u> (Epistle 2.14), Gregory objected strongly to the interference of <u>ecclesiastical</u> authorities in matters secular. As supreme guardian of <u>Christian justice</u>, the <u>pope</u> was always ready to intercede for, or protect anyone who suffered <u>unjust</u> treatment (Epistles <u>1.35</u>; <u>1.36</u>; <u>1.47</u>; 1.59; <u>3.5</u>; 5.38; <u>9.4</u>; 9.46; <u>9.55</u>; 9.113; 9.182; 11.4), but at the same time he used the utmost tact in approaching the imperial officials. In <u>Epistle 1.39</u>, xxxix a, he explains for the benefit of his <u>Sicilian</u> agent the precise attitude to be adopted in such matters.

Still, in conjunction with all this deference, Gregory retained a spirit of independence which enabled him, when he considered it <u>necessary</u>, to address even the emperor in terms of startling directness. Space makes it impossible to do more than refer to the famous <u>letters</u> to the Emperor Phocas on his usurpation and the allusions in them to the <u>murdered Emperor Maurice</u> (Epistles <u>13.34</u>, <u>13.41</u>, <u>13.42</u>). Every kind of judgement has been passed upon Gregory for writing these <u>letters</u>, but the question remains a difficult one. Probably the <u>pope's</u> conduct herein was due to two things: first, his <u>ignorance</u> of the way in which Phocus had reached the throne; and second, his view that the emperor was <u>God's</u> representative on earth, and therefore deserving of all possible respect in his official capacity, his personal <u>character</u> not coming into the question at all. It should be noted, also, that he avoids any direct flattery towards the new emperor, merely using the exaggerated phrases of respect then customary, and expressing the high hopes he entertains of the new regime. Moreover, his allusions to <u>Maurice</u> refer to the sufferings of the people under his government, and do not reflect on the dead emperor himself.

Had the empire been sound instead of in a hopelessly rotten state when Gregory became <u>pope</u>, it is hard to say how his views might have worked out in practice. As it was, his line of strong independence, his efficiency, and his <u>courage</u> carried all before them, and when he died there was no longer any question as to who was the first power in <u>Italy</u>.

Missionary work

Gregory's <u>zeal</u> for the <u>conversion</u> of the <u>heathen</u>, and in particular of the <u>Angles</u>, has been mentioned already, and there is no need to dwell at length on the latter subject, as it has been fully treated under <u>SAINT</u> <u>AUGUSTINE OF CANTERBURY</u>. In justice to the great <u>pope</u>, however, it must be added that he lost no opportunity for the exercise of his missionary <u>zeal</u>, making every effort to root out <u>paganism</u> in <u>Gaul</u>, <u>Donatism</u> in <u>Africa</u>, and the <u>Schism</u> of the <u>Three Chapters</u> in North <u>Italy</u> and Istria.

In his treatment of <u>heretics</u>, <u>schismatics</u>, and <u>pagans</u> his method was to try every means — persuasions, exhortations, threats — before resorting to force; but, if gentler treatment failed, he had no hesitation in accordance with the <u>ideas</u> of his age, in resorting to compulsion, and invoking the aid of the <u>secular arm</u> therein. It is curious, therefore, to find him acting as a champion and protector of the <u>Jews</u>. In Epistle 1.14, he expressly deprecates the compulsory <u>baptism</u> of <u>Jews</u>, and many instances appear in which he insists on their <u>right</u> to liberty of action, so far as the <u>law</u> permitted, both in civil affairs and in the worship of the <u>synagogue</u> (Epistles 1.34; 2.6; 8.25; 9.38; 9.195; 13.15). He was equally strong, however, in preventing the <u>Jews</u> from exceeding the rights granted to them by the imperial <u>law</u>, especially with regard to the ownership by them of <u>Christian slaves</u> (Epistles <u>2.6</u>; 3.37; <u>4.9</u>; <u>4.21</u>; <u>6.29</u>; 7.21; <u>8.21</u>; 9.104; 9.213; 9.215). We shall probably be <u>right</u>, therefore, in attributing Gregory's protection of the <u>Jews</u> to his respect for <u>law</u> and <u>justice</u>, rather than to any <u>ideas</u> of <u>toleration</u> differing from those current at the <u>time</u>.

Gregory and monasticism

Although the first <u>monk</u> to become <u>pope</u>, Gregory was in no sense an original contributor to <u>monastic</u> ideals or practice. He took <u>monasticism</u> as he found it established by <u>St. Benedict</u>, and his efforts and influence were given to strengthening and enforcing the prescriptions of that greatest of <u>monastic</u> legislators. His position did indeed tend to modify <u>St. Benedict's</u> work by drawing it into a closer connection with the organization of the <u>Church</u>, and with the <u>papacy</u> in particular, but this was not deliberately aimed at by Gregory. Rather he was himself convinced that the <u>monastic</u> system had a very special value for the <u>Church</u>, and so he did everything in his power to diffuse and propagate it. His own <u>property</u> was <u>consecrated</u> to this end, he urged many <u>wealthy</u> people to establish or support <u>monasteries</u>, and he used the revenues of the <u>patrimony</u> for the same purpose.

He was relentless in correcting abuses and enforcing <u>discipline</u>, the letters on such matters being far too numerous for mention here, and the points on which he insists most are precisely those, such as stability and <u>poverty</u>, on which <u>St. Benedict's</u> recent legislation had laid special stress. Twice only do we find anything like direct legislation by the <u>pope</u>. The first point is that of the age at which a <u>nun</u> might be made <u>abbess</u>, which he fixes at "not less than sixty years" (<u>Epistle 4.11</u>). The second is his lengthening of the period of <u>novitiate</u>. <u>St. Benedict</u> had prescribed at least one year (Reg. Ben., lviii); Gregory (Epistle 10.9) orders two years, with special precautions in the case of <u>slaves</u> who wished to become <u>monks</u>.

More important was his line of action in the difficult question of the relation between <u>monks</u> and their <u>bishop</u>. There is plenty of evidence to show that many <u>bishops</u> took advantage of their position to oppress and burden the <u>monasteries</u> in their <u>diocese</u>, with the result that the <u>monks appealed</u> to the <u>pope</u> for protection. Gregory, while always upholding the <u>spiritual jurisdiction</u> of the <u>bishop</u>, was firm in support of the <u>monks</u> against any illegal aggression. All attempts on the part of a <u>bishop</u> to assume new powers over the <u>monks</u> in his <u>diocese</u> were condemned, while at times the <u>pope</u> issued documents, called Privilegia, in which he definitely set forth certain points on which the <u>monks</u> were exempt from <u>episcopal</u> control (Epistles <u>5.49</u>; <u>7.12</u>; <u>8.17</u>; 12.11; 12.12;

12.13). This action on Gregory's part undoubtedly began the long progress by which the <u>monastic</u> bodies have come to be under the direct control of the <u>Holy See</u>.

It should be mentioned that in Gregory's day the current view was that <u>ecclesiastical</u> work, such as the <u>cure of</u> <u>souls</u>, preaching, administering the <u>sacraments</u>, etc., was not compatible with the <u>monastic</u> state, and in this view the <u>pope</u> concurred. On the other hand a passage in Epistle 12.4, where he directs that a certain <u>layman</u> "should be <u>tonsured</u> either as a <u>monk</u> or a <u>subdeacon</u>", would suggest that the <u>pope</u> held the <u>monastic</u> state as in some way equivalent to the <u>ecclesiastical</u>; for his ultimate <u>intention</u> in this case was to promote the <u>layman</u> in question to the <u>episcopate</u>.

Death, canonization, relics, emblem

The last years of Gregory's life were filled with every kind of suffering. His <u>mind</u>, naturally serious, was filled with despondent forebodings, and his continued bodily pains were increased and intensified. His "sole consolation was the <u>hope</u> that death would come quickly" (<u>Epistle 13.26</u>). The end came on 12 March, 604, and on the same day his <u>body</u> was laid to rest in front of the <u>sacristy</u> in the <u>portico</u> of <u>St. Peter's Basilica</u>. Since then the <u>relics</u> have been moved several times, the most recent translation being that by <u>Paul V</u> in 1606, when they were placed in the <u>chapel</u> of <u>Clement V</u> near the entrance of the modern <u>sacristy</u>. There is some evidence that the body was taken to <u>Soissons</u> in <u>France</u> in the year 826, but probably only some large <u>relic</u> is meant.

<u>Venerable Bede</u> (Hist. Eccl., II, i) gives the epitaph placed on his <u>tomb</u> which contains the famous phrase referring to Gregory as *consul Dei*. His <u>canonization</u> by popular <u>acclamation</u> followed at once on his death, and survived a reaction against his memory which seems to have occurred soon afterwards.

In <u>art</u> the great <u>pope</u> is usually shown in full <u>pontifical</u> robes with the <u>tiara</u> and double <u>cross</u>. A <u>dove</u> is his special emblem, in allusion to the well-known story recorded by <u>Peter the Deacon</u> (Vita, xxviii), who tells that when the <u>pope</u> was dictating his <u>homilies</u> on <u>Ezechiel</u> a veil was drawn between his secretary and himself. As, however, the <u>pope</u> remained silent for long periods at a time, the servant made a hole in the curtain and, looking through, beheld a <u>dove</u> seated upon Gregory's head with its beak between his lips. When the <u>dove</u> withdrew its beak the <u>holy pontiff</u> spoke and the secretary took down his words; but when he became silent the servant again applied his eye to the hole and saw the <u>dove</u> had replaced its beak between his lips. The <u>miracles</u> attributed to Gregory are very many, but space forbids even the barest catalogue of them.

Conclusion

It is beyond the scope of this notice to attempt any elaborate estimate of the work, influence, and <u>character</u> of Pope Gregory the Great, but some short focusing of the features given above is only just.

First of all, perhaps, it will be best to clear the ground by admitting frankly what Gregory was not. He was not a man of profound learning, not a <u>philosopher</u>, not a conversationalist, hardly even a <u>theologian</u> in the constructive sense of the term. He was a trained Roman lawyer and administrator, a <u>monk</u>, a missionary, a preacher, above all a physician of <u>souls</u> and a leader of <u>men</u>. His great claim to remembrance lies in the fact that he is the real father of the <u>medieval papacy</u> (Milman).

With regard to things spiritual, he impressed upon <u>men's minds</u> to a degree unprecedented the fact that the <u>See</u> <u>of Peter</u> was the one supreme, decisive authority in the <u>Catholic Church</u>. During his pontificate, he established close relations between the <u>Church</u> of <u>Rome</u> and those of <u>Spain</u>, <u>Gaul</u>, <u>Africa</u>, and Illyricum, while his influence in Britain was such that he is justly called the Apostle of the <u>English</u>. In the <u>Eastern Churches</u>, too, the <u>papal</u> authority was exercised with a frequency unusual before his <u>time</u>, and we find no less an authority than the <u>Patriarch</u> of <u>Alexandria</u> submitting himself humbly to the <u>pope's</u> "commands". The system of <u>appeals</u> to <u>Rome</u>

was firmly established, and the <u>pope</u> is found to veto or confirm the <u>decrees</u> of <u>synods</u>, to annul the decisions of <u>patriarchs</u>, and inflict punishment on <u>ecclesiastical dignitaries</u> precisely as he thinks right.

Nor is his work less noteworthy in its effect on the temporal position of the <u>papacy</u>. Seizing the opportunity which circumstances offered, he made himself in <u>Italy</u> a power stronger than emperor or <u>exarch</u>, and established a political influence which dominated the peninsula for centuries. From this <u>time</u> forth the varied populations of <u>Italy</u> looked to the <u>pope</u> for guidance, and <u>Rome</u> as the <u>papal</u> capital continued to be the centre of the <u>Christian</u> world.

Gregory's work as a <u>theologian</u> and <u>Doctor of the Church</u> is less notable. In the history of <u>dogmatic</u> development he is important as summing up the teaching of the earlier <u>Fathers</u> and consolidating it into a harmonious whole, rather than as introducing new developments, new methods, new solutions of difficult questions. It was precisely because of this that his writings became to a great extent the *compendium theologiae* or textbook of the <u>Middle Ages</u>, a position for which his work in popularizing his great predecessors fitted him well. Achievements so varied have won for Gregory the title of "the Great", but perhaps, among our English-speaking races, he is <u>honoured</u> most of all as the <u>pope</u> who <u>loved</u> the bright-faced <u>Angles</u>, and taught them first to sing the <u>Angels' song</u>.

His writings

Genuine, doubtful, spurious

Of the writings commonly attributed to Gregory the following are now admitted as genuine on all hands: "Moralium Libri XXXV"; "Regulae Pastoralis Liber"; "Dialogorum Libri IV"; "Homiliarum in Ezechielem Prophetam Libri II"; "Homiliarum in Evangelia Libri II"; "Epistolarum Libri XIV". The following are almost certainly spurious: "In Librum Primum Regum Variarum Expositionum Libri VI"; "expositio super Cantica Canticorum"; "Expositio in VII Psalmos Poenitentiales"; "Concordia Quorundam Testimoniorum S. Scripturae". Besides the above there are attributed to Gregory certain <u>liturgical hymns</u>, the Gregorian Sacramentary, and the <u>Antiphonary</u>. (See <u>ANTIPHONARY</u>; <u>SACRAMENTARY</u>.)

Works of Gregory; complete or partial editions; translations, recensions, etc.

"Opera S. Gregorii Magni" (Editio princeps, Paris, 1518); ed. P. Tossianensis (6 vols., Rome, 1588-03); ed. P. Goussainville (3 vols., Paris, 1675); ed. Cong. S. Mauri (Sainte-Marthe) (4 vols., Paris, 1705); the last-named re-edited with additions by J. B. Gallicioli (17 vols., Venice, 1768-76) and reprinted in Migne, P.L., LXXV-LXXIX. "Epistolae", ed. P. Ewald and L. M. Hartmann in "Mon. Germ. Hist.: Epist.", I, II (Berlin, 1891-99); this is the authoritative edition of the text of the Epistles (all references given above are to this edition); Jaffe, "Regesta Pontif," (2nd ed., Rome, 1885), I, 143-219; II, 738; Turchi, "S. Greg. M. Epp. Selectae" (Rome, 1907); P. Ewald, "Studien zur Ausgabe des Registers Gregors I." in "Neues Archiv", III, 433-625; L.M. Hartmann in "Neues Archiv", XV, 411, 529; XVII, 493; Th. Mommsen in "Neues Archiv", XVII, 189; English translation: J. Barmby, "Selected Epistles" in "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers", 2nd Series, XII, XIII (Oxford and New York, 1895, 1898), "Regula Pastoralis Curae", ed. E. W. Westhoff (Munster, 1860); ed. H. Hurter, S.J., in "SS. Patr. Opuse. Select.", XX; ed. A.M. Micheletti (Tournai, 1904); ed. B. Sauter (Freiburg, 1904); English translations: "King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care", ed. H. Sweet (London, 1871); "The Book of Pastoral Care" (tr. J. Barmby) in "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers", 2nd Series, XII (Oxford and New York, 1895). "Dialogorum Libri IV": very many editions of the whole work have appeared, and also of Bk. II, "Of the Life and Miracles of St. Benedict", separately; an old English translation has been reprinted by H. Coleridge, S.J., (London, 1874); L. Wiese, "Die Sprache der Dialoge" (Halle, 1900); H. Delehaye, "S. Gregoirele Grand dans Phagiographie Grecque" in "Analecta Bolland." (1904), 449-54; B. Sauter, "Der heilige Vater Benediktus nach St. Gregor dem Grossen" (Freiburg, 1904). "Hom. XL in Evangelia", ed. H. Hurter in "SS. Patrum Opusc. Select.", series II, Tom. VI (Innsbruck, 1892). G. Pfeilschifter Gregors der Gr."

(Munich, 1900). "Magna Moralia", Eng. tr. in "Library of the Fathers" (4 vols., Oxford, 1844); Prunner, "Gnade und Sunde nach Gregors expositio in Job" (Eichstätt, 1855).

St. Gregory Nazianzen (330-90)

One of the original four Doctors of the Eastern Church

Doctor of the Church, born at Arianzus, in Asia Minor, c. 325; died at the same place, 389. He was son — one of three children — of Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzus (329-374), in the southwest of Cappadocia, and of Nonna, a daughter of Christian parents. The saint's father was originally a member of the heretical sect of the Hypsistarii, or Hypsistiani, and was converted to Catholicity by the influence of his pious wife. His two sons, who seem to have been born between the dates of their father's priestly ordination and episcopal consecration, were sent to a famous school at Caesarea, capital of Cappadocia, and educated by Carterius, probably the same one who was afterwards tutor of St. John Chrysostom. Here commenced the friendship between Basil and Gregory which intimately affected both their lives, as well as the development of the theology of their age. From Caesarea in Cappadocia Gregory proceeded to Caesarea in Palestine, where he studied rhetoric under Thespesius; and thence to Alexandria, of which Athanasius was then bishop, through at the time in exile. Setting out by sea from Alexandria to Athens, Gregory was all but lost in a great storm, and some of his biographers infer — though the fact is not certain — that when in danger of death he and his companions received the rite of <u>baptism</u>. He had certainly not been <u>baptized</u> in infancy, though dedicated to <u>God</u> by his pious mother; but there is some authority for believing that he received the sacrament, not on his voyage to Athens, but on his return to Nazianzus some years later. At Athens Gregory and Basil, who had parted at Caesarea, met again, renewed their youthful friendship, and studied rhetoric together under the famous teachers Himerius and Proaeresius. Among their fellow students was Julian, afterwards known as the Apostate, whose real character Gregory asserts that he had even then discerned and thoroughly distrusted him. The saint's studies at Athens (which Basil left before his friend) extended over some ten years; and when he departed in 356 for his native province, visiting Constantinople on his way home, he was about thirty years of age.

Arrived at Nazianzus, where his parents were now advanced in age, Gregory, who had by this time firmly resolved to devote his life and talents to God, anxiously considered the plan of his future career. To a young man of his high attainments a distinguished secular career was open, either that of a lawyer or of a professor of rhetoric; but his yearnings were for the monastic or ascetic life, though this did not seem compatible either with the Scripture studies in which he was deeply interested, or with his filial duties at home. As was natural, he consulted his beloved friend Basil in his perplexity as to his future; and he has left us in his own writings an extremely interesting narrative of their intercourse at this time, and of their common resolve (based on somewhat different motives, according to the decided differences in their characters) to quit the world for the service of God alone. Basil retired to Pontus to lead the life of a hermit; but finding that Gregory could not join him there, came and settled first at Tiberina (near Gregory's own home), then at Neocæsarea, in Pontus, where he lived in holy seclusion for some years, and gathered round him a brotherhood of cenobites, among whom his friend Gregory was for a time included. After a sojourn here for two or three years, during which Gregory edited, with Basil some of the exegetical works of Origen, and also helped his friend in the compilation of his famous rules, Gregory returned to Nazianzus, leaving with regret the peaceful hermitage where he and Basil (as he recalled in their subsequent correspondence) had spent such a pleasant time in the labour both of hands and of heads. On his return home Gregory was instrumental in bringing back to orthodoxy his father who, perhaps partly in ignorance, had subscribed the heretical creed of Rimini; and the aged bishop, desiring his son's presence and support, overruled his scrupulous shrinking from the priesthood, and forced him to accept ordination (probably at Christmas, 361). Wounded and grieved at the pressure put upon him, Gregory fled back to his solitude, and to the company of St. Basil; but after some weeks' reflection returned to Nazianzus, where he preached his first sermon on Easter Sunday, and afterward wrote the remarkable apologetic oration, which is really a treatise on the priestly office, the foundation of Chrysostom's "De Sacerdotio", of Gregory the Great's "Cura Pastoris", and of countless subsequent writings on the same subject.

During the next few years Gregory's life at Nazianzus was saddened by the deaths of his brother Caesarius and his sister Gorgonia, at whose funerals he preached two of his most eloquent orations, which are still extant. About this time Basil was made bishop of Caesarea and Metropolitan of Cappadocia, and soon afterwards the Emperor Valens, who was jealous of Basil's influence, divided Cappadocia into two provinces. Basil continued to claim ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as before, over the whole province, but this was disputed by Anthimus, Bishop of Tyana, the chief city of New Cappadocia. To strengthen his position Basil founded a new see at Sasima, resolved to have Gregory as its first bishop, and accordingly had him consecrated, though greatly against his will. Gregory, however, was set against Sasima from the first; he thought himself utterly unsuited to the place, and the place to him; and it was not long before he abandoned his diocese and returned to Nazianzus as coadjutor to his father. This episode in Gregory's life was unhappily the cause of an estrangement between Basil and himself which was never altogether removed; and there is no extant record of any correspondence between them subsequent to Gregory's leaving Sasima. Meanwhile he occupied himself sedulously with his duties as coadjutor to his aged father, who died early in 374, his wife Nonna soon following him to the grave. Gregory, who was now left without family ties, devoted to the poor the large fortune which he had inherited, keeping for himself only a small piece of land at Arianzus. He continued to administer the diocese for about two years, refusing, however, to become the bishop, and continually urging the appointment of a successor to his father. At the end of 375 he withdrew to a monastery at Seleuci, living there in solitude for some three years, and preparing (though he knew it not) for what was to be the crowning work of his life. About the end of this period Basil died. Gregory's own state of health prevented his being present either at the deathbed or funeral; but he wrote a letter of condolence to Basil's brother, Gregory of Nyssa, and composed twelve beautiful memorial poems or epitaphs to his departed friend.

Three weeks after Basil's death, Theodosius was advanced by the Emperor Gratian to the dignity of Emperor of the East. Constantinople, the seat of his empire, had been for the space of about thirty years (since the death of the saintly and martyred Bishop Paul) practically given over too Arianism, with an Arian prelate, Demophilus, enthroned at St. Sophia's. The remnant of persecuted Catholics, without either church or pastor, applied to Gregory to come and place himself at their head and organize their scattered forces; and many bishops supported the demand. After much hesitation he gave his consent, proceeded to Constantinople early in the year 379, and began his mission in a private house which he describes as "the new Shiloh where the Ark was fixed", and as "an Anastasia, the scene of the resurrection of the faith". Not only the faithful Catholics, but many heretics gathered in the humble chapel of the Anastasia, attracted by Gregory's sanctity, learning and eloquence; and it was in this chapel that he delivered the five wonderful discourses on the faith of Nicaea — unfolding the doctrine of the Trinity while safeguarding the Unity of the Godhead — which gained for him, alone of all Christian teachers except the Apostle St. John, the special title of *Theologus* or the Divine. He also delivered at this time the eloquent panegyrics on St. Cyprian, St. Athanasius, and the Machabees, which are among his finest oratorical works. Meanwhile he found himself exposed to persecution of every kind from without, and was actually attacked in his own chapel, whilst baptizing his Easter neophytes, by a hostile mob of Arians from St. Sophia's, among them being Arian monks and infuriated women. He was saddened, too, by dissensions among his own little flock, some of whom openly charged him with holding Tritheistic errors. St. Jerome became about this time his pupil and disciple, and tells us in glowing language how much he owed to his erudite and eloquent teacher. Gregory was consoled by the approval of Peter, Patriarch of Constantinople (Duchesne's opinion, that the patriarch was from the first jealous or suspicious of the Cappadocian bishop's influence in Constantinople, does not seem sufficiently supported by evidence), and Peter appears to have been desirous to see him appointed to the bishopric of the capital of the East. Gregory, however, unfortunately allowed himself to be imposed upon by a plausible adventurer called Hero, or Maximus, who came to Constantinople from Alexandria in the guise (long hair, white robe, and staff) of a Cynic, and professed to be a convert to Christianity, and an ardent admirer of Gregory's sermons. Gregory entertained him hospitably, gave him his complete confidence, and pronounced a public panegyric on him in his presence. Maximus's intrigues to obtain the bishopric for himself found support in various guarters, including Alexandria, which the patriarch Peter, for what reason precisely it is not known, had turned against Gregory; and certain Egyptian bishops deputed by Peter, suddenly, and at night, consecrated and enthroned Maximus as Catholic Bishop of Constantinople, while Gregory was confined to bed by illness. Gregory's friends, however, rallied round him, and Maximus had to fly

from Constantinople. The <u>Emperor Theodosius</u>, to whom he had recourse, refused to recognize any <u>bishop</u> other than Gregory, and Maximus retired in disgrace to Alexandria.

<u>Theodosius</u> received <u>Christian baptism</u> early in 380, at <u>Thessalonica</u>, and immediately addressed an edict to his subjects at Constantinople, commanding them to adhere to the <u>faith</u> taught by St. Peter, and professed by the <u>Roman pontiff</u>, which alone deserved to be called <u>Catholic</u>. In November, the emperor entered the city and called on Demophilus, the <u>Arian bishop</u>, to subscribe to the Nicene creed: but he refused to do so, and was banished from Constantinople. <u>Theodosius</u> determined that Gregory should be <u>bishop</u> of the new <u>Catholic</u> see, and himself accompanied him to St. Sophia's, where he was <u>enthroned</u> in presence of an immense crowd, who manifested their feelings by hand-clappings and other signs of joy. Constantinople was now restored to <u>Catholic</u> unity; the emperor, by a new edict, gave back all the churches to <u>Catholic</u> use; <u>Arians</u> and other <u>heretics</u> were forbidden to hold public assemblies; and the name of <u>Catholic</u> was restricted to adherents of the <u>orthodox</u> and <u>Catholic faith</u>.

Gregory had hardly settled down to the work of administration of the Diocese of Constantinople, when Theodosius carried out his long-cherished purpose of summoning thither a general council of the Eastern Church. One hundred and fifty bishops met in council, in May, 381, the object of the assembly being, as Socrates plainly states, to confirm the faith of Nicaea, and to appoint a bishop for Constantinople (see THE FIRST COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE). Among the bishops present were thirty-six holding semi-Arian or Macedonian opinions; and neither the arguments of the orthodox prelates nor the eloquence of Gregory, who preached at Pentecost, in St. Sophia's, on the subject of the Holy Spirit, availed to persuade them to sign the orthodox creed. As to the appointment of the bishopric, the confirmation of Gregory to the see could only be a matter of form. The orthodox bishops were all in favor, and the objection (urged by the Egyptian and Macedonian prelates who joined the council later) that his translation from one see to another was in opposition to a canon of the Nicene council was obviously unfounded. The fact was well known that Gregory had never, after his forced consecration at the instance of Basil, entered into possession of the See of Sasima, and that he had later exercised his episcopal functions at Nazianzus, not as bishop of that diocese, but merely as coadjutor of his father. Gregory succeeded Meletius as president of the council, which found itself at once called on to deal with the difficult question of appointing a successor to the deceased bishop. There had been an understanding between the two orthodox parties at Antioch, of which Meletius and Paulinus had been respectively bishops that the survivor of either should succeed as sole bishop. Paulinus, however, was a prelate of Western origin and creation, and the Eastern bishops assembled at Constantinople declined to recognize him. In vain did Gregory urge, for the sake of peace, the retention of Paulinus in the see for the remainder of his life. already fare advanced; the Fathers of the council refused to listen to his advice, and resolved that Meletius should be succeeded by an Oriental priest. "It was in the East that Christ was born", was one of the arguments they put forward; and Gregory's retort, "Yes, and it was in the East that he was put to death", did not shake their decision. Flavian, a priest of Antioch, was elected to the vacant see; and Gregory, who relates that the only result of his appeal was "a cry like that of a flock of jackdaws" while the younger members of the council "attacked him like a swarm of wasps", quitted the council, and left also his official residence, close to the church of the Holy Apostles.

Gregory had now come to the conclusion that not only the opposition and disappointment which he had met with in the council, but also his continued state of ill-health, justified, and indeed necessitated, his resignation of the <u>See of Constantinople</u>, which he had held for only a few months. He appeared again before the council, intimated that he was ready to be another Jonas to pacify the troubled waves, and that all he desired was rest from his labours, and leisure to <u>prepare for death</u>. The Fathers made no protest against this announcement, which some among them doubtless heard with secret satisfaction; and Gregory at once sought and obtained from the emperor permission to resign his <u>see</u>. In June, 381, he preached a farewell sermon before the council and in presence of an overflowing congregation. The peroration of this discourse is of singular and touching beauty, and unsurpassed even among his many eloquent orations. Very soon after its delivery he left Constantinople (Nectarius, a native of Cilicia, being chosen to succeed him in the <u>bishopric</u>), and retired to his old home at <u>Nazianzus</u>. His two extant letters addressed to Nectarius at his time are noteworthy as affording

evidence, by their spirit and tone, that he was actuated by no other feelings than those of interested goodwill towards the diocese of which he was resigning the care, and towards his successor in the episcopal charge. On his return to Nazianzus, Gregory found the Church there in a miserable condition, being overrun with the erroneous teaching of Apollinaris the Younger, who had seceded from the Catholic communion a few years previously, and died shortly after Gregory himself. Gregory's anxiety was now to find a learned and zealous bishop who would be able to stem the flood of heresy which was threatening to overwhelm the Christian Church in that place. All his efforts were at first unsuccessful, and he consented at length with much reluctance to take over the administration of the diocese himself. He combated for a time, with his usual eloquence and as much energy as remained to him, the false teaching of the adversaries of the Church; but he felt himself too broken in health to continue the active work of the episcopate, and wrote to the Archbishop of Tyana urgently appealing to him to provide for the appointment of another bishop. His request was granted, and his cousin Eulalius, a priest of holy life to whom he was much attached, was duly appointed to the See of Nazianzus. This was toward the end of the year 383, and Gregory, happy in seeing the care of the diocese entrusted to a man after his own heart, immediately withdrew to Arianzus, the scene of his birth and his childhood, where he spent the remaining years of his life in retirement, and in the literary labours, which were so much more congenial to his character than the harassing work of ecclesiastical administration in those stormy and troubled times.

Looking back on Gregory's career, it is difficult not to feel that from the day when he was compelled to accept priestly orders, until that which saw him return from Constantinople to Nazianzus to end his life in retirement and obscurity, he seemed constantly to be placed, through no initiative of his own, in positions apparently unsuited to his disposition and temperament, and not really calculated to call for the exercise of the most remarkable and attractive qualities of his mind and heart. Affectionate and tender by nature, of highly sensitive temperament, simple and humble, lively and cheerful by disposition, yet liable to despondency and irritability, constitutionally timid, and somewhat deficient, as it seemed, both in decision of character and in self-control, he was very human, very lovable, very gifted — yet not, one might be inclined to think, naturally adapted to play the remarkable part which he did during the period preceding and following the opening of the Council of Constantinople. He entered on his difficult and arduous work in that city within a few months of the death of Basil, the beloved friend of his youth; and Newman, in his appreciation of Gregory's character and career, suggests the striking thought that it was his friend's lofty and heroic spirit which had entered into him, and inspired him to take the active and important part which fell to his lot in the work of re-establishing the orthodox and Catholic faith in the eastern capital of the empire. It did, in truth, seem to be rather with the firmness and intrepidity, the high resolve and unflinching perseverance, characteristic of Basil, than in his own proper character, that of a gentle, fastidious, retiring, timorous, peace-loving saint and scholar, that he sounded the war-trumpet during those anxious and turbulent months, in the very stronghold and headquarters of militant heresy, utterly regardless to the actual and pressing danger to his safety, and even his life which never ceased to menace him. "May we together receive", he said at the conclusion of the wonderful discourse which he pronounced on his departed friend, on his return to Asia from Constantinople, "the reward of the warfare which we have waged, which we have endured." It is impossible to doubt, reading the intimate details which he has himself given us of his long friendship with, and deep admiration of, Basil, that the spirit of his early and wellloved friend had to a great extent moulded and informed his own sensitive and impressionable personality and that it was this, under God, which nerved and inspired him, after a life of what seemed, externally, one almost of failure, to co-operate in the mighty task of overthrowing the monstrous heresy which had so long devastated the greater part of Christendom, and bringing about at length the pacification of the Eastern Church.

During the six years of life which remained to him after his final retirement to his birth-place, Gregory composed, in all probability, the greater part of the copious poetical works which have come down to us. These include a valuable autobiographical poem of nearly 2000 lines, which forms, of course, one of the most important sources of information for the facts of his life; about a hundred other shorter poems relating to his past career; and a large number of epitaphs, epigrams, and epistles to well-known people of the day. Many of his later personal poems refer to the continuous illness and severe sufferings, both physical and spiritual, which assailed him during his last years, and doubtless assisted to perfect him in those saintly qualities which had never been wanting to him, rudely shaken though he had been by the trails and buffetings of his life. In the tiny

plot of ground at Arianzus, all (as has already been said) that remained to him of his rich inheritance, he wrote and meditated, as he tells, by a fountain near which there was a shady walk, his favourite resort. Here, too, he received occasional visits from intimate friends, as well as sometimes from strangers attracted to his retreat by his <u>reputation</u> for <u>sanctity</u> and learning; and here he peacefully breathed his last. The exact <u>date</u> of his death is unknown, but from a passage in <u>Jerome</u> (De Script. Eccl.) it may be assigned, with tolerable <u>certainty</u>, to the year 389 or 390.

Some account must now be given of Gregory's voluminous writings, and of his <u>reputation</u> as an orator and a <u>theologian</u>, on which, more than on anything else, rests his fame as one of the greatest lights of the <u>Eastern</u> <u>Church</u>. His works naturally fall under three heads, namely his poems, his epistles, and his orations. Much, though by no means all, of what he wrote has been preserved, and has been frequently published, the *editio princeps* of the poems being the Aldine (1504), while the first edition of his collected works appeared in <u>Paris</u> in 1609-11. The Bodleian catalogue contains more than thirty folio pages enumerating various editions of Gregory's works, of which the best and most complete are the <u>Benedictine</u> edition (two folio volumes, begun in 1778, finished in 1840), and the edition of <u>Migne</u> (four volumes XXXV - XXXVIII, in P.G., Paris, 1857 - 1862).

Poetical compositions

These, as already stated, comprise autobiographical verses, epigrams, epitaphs and epistles. The epigrams have been translated by Thomas Drant (London, 1568), the epitaphs by Boyd (London, 1826), while other poems have been gracefully and charmingly paraphrased by <u>Newman</u> in his "Church of the Fathers". Jerome and <u>Suidas</u> say that Gregory wrote more than 30,000 verses; if this is not an exaggeration, fully two-thirds of them have been lost. Very different estimates have been formed of the value of his poetry, the greater part of which was written in advanced years, and perhaps rather as a relaxation from the cares and troubles of life than as a serious pursuit. Delicate, graphic, and flowing as are many of his verses, and giving ample evidence of the cultured and gifted <u>intellect</u> which produced them, they cannot be held to parallel (the comparison would be an unfair one, had not many of them been written expressly to supersede and take the place of the work of <u>heathen</u> writers) the great creations of the classic Greek poets. Yet Villemain, no mean critic, places the poems in the front rank of Gregory's compositions, and thinks so highly of them that he maintains that the writer ought to be called, pre-eminently, not so much the <u>theologian</u> of the East as "the poet of <u>Eastern Christendom</u>".

Prose epistles

These, by common consent, belong to the finest literary productions of Gregory's age. All that are extant are finished compositions; and that the writer excelled in this kind of composition is shown from one of them (Ep. ccix, to Nicobulus) in which he enlarges with admirable good sense on the rules by which all letter-writers should be guided. It was at the request of Nicobulus, who believed, and rightly, that these letters contained much of permanent interest and value, that Gregory prepared and edited the collection containing the greater number of them which has come down to us. Many of them are perfect models of epistolary style — short, clear, couched in admirably chosen language, and in turn witty and profound, playful, affectionate and acute.

Orations

Both in his own time, and by the general verdict of posterity, Gregory was recognized as one of the very foremost orators who have ever adorned the <u>Christian Church</u>. Trained in the finest rhetorical <u>schools</u> of his age, he did more than <u>justice</u> to his distinguished teachers; and while boasting or vainglory was foreign to his nature, he frankly acknowledged his consciousness of his remarkable oratorical gifts, and his satisfaction at having been enabled to cultivate them fully in his youth. Basil and Gregory, it has been said, were the pioneers of <u>Christian</u> eloquence, modeled on, and inspired by, the noble and sustained oratory of Demosthenes and

Cicero, and calculated to move and impress the most cultured and critical audiences of the age. Only comparatively few of the numerous orations delivered by Gregory have been preserved to us, consisting of discourses spoken by him on widely different occasions, but all marked by the same lofty qualities. Faults they have, of course: lengthy digressions, excessive ornament, strained antithesis, laboured metaphors, and occasional over-violence of invective. But their merits are far greater than their defects, and no one can read them without being struck by the noble phraseology, perfect command of the purest Greek, high <u>imaginative</u> powers, lucidity and incisiveness of thought, fiery <u>zeal</u> and transparent sincerity of intention, by which they are distinguished. Hardly any of Gregory's extant sermons are direct expositions of Scripture, and they have for this reason been adversely criticized. <u>Bossuet</u>, however, points out with perfect <u>truth</u> that many of these discourses are really nothing but skillful interweaving of Scriptural texts, a profound <u>knowledge</u> of which is evident from every line of them.

Gregory's claims to rank as one of the greatest <u>theologians</u> of the early Church are based, apart from his <u>reputation</u> among his contemporaries, and the verdict of history in his regard, chiefly on the five great "Theological Discourses" which he delivered at Constantinople in the course of the year 380. In estimating the scope and value of these famous utterances, it is <u>necessary</u> to remember what was the religious condition of Constantinople when Gregory, at the urgent instance of Basil, of many other <u>bishops</u>, and of the sorely-tried <u>Catholics</u> of the Eastern capital, went thither to undertake the spiritual charge of the <u>faithful</u>. It was less as an administrator, or an organizer, than as a man of saintly life and of oratorical gifts famous throughout the <u>Eastern Church</u>, that Gregory was asked, and consented, to undertake his difficult mission; and he had to exercise those gifts in combating not one but numerous <u>heresies</u> which had been dividing and desolating Constantinople for many years. <u>Arianism</u> in every form and degree, incipient, moderate, and extreme, was of course the great enemy, but Gregory had also to wage <u>war</u> against the <u>Apollinarian</u> teaching, which denied the humanity of <u>Christ</u>, as well as against the contrary tendency — later developed into <u>Nestorianism</u> — which distinguished between the Son of Mary and the <u>Son of God</u> as two distinct and separate personalities.

A saint first, and a theologian afterwards, Gregory in one of his early sermons at the Anastasia insisted on the principle of reverence in treating of the mysteries of faith (a principle entirely ignored by his Arian opponents), and also on the purity of life and example which all who dealt with these high matters must show forth if their teaching was to be effectual. In the first and second of the five discourses he develops these two principles at some length, urging in language of wonderful beauty and force the necessity for all who would know God aright to lead a supernatural life, and to approach so sublime a study with a mind pure and free from sin. The third discourse (on the Son) is devoted to a defence of the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, and a demonstration of its consonance with the primitive doctrine of the Unity of God. The eternal existence of the Son and Spirit are insisted on, together with their dependence on the Father as origin or principle; and the Divinity of the Son is argued from Scripture against the Arians, whose misunderstanding of various Scripture texts is exposed and confuted. In the fourth discourse, on the same subject, the union of the Godhead and Manhood in Christ Incarnate is set forth and luminously proved from Scripture and reason. The fifth and final discourse (on the Holy Spirit) is directed partly against the Macedonian heresy, which denied altogether the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and also against those who reduced the Third Person of the Trinity to a mere impersonal energy of the Father. Gregory, in reply to the contention that the Divinity of the Spirit is not expressed in Scripture, quotes and comments on several passages which teach the doctrine by implication, adding that the full manifestation of this great truth was intended to be gradual, following on the revelation of the Divinity of the Son. It is to be noted that Gregory nowhere formulates the doctrine of the Double Procession, although in his luminous exposition of the Trinitarian doctrine there are many passages which seem to anticipate the fuller teaching of the *Quicumque vult.* No summary, not even a faithful verbal translation, can give any adequate idea of the combined subtlety and lucidity of thought, and rare beauty of expression, of these wonderful discourses, in which, as one of his French critics truly observes, Gregory "has summed up and closed the controversy of a whole century". The best evidence of their value and power lies in the fact that for fourteen centuries they have been a mine whence the greatest theologians of Christendom have drawn treasures of wisdom to illustrate and support their own teaching on the deepest mysteries of the Catholic Faith.

Saint Hilary of Poitiers (315-68) Added by Blessed Pope Pius IX in 1851

Bishop, born in that city at the beginning of the fourth century; died there 1 November, according to the most accredited opinion, or according to the Roman Breviary, on 13 January, 368. Belonging to a noble and very probably pagan family, he was instructed in all the branches of profane learning, but, having also taken up the study of <u>Holy Scripture</u> and finding there the truth which he sought so ardently, he renounced idolatry and was baptized. Thenceforth his wide learning and his zeal for the Faith attracted such attention that he was chosen about 350 to govern the body of the faithful which the city had possessed since the third century. We know nothing of the bishops who governed this society in the beginning. Hilary is the first concerning whom we have authentic information, and this is due to the important part he played in opposing heresy. The Church was then greatly disturbed by internal discords, the authority of the popes not being so powerful in practice as either to prevent or to stop them. Arianism had made frightful ravages in various regions and threatened to invade Gaul, where it already had numerous partisans more or less secretly affiliated with it. Saturninus, Bishop of Arles, the most active of the latter, being exposed by Hilary, convened and presided over a council at Béziers in 356 with the intention of justifying himself, or rather of establishing his false doctrine. Here the Bishop of Poitiers courageously presented himself to defend orthodoxy, but the council, composed for the most part of Arians, refused to hear him, and being shortly afterwards denounced to the Emperor Constantius, the protector of Arianism, he was at his command transported to the distant coasts of Phrygia.

But <u>persecution</u> could not subdue the valiant champion. Instead of remaining inactive during his exile he gave himself up to study, completed certain of his works which he had begun, and wrote his treatise on the <u>synods</u>. In this work he analysed the professions of <u>faith</u> uttered by the Oriental <u>bishops</u> in the Councils of <u>Ancyra</u>, <u>Antioch</u>, and <u>Sirmium</u>, and while condemning them, since they were in substance <u>Arian</u>, he sought to show that sometimes the difference between the doctrines of certain <u>heretics</u> and <u>orthodox beliefs</u> was rather in the words than in the <u>ideas</u>, which led to his counselling the <u>bishops</u> of the West to be reserved in their condemnation. He was sharply reproached for his indulgence by certain ardent <u>Catholics</u>, the leader of whom was Lucifer, <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Cagliari</u>. However, in 359, the city of <u>Seleucia</u> witnessed the assembly in synod of a large number of Oriental <u>bishops</u>, nearly all of whom were either <u>Anomoeans</u> or <u>Semi-Arians</u>. Hilary, whom everyone wished to see and hear, so great was his <u>reputation</u> for learning and virtue, was invited to be present at this assembly. The governor of the province even furnished him with post horses for the journey. In presence of the Greek fathers he set forth the doctrines of the Gallic <u>bishops</u>, and easily <u>proved</u> that, contrary to the opinion current in the <u>East</u>, these latter were not Sabellians. Then he took part in the violent discussions which took place between the <u>Semi-Arians</u>, who inclined toward reconciliation with the <u>Catholics</u>, and the <u>Anomoeans</u>, who formed as it were the extreme left of <u>Arianism</u>.

After the council, which had no result beyond the wider separation of these brothers in enmity, he left for Constantinople, the stronghold of <u>heresy</u>, to continue his battle against <u>error</u>. But while the <u>Semi-Arians</u>, who were less numerous and less powerful, besought him to become the intermediary in a reconciliation between themselves and the <u>bishops</u> of the West, the <u>Anomoeans</u>, who had the immense advantage of being upheld by the emperor, besought the latter to send back to his own country this Gallic <u>bishop</u>, who, they said, sowed discord and troubled the Orient. Constantius acceded to their desire, and the exile was thus enabled to set out on his journey home. In 361 Hilary re-entered Poitiers in triumph and resumed possession of his <u>see</u>. He was welcomed with the liveliest joy by his flock and his brothers in the episcopate, and was visited by Martin, his former disciple and subsequently <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Tours</u>. The success he had achieved in his combat against <u>error</u> was rendered more brilliant shortly afterwards by the deposition of Saturninus, the <u>Arian Bishop</u> of Arles by whom he had been <u>persecuted</u>. However, as in <u>Italy</u> the memory still rankled of the efforts he had made to bring about a reconciliation between the nearly converted <u>Semi-Arians</u> and the <u>Catholics</u>, he went in 364 to the <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Vercelli</u> to endeavour to overcome the intolerance of the partisans of the Bishop Lucifer mentioned above. Almost immediately afterwards, that it might be seen that, if he was full of indulgence for those whom

gentleness might finally win from <u>error</u>, he was intractable towards those who were obstinate in their adherence to it, he went to <u>Milan</u>, there to assail openly Auxentius, the <u>bishop</u> of that city, who was a firm defender of the <u>Arian</u> doctrines. But the Emperor Valentinian, who protected the <u>heretic</u>, ordered Hilary to depart immediately from <u>Milan</u>.

He then returned to his city of <u>Poitiers</u>, from which he was not again to absent himself and where he was to die. This learned and energetic <u>bishop</u> had fought against <u>error</u> with the pen as well as in words. The best edition of his numerous and remarkable writings is that published by Dom Constant under the title: "Sancti Hilarii, Pictavorum episcopi opera, ad manuscriptos codices gallicanos, romanos, belgicos, necnon ad veteres editiones castigata" (Paris, 1693). The <u>Latin Church</u> celebrates his <u>feast</u> on 14 January, and <u>Pius IX</u> raised him to the rank of <u>Doctor of the Universal Church</u>. The <u>Church</u> of Puy glories in the supposed possession of his <u>relics</u>, but according to one tradition his body was borne to the church of St-Denys near <u>Paris</u>, while according to another it was taken from the church of St-Hilaire at <u>Poitiers</u> and burned by the <u>Protestants</u> in 1572.

Saint Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179)

Added by Pope Benedict XVI in 2012

Born at Böckelheim on the Nahe, 1098; died on the Rupertsberg near Bingen, 1179; feast 17 September. The family name is unknown of this great seeress and prophetess, called the Sibyl of the Rhine. The early biographers give the first names of her parents as Hildebert and Mechtildis (or Mathilda), speak of their nobility and riches, but give no particulars of their lives. Later writers call the saint Hildegard of Böckelheim, of Rupertsberg, or of Bingen. Legends would make her a Countess of Spanheim. J. May (Katholik. XXXVII, 143) shows from letters and other documents that she probably belonged to the illustrious family of Stein, whose descendants are the present Princes of Salm. Her father was a soldier in the service of Meginhard, Count of Spanheim. Hildegard was a weak and sickly child, and in consequence received but little education at home. Her parents, though much engaged in worldly pursuits, had a religious disposition and had promised the child to the service of God. At the age of eight she was placed under the care of Jutta, sister of Count Meginhard, who lived as a recluse on the Disenberg (or Disibodenberg, Mount of St. Disibod) in the Diocese of Speyer. Here also Hildegard was given but little instruction since she was much afflicted with sickness, being frequently scarcely able to walk and often deprived even of the use of her eyes. She was taught to read and sing the Latin psalms, sufficient for the chanting of the Divine Office, but never learned to write. Eventually she was invested with the habit of St. Benedict and made her religious profession. Jutta died in 1136, and Hildegard was appointed superior. Numbers of aspirants flocked to the community and she decided to go to another locality, impelled also, as she says, by a Divine command. She chose Rupertsberg near Bingen on the left bank of the Rhine, about fifteen miles from Disenberg. After overcoming many difficulties and obtaining the permission of the lord of the place, Count Bernard of Hildesheim, she settled in her new home with eighteen sisters in 1147 or 1148 (1149 or 1150 according to Delehaye). Probably in 1165 she founded another convent at Eibingen on the right side of the Rhine, where a community had already been established in 1148, which, however, had no success.

The life of Hildegard as child, religious, and superioress was an extraordinary one. Left much to herself on account of her ill health, she led an interior life, trying to make use of everything for her own sanctification. From her earliest years she was favoured with visions. She says of herself:

Up to my fifteenth year I saw much, and related some of the things seen to others, who would inquire with astonishment, whence such things might come. I also wondered and during my sickness I asked one of my nurses whether she also saw similar things. When she answered no, a great fear befell me. Frequently, in my conversation, I would relate future things, which I saw as if present, but, noting the amazement of my listeners, I became more reticent.

This condition continued to the end of her life. Jutta had noticed her gifts and made them known to a monk of the neighbouring abbey, but, it seems, nothing was done at the time. When about forty years of age Hildegard received a command to publish to the world what she saw and heard. She hesitated, dreading what people might think or say, though she herself was fully convinced of the Divine character of the revelations. But, continually urged, rebuked, and threatened by the inner voice, she manifested all to her spiritual director, and through him to the abbot under whose jurisdiction her community was placed. Then a monk was ordered to put in writing whatever she related; some of her nuns also frequently assisted her. The writings were submitted to the bishop (Henry, 1145-53) and clergy of Mainz, who pronounced them as coming from God. The matter was also brought to the notice of Eugene III (1145-53) who was at Trier in 1147. Albero of Cluny, Bishop of Verdun, was commissioned to investigate and made a favourable report. Hildegard continued her writings. Crowds of people flocked to her from the neighbourhood and from all parts of Germany and Gaul, to hear words of wisdom from her lips, and to receive advice and help in corporal and spiritual ailments. These were not only from the common people, but men and women of note in Church and State were drawn by the report of her wisdom and sanctity. Thus we read that Archbishop Heinrich of Mainz, Archbishop Eberhard of Salzburg and Abbot Ludwig of St. Eucharius at Trier, paid her visits. St. Elizabeth of Schönau was an intimate friend and frequent visitor. Trithemius in his "Chronicle" speaks of a visit of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, but this probably was not correct. Not only at home did she give counsel, but also abroad. Many persons of all stations of life wrote to her and received answers, so that her correspondence is quite extensive. Her great love for the Church and its interests caused her to make many journeys; she visited at intervals the houses of Disenberg and Eibingen; on invitation she came to Ingelheim to see Emperor Frederick; she travelled to Würzburg, Bamberg, and the vicinity of Ulm, Cologne, Werden, Trier, and Metz. It is not true, however, that she saw Paris or the grave of St. Martin at Tours.

In the last year of her life Hildegard had to undergo a very severe trial. In the cemetery adjoining her <u>convent</u> a young man was buried who had once been under <u>excommunication</u>. The <u>ecclesiastical authorities</u> of <u>Mainz</u> demanded that she have the body removed. She did not consider herself bound to obey since the young man had received the last <u>sacraments</u> and was therefore supposed to have been reconciled to the <u>Church</u>. Sentence of <u>interdict</u> was placed on her <u>convent</u> by the chapter of <u>Mainz</u>, and the sentence was confirmed by the <u>bishop</u>, Christian (V) Buch, then in <u>Italy</u>. After much worry and correspondence she succeeded in having the <u>interdict</u> removed. She died a holy death and was buried in the church of Rupertsberg.

Hildegard was greatly <u>venerated</u> in life and after death. Her biographer, Theodoric, calls her saint, and many <u>miracles</u> are said to have been wrought through her intercession. <u>Gregory IX</u> (1227-41) and <u>Innocent IV</u> (1243-54) ordered a process of information which was repeated by <u>Clement V</u> (1305-14) and John XXII (1316-34). No formal <u>canonization</u> has ever taken place, but her name is in the Roman Martyrology and her <u>feast</u> is celebrated in the Dioceses of <u>Speyer</u>, <u>Mainz</u>, <u>Trier</u>, and Limburg, also in the Abbey of <u>Solesmes</u>, where a proper office is said (Brev. Monast. Tornac., 18 Sept.). When the <u>convent</u> on the Rupertsberg was destroyed in 1632 the <u>relics</u> of the <u>saint</u> were brought to Cologne and then to Eibingen. At the secularization of this <u>convent</u> they were placed in the <u>parish</u> church of the place. In 1857 an official recognition was made by the <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Limburg</u> and the <u>relics</u> were placed on an altar specially built. At this occasion the town of Eibingen chose her as patron. On 2 July, 1900, the cornerstone was here laid for a new <u>convent</u> of St. Hildegard. The work was begun and completed through the munificence of Prince Karl of Löwenstein and <u>Benedictine nuns</u> from St. Gabriel's at Prague entered the new home (17 Sept., 1904).

All the <u>manuscripts</u> found in the <u>convent</u> at Eibingen were in 1814 transferred to the state <u>library</u> at Wiesbaden. Of this collection the first and greatest work of St. Hildegard is called "Scivias" (*Scire* or *vias Domini*, or *vias lucis*), parts of which had been shown to the <u>Archbishop</u> of <u>Mainz</u>. She began it in 1141 and worked at it for ten years. It is an extraordinary production and hard to understand, prophetic throughout and admonitory after the manner of Ezechiel and the Apocalypse. In the introduction she speaks of herself and describes the nature of her visions. Then follow three books, the first containing six visions, the second giving seven visions, and about double the size of the first; the third, equal in size to both the others, has thirteen visions. The "Scivias" represents <u>God</u> on His Holy Mountain with <u>mankind</u> at its base; tells of the original condition of man, his fall

and redemption, the human soul and its struggles, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the times to come, the son of perdition and the end of the world. The visions are interspersed with salutary admonitions to live in the fear of the Lord. Manuscripts of the "Scivias" are also at Cues and Oxford. It was printed for the first time at Paris (1513) in a book which contains also the writings of several other persons. It was again printed at Cologne in 1628, and reproduced in Migne, PL 197. The "Liber vitae meritorum" written between 1158 and 1163, is a picturesque description of a Christian's life of virtue and its opposite. It was printed for the first time in Pitra, "Analecta Sacra", VIII (Monte Cassino, 1882). The "Liber divinorum operum" (1163-70) is a contemplation of all nature in the light of faith. Sun, moon, and stars, the planets, the winds, animals, and man, are in her visions expressive of something supernatural and spiritual, and as they come from God should lead back to Him (Migne, loc. cit.). Mansi, in "Baluzii Missell." (Lucca, 1761), II, 337, gives it from a manuscript lost since then. Her "Letter to the Prelates of Mainz" in regard to the interdict placed upon her convent is placed here among her works by the Wiesbaden manuscript; in others it is bound among her letters. To it the Wiesbaden manuscript annexes nine small essays: on the Creation and fall of man; God's treatment of the renegade; on the priesthood and the Holy Eucharist; on the covenant between Christ and the Church; on the Creation and Redemption; on the <u>duties</u> of secular judges; on the praises of <u>God</u> with intermingled <u>prayers</u>. "Liber Epistolarum et Orationum"; the Wiesbaden manuscript contains letters to and from Eugene III, Anastasius IV, Adrian IV, and Alexander III, King Conrad III, Emperor Frederick, St. Bernard, ten archbishops, nine bishops, forty-nine abbots and provosts of monasteries or chapters, twenty-three abbesses, many priests, teachers, monks, nuns, and religious communities (P.L., loc. cit.). Pitra has many additions; L. Clarus edited them in a German translation (Ratisbon, 1854). "Vita S. Disibodi" and "Vita S. Ruperti"; these "Vitae", which Hildegard claims also to be revelations, were probably made up from local traditions and, especially for St. Rupert, the sources being very meagre, have only legendary value. "Expositio Evangeliorum" fifty homilies in allegory (Pitra, loc. cit.). "Lingua Ignota", the manuscript, in eleven folios was a list of nine hundred words of an unknown language, mostly nouns and only a few adjectives, a Latin, and in a few cases a German, explanation, together with an unknown alphabet of twenty-three letters printed in Pitra. A collection of seventy hymns and their melodies. A manuscript of this is also at Afflighem, printed in Roth (Wiesbaden, 1880) and in Pitra. Not only in this work, but elsewhere Hildegard exhibits high poetical gifts, transfigured by her intimate persuasion of a Divine mission. "Liber Simplicis Medicinae" and "Liber Compositae Medicinae"; the first was edited in 1533 by Schott at Strasburg as "Physica S Hildegardis", Dr. Jessen (1858) found a manuscript of it in the library of Wolfenbuttel. It consists of nine books treating of plants, elements, trees, stones, fishes, birds, quadrupeds, reptiles, metals, printed in Migne as "Subtilitatum Diversarum Naturarum Libri Novem". In 1859, Jessen succeeded in obtaining from Copenhagen a manuscript entitled "Hildegardis Curae et Causae", and on examination felt satisfied that it was the second medical work of the saint. It is in five books and treats of the general divisions of created things, of the human body and its ailments, of the causes, symptoms, and treatment of diseases. "38 Solutiones Quaestionum" are answers to questions proposed by the monks of Villars through Gilbert of Gembloux on several texts of Scripture (P.L., loc. cit.). "Explanatio Regulae S. Benedicti", also called a revelation, exhibits the rule as understood and applied in those days by an intelligent and mild superior. "Explanatio Symboli S. Athanasii", an exhortation addressed to her sisters in religion. The "Revelatio Hildegardis de Fratribus Quatuor Ordinum Mendicantium", and the other prophecies against the Mendicants, etc., are forgeries. The "Speculum futurorum temporum" is a free adaptation of texts culled from her writings by Gebeno, prior of Eberbach (Pentachronicon, 1220). Some would impugn the genuineness of her writings, among others Preger in his "Gesch. der deutchen Mystik", 1874, but without sufficient reason. (See Hauck in "Kirchengesch. Deutschl.", IV.398 sqg.). Her correspondence is to be read with caution; three letters from popes have been proved spurious by Von Winterfeld in "Neue Archiv", XXVII, 297.

The first biography of St. Hildegard was written by the contemporary <u>monks</u> Gottfried and Theodoric. Guibert of Gembloux commenced another.

Saint Isidore of Seville (560-636) Added by Pope Innocent XIII in 1722 Born at Cartagena, Spain, about 560; died 4 April, 636.

Isidore was the son of Severianus and Theodora. His elder brother <u>Leander</u> was his immediate predecessor in the <u>Metropolitan See of Seville</u>; whilst a younger brother <u>St. Fulgentius</u> presided over the Bishopric of Astigi. His sister <u>Florentina</u> was a <u>nun</u>, and is said to have ruled over forty <u>convents</u> and one thousand religious.

Isidore received his elementary <u>education</u> in the Cathedral <u>school</u> of Seville. In this institution, which was the first of its kind in <u>Spain</u>, the <u>trivium and quadrivium</u> were taught by a body of learned men, among whom was the <u>archbishop</u>, <u>Leander</u>. With such diligence did he apply himself to study that in a remarkably short time mastered Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Whether Isidore ever embraced monastic life or not is still an open question, but though he himself may never have been affiliated with any of the <u>religious</u> orders, he esteemed them highly. On his elevation to the episcopate he immediately constituted himself protector of the <u>monks</u>. In 619 he pronounced <u>anathema</u> against any ecclesiastic who should in any way molest the <u>monasteries</u>.

On the death of Leander, Isidore succeeded to the See of Seville. His long incumbency to this office was spent in a period of disintegration and transition. The ancient institutions and classic learning of the Roman Empire were fast disappearing. In Spain a new civilization was beginning to evolve itself from the blending racial elements that made up its population. For almost two centuries the Goths had been in full control of Spain, and their barbarous manners and contempt of learning threatened greatly to put back her progress in civilization. Realizing that the spiritual as well as the material well-being of the nation depended on the full assimilation of the foreign elements, St. Isidore set himself to the task of welding into a homogeneous nation the various peoples who made up the Hispano-Gothic kingdom. To this end he availed himself of all the resources of religion and education. His efforts were attended with complete success. Arianism, which had taken deep root among the Visigoths, was eradicated, and the new heresy of Acephales was completely stifled at the very outset; religious discipline was everywhere strengthened. Like Leander, he took a most prominent part in the Councils of Toledo and Seville. In all justice it may be said that it was in a great measure due to the enlightened statecraft of these two illustrious brothers the Visigothic legislation, which emanated from these councils, is regarded by modern historians as exercising a most important influence on the beginnings of representative government. Isidore presided over the Second Council of Seville, begun 13 November, 619, in the reign of Sisebut. But it was the Fourth National Council of Toledo that afforded him the opportunity of being of the greatest service to his county. At this council, begun 5 December, 633, all the bishops of Spain were in attendance. St. Isidore, though far advanced in years, presided over its deliberations, and was the originator of most of its enactments. It was at this council and through his influence that a decree was promulgated commanding all **bishops** to establish seminaries in their Cathedral Cities, along the lines of the school already existing at Seville. Within his own jurisdiction he had availed himself of the resources of education to counteract the growing influence of Gothic barbarism. His was the quickening spirit that animated the educational movement of which Seville was the centre. The study of Greek and Hebrew as well as the liberal arts, was prescribed. Interest in law and medicine was also encouraged. Through the authority of the fourth council this policy of education was made obligatory upon all the bishops of the kingdom. Long before the Arabs had awakened to an appreciation of Greek Philosophy, he had introduced Aristotle to his countrymen. He was the first Christian writer to essay the task of compiling for his co-religionists a summa of universal knowledge. This encyclopedia epitomized all learning, ancient as well as modern. In it many fragments of classical learning are preserved which otherwise had been hopelessly lost. The fame of this work imparted a new impetus to encyclopedic writing, which bore abundant fruit in the subsequent centuries of the Middle Ages. His style, though simple and lucid, cannot be said to be classical. It discloses most of the imperfections peculiar to all ages of transition. It particularly reveals a growing Visigothic influence. Arévalo counts in all Isidore's writing 1640 Spanish words.

Isidore was the last of the ancient <u>Christian</u> Philosophers, as he was the last of the great <u>Latin Fathers</u>. He was undoubtedly the most learned man of his age and exercised a far-reaching and immeasurable influence on the <u>educational</u> life of the <u>Middle Ages</u>. His contemporary and friend, <u>Braulio</u>, <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Saragossa</u>, regarded him as a man raised up by <u>God</u> to save the Spanish people from the tidal wave of barbarism that threatened to

inundate the ancient civilization of <u>Spain</u>, The Eighth Council of Toledo (653) recorded its admiration of his character in these glowing terms: "The extraordinary doctor, the latest ornament of the <u>Catholic Church</u>, the most learned man of the latter ages, always to be named with reverence, Isidore". This tribute was endorsed by the Fifteenth Council of Toledo, held in 688.

Works

As a writer, Isidore was prolific and versatile to an extraordinary degree. His voluminous writings may be truly said to constitute the first chapter of Spanish literature. It is not, however, in the capacity of an original and independent writer, but as an indefatigable compiler of all existing knowledge, that literature is most deeply indebted to him. The most important and by far the best-known of all his writings is the "Etymologiae", or "Origines", as it is sometimes called. This work takes its name from the subject-matter of one of its constituent books. It was written shortly before his death, in the full maturity of his wonderful scholarship, at the request, of his friend Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa. It is a vast storehouse in which is gathered, systematized, and condensed, all the learning possessed by his time. Throughout the greater part of the Middle Ages it was the textbook most in use in educational institutions. So highly was it regarded as a depository of classical learning that in a great measure, it superseded the use of the individual works of the classics themselves. Not even the Renaissance seemed to diminish the high esteem in which it was held, and according to Arévalo, it was printed ten times between 1470 and 1529. Besides these numerous reprints, the popularity of the "Etymologiae" gave rise to many inferior imitations. It furnishes, abundant evidence that the writer possessed a most intimate knowledge of the Greek and Latin poets. In all, he quotes from one hundred and fifty-four authors, Christian and pagan. Many of these he had read in the originals and the others he consulted in current compilations. In style this encyclopedic work is concise and clear and in order, admirable. Braulio, to whom Isidore sent it for correction, and to whom he dedicated it, divided it into twenty books.

- The first three of these books are taken up with the trivium and quadrivium. The entire first book is devoted to grammar, including metre. Imitating the example of <u>Cassiodorus</u> and <u>Boethius</u> he preserves the <u>logical</u> tradition of the <u>schools</u> by reserving the second book for rhetoric and dialectic.
- Book four, treats of medicine and <u>libraries;</u>
- book five, of <u>law</u> and <u>chronology</u>;
- book six, of <u>ecclesiastical</u> books and offices;
- book seven, of <u>God</u> and of the heavenly and earthly hierarchies;
- book eight, of the <u>Church</u> and of the <u>sects</u>, of which latter he numbers no less than sixty-eight;
- book nine, of languages, peoples, kingdoms, and official titles;
- book ten, of etymology:
- book eleven, of man;
- book twelve, of beasts and birds;
- book thirteen, of the world and its parts;
- book fourteen, of <u>physical geography</u>;
- book fifteen, of public buildings and roadmaking;
- book sixteen, of stones and metals;
- book seventeen, of agriculture;
- book eighteen, of the terminology of <u>war</u>, of <u>jurisprudence</u>, and public games;
- book nineteen, of ships, houses, and clothes;
- book twenty, of victuals, domestic and agricultural tools, and furniture.

In the second book, dealing with dialectic and rhetoric, Isidore is heavily indebted to translations from the Greek by <u>Boethius</u>. Caelius Aurelianus contributes generously to that part of the fourth book which deals with medicine. Lactantius is the author most extensively quoted in the eleventh book, concerning man. The twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth books are largely based on the writings of Pliny and Solinus; whilst the lost "Prata" of Suetonius seems to have inspired the general plan of the "Etymologiae", as well as many of its details.

Similar in its general character to the "Etymologiae" is a work entitled "Libri duo differentiarum". The two books of which it is composed are entitled respectively, "De differentiis verborum" and "De differentiis rerum". The former is a dictionary of synonyms, treating of the differences of words with considerable erudition, and not a little ingenuity; the latter an exposition of theological and ascetical ideas, dealing in particular with the, Trinity and with the Divine and human nature of Christ. It suggests, and probably was inspired by, a similar work of Cato's. It is supplementary to the first two books of the "Etymologiae". The "Synonyma", or, as it is sometimes called on account of its peculiar treatment, "Liber lamentationum", is in a manner illustrative of the first book of the "Differentiae". It is cast in the form of a dialogue between Man and Reason. The general burden of the dialogue is that Man mourns the condition to which he has been reduced through sin, and Reason comforts him with the knowledge of how he may still realize eternal happiness. The second part of this work consists of a dissertation on vice and virtue. The "De natura rerum" a manual of elementary physics, was composed at the request of King Sisebut, to whom it is dedicated. It treats of astronomy, geography, and miscellanea. It is one of Isidore's best known books and enjoyed a wide popularity during the Middle Ages. The authenticity of "De ordine creaturarum" has been questioned by some critics, though apparently without good reason. Arévalo unhesitatingly attributes it to Isidore. It deals with various spiritual and physical questions, such as the Trinity, the consequences of sin, eternity, the ocean, the heavens, and the celestial bodies.

The subjects of history and biography are represented by three important works. Of these the first, "Chronicon", is a universal chronicle. In its preface Isidore acknowledges, his <u>indebtedness</u> to <u>Julius Africanus</u>; to <u>St</u>. <u>Jerome's</u> rendering of <u>Eusebius</u>; and to Victor of Tunnuna. The "Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum, et Suevorum" concerns itself chiefly with the <u>Gothic</u> kings whose conquests and government deeply influenced the civilization of <u>Spain</u>. The history of the <u>Vandals</u> and the Suevi is treated in two short appendixes. This work is regarded as the chief authority on Gothic history in the West. It contains the interesting statement that the <u>Goths</u> descended from <u>Gog and Magog</u>. Like the other Historical writings of Isidore, it is largely based on earlier works of history, of which it is a compendium. It has come down to us in two recensions, one of which ends at the death of Sisebut (621), and the other continues to the fifth year of the reign of Swintila, his successor. "De viris illustribus" is a work of <u>Christian</u> biography and constitutes a most interesting chapter in the literature of patrology. To the number of illustrious writers mentioned therein Braulio added the name of Isidore himself. A short appendix containing a list of Spanish <u>theologians</u> was added by Braulio's disciple, Ildephonsus of Toledo. It is the continuation of the work of <u>Gennadius</u>, a <u>Semipelagian priest</u> of <u>Marseilles</u>, who wrote between 467 and 480. This work of <u>Gennadius</u> was in turn, but the continuation of the work of <u>St</u>. <u>Jerome</u>.

Among the scriptural and <u>theological</u> works of St. Isidore the following are especially worthy of note:

- "De ortu et obitu patrum qui in Scriptura laudibus efferuntur" is a work that treats of the more notable Scriptural characters. It contains more than one passage that, in the light of modern scholarship, is naive or fantastic. The question of authenticity has been raised, though quite unreasonably, concerning it.
- "Allegoriae quaedam Sacrae Scripturae" treats of the allegorical significance that attaches to the more conspicuous characters of Scripture. In all some two hundred and fifty personalities of the Old and <u>New Testament</u> are thus treated.
- "Liber numerorum qui in Sanctis Scripturis occurrunt" is a curious dissertation on the mystical significance of Scriptural numbers.
- "In libros Veteris et Novi Testamenti prooemia", as its name implies, is a general introduction to the Scriptures, with special introductions for particular books in the Old and <u>New Testament</u>.
- "De Veteri et Novo Testamento quastiones" consists of a series of questions concerning the Scriptures.
- "Secretorum expositiones sacramentorum, seu quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum" is a mystical rendering of the <u>Old Testament</u> books, of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, <u>Josue</u>, <u>Judges</u>, Kings, Esdras, and Machabees. It is based on the writings of the early <u>Fathers of the Church</u>.
- "De fide catholica ex Veteri et Novo Testamento, contra Judaeos" is one of the best known and most meritorious of Isidore's works. It is of an apologetico-polemical character and is dedicated to <u>Florentina</u>, his sister, at whose request it is said to have been written. Its popularity was unbounded in the <u>Middle</u>

<u>Ages</u>, and it was translated into many of the vernaculars of the period. It treats of the <u>Messianic</u> prophecies, the passing of the <u>Old Law</u>, and of the <u>Christian Dispensation</u>. The first part deals with the Second Person of the <u>Blessed Trinity</u>, and His return for the final judgment. The second part is taken up with the unbelief of the <u>Jews</u>, the calling of the <u>Gentiles</u>, and the passing of the <u>Sabbath</u>. In all, it is an appeal to the <u>Jews</u> to accept <u>Christianity</u>.

- "Sententiarum libri tres" is a compendium of moral and <u>dogmatic theology</u>. <u>Gregory the Great</u> and <u>St.</u>
 <u>Augustine</u> are the most generous contributors to its contents. The <u>Divine attributes</u>, creation, <u>evil</u>, and miscellanea are the subjects treated in the first book. The second is of a miscellaneous character; whilst the third deals with <u>ecclesiastical</u> orders, the judgment and the chastisement of <u>God</u>. It is believed that this work greatly influenced <u>Peter Lombard</u> in his famous "Book of Sentences",
- "De ecclesiasticis officiis" is divided into two books, "De origine officiorum" and "De origine ministrorum". In the first Isidore treats of Divine worship and particularly the old Spanish Liturgy. It also Contains a lucid explanation of the Holy, Eucharist. The second treats of the <u>hierarchy</u> of the <u>Church</u> and the various states of life. In it much interesting information is to be found concerning the development of music in general and its adaptation to the needs of the Ritual.
- "Regula monachorum" is a manner of life prescribed for <u>monks</u>, and also deals in a general way with the <u>monastic</u> state. The writer furnishes abundant <u>proof</u> of the <u>true Christian democracy</u> of the <u>religious life</u> by providing for the admission of men of every rank and station of life. Not even slaves were debarred. "God", he said, "has made no difference between the <u>soul</u> of the slave and that of the freedman." He insists that in the <u>monastery</u> all are equal in the sight of <u>God</u> and of the <u>Church</u>.

The first edition of the works of Isidore was published in folio by Michael Somnius (Paris, 1580). Another edition that is quite complete is based upon the <u>manuscripts</u> of Gomez, with notes by Perez and Grial (Madrid, 1599). Based largely upon the <u>Madrid</u> edition is that published by Du Breul (Paris, 1601; Cologne, 1617). The last edition of all the works of Isidore, which is also regarded as the best, is that of Arévalo (7 vols., Rome, 1797-1803). It is found in P.L., LXXXI-LXXXIV. The "De natura rerum" was edited by G. Becker (Berlin, 1857). Th. Mommsen edited the historical writings of St. Isidore ("Mon. Germ. Hist.: Auct. antiquiss.", Berlin, 1894). Coste produced a <u>German</u> translation of the "Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum et Suevorum" (Leipzig, 1887).

Saint Jerome (343-420)

One of the original four Doctors of the Latin Church.

Born at Stridon, a town on the confines of <u>Dalmatia</u> and Pannonia, about the year 340-2; died at <u>Bethlehem</u>, 30 September, 420.

He went to <u>Rome</u>, probably about 360, where he was <u>baptized</u>, and became <u>interested</u> in <u>ecclesiastical</u> matters. From <u>Rome</u> he went to <u>Trier</u>, famous for its <u>schools</u>, and there began his <u>theological</u> studies. Later he went to <u>Aquileia</u>, and towards 373 he set out on a journey to the East. He settled first in <u>Antioch</u>, where he heard <u>Apollinaris of Laodicea</u>, one of the first <u>exegetes</u> of that <u>time</u> and not yet separated from the <u>Church</u>. From 374-9 Jerome led an <u>ascetical</u> life in the <u>desert</u> of Chalcis, southwest of <u>Antioch</u>. <u>Ordained priest</u> at <u>Antioch</u>, he went to <u>Constantinople</u> (380-81), where a friendship sprang up between him and <u>St. Gregory of Nazianzus</u>. From 382 to August 385 he made another sojourn in <u>Rome</u>, not far from <u>Pope Damasus</u>. When the latter died (11 December, 384) his position became a very difficult one. His harsh criticisms had made him bitter enemies, who tried to ruin him. After a few months he was compelled to leave <u>Rome</u>. By way of <u>Antioch</u> and Alexandria he reached <u>Bethlehem</u>, in 386. He settled there in a <u>monastery</u> near a <u>convent</u> founded by two <u>Roman</u> ladies, <u>Paula</u> and Eustochium, who followed him to Palestine. Henceforth he led a life of <u>asceticism</u> and study; but even then he was troubled by controversies which will be mentioned later, one with Rufinus and the other with the <u>Pelagians</u>.

Chronology

The literary activity of St. Jerome, although very prolific, may be summed up under a few principal heads: works on the <u>Bible</u>; <u>theological</u> controversies; historical works; various letters; translations. But perhaps the <u>chronology</u> of his more important writings will enable us to follow more easily the development of his studies.

A first period extends to his sojourn in <u>Rome</u> (382), a period of preparation. From this period we have the translation of the <u>homilies</u> of <u>Origen</u> on <u>Jeremias</u>, <u>Ezechiel</u>, and <u>Isaias</u> (379-81), and about the same <u>time</u> the translation of the <u>Chronicle of Eusebius</u>; then the "Vita S. Pauli, prima eremitae" (374-379).

A second period extends from his sojourn in <u>Rome</u> to the beginning of the translation of the <u>Old Testament</u> from the <u>Hebrew</u> (382-390). During this period the <u>excegetical vocation</u> of St. Jerome asserted itself under the influence of <u>Pope Damasus</u>, and took definite shape when the opposition of the <u>ecclesiastics</u> of <u>Rome</u> compelled the caustic <u>Dalmatian</u> to renounce ecclesiastical advancement and retire to <u>Bethlehem</u>. In 384 we have the correction of the <u>Latin version</u> of the <u>Four Gospels</u>; in 385, the <u>Epistles</u> of <u>St. Paul</u>; in 384, a first revision of the <u>Latin version</u> of the accepted text of the <u>Septuagint</u> (<u>Roman Psalter</u>); in 384, the revision of the <u>Latin version</u> of the <u>Book of Job</u>, after the accepted version of the <u>Septuagint</u>; between 386 and 391 a second revision of the <u>Latin Psalter</u>, this time according to the text of the <u>"Hexapla"</u> of <u>Origen</u> (<u>Gallican Psalter</u>, embodied in the <u>Vulgate</u>). It is <u>doubtful</u> whether he revised the entire version of the <u>Old Testament</u> according to the Greek of the <u>Septuagint</u>. In 382-383 "<u>Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi</u>" and "<u>De perpetua</u> <u>Virginitate B. Mariae</u>; <u>adversus Helvidium</u>". In 387-388, <u>commentaries</u> on the <u>Epistles</u> to <u>Philemon</u>, to the <u>Galatians</u>, to the <u>Ephesians</u>, to Titus; and in 389-390, on <u>Ecclesiastes</u>.

Between 390 and 405, St. Jerome gave all his attention to the translation of the <u>Old Testament</u> according to the <u>Hebrew</u>, but this work alternated with many others. Between 390-394 he translated the <u>Books of Samuel and of Kings</u>, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the <u>Canticle of Canticles</u>, Esdras, and <u>Paralipomena</u>. In 390 he translated the treatise "De Spiritu Sancto" of <u>Didymus of Alexandria</u>; in 389-90, he drew up his "Quaestiones hebraicae in Genesim" and "De interpretatione nominum hebraicorum." In 391-92 he wrote the <u>"Vita S. Hilarionis"</u>, the <u>"Vita Malchi, monachi captivi"</u>, and <u>commentaries on Nahum</u>, <u>Micheas</u>, <u>Sophonias</u>, <u>Aggeus</u>, <u>Habacuc</u>. In 392-93, "De viris illustribus", and <u>"Adversus Jovinianum"</u>; in 395, <u>commentaries on Jonas and Abdias</u>; in 398, revision of the remainder of the <u>Latin version of the New Testament</u>, and about that <u>time commentaries on chapters 13-23 of Isaias</u>; in 398, an unfinished work <u>"Contra Joannem Hierosolymitanum"</u>; in 401, "<u>Apologeticum adversus Rufinum</u>"; between 403-406, <u>"Contra Vigilantium</u>"; finally from 398 to 405, completion of the version of the <u>Old Testament</u> according to the <u>Hebrew</u>.

In the last period of his life, from 405 to 420, St. Jerome took up the series of his <u>commentaries</u> interrupted for seven years. In 406, he commented on <u>Osee</u>, <u>Joel</u>, <u>Amos</u>, <u>Zacharias</u>, <u>Malachias</u>; in 408, on <u>Daniel</u>; from 408 to 410, on the remainder of <u>Isaias</u>; from 410 to 415, on <u>Ezechiel</u>; from 415-420, on <u>Jeremias</u>. From 401 to 410 date what is left of his <u>sermons</u>; treatises on <u>St. Mark</u>, <u>homilies</u> on the <u>Psalms</u>, on various subjects, and on the <u>Gospels</u>; in 415, <u>"Dialogi contra Pelagianos"</u>.

Characteristics of St. Jerome's work

St. Jerome owes his place in the history of <u>exceptical</u> studies chiefly to his <u>revisions</u> and translations of the <u>Bible</u>. Until about 391-2, he considered the <u>Septuagint</u> translation as inspired. But the progress of his <u>Hebraistic</u> studies and his intercourse with the <u>rabbis</u> made him give up that <u>idea</u>, and he recognized as <u>inspired</u> the original text only. It was about this period that he undertook the translation of the <u>Old Testament</u> from the <u>Hebrew</u>. But he went too far in his reaction against the <u>ideas</u> of his time, and is open to reproach for not having sufficiently appreciated the <u>Septuagint</u>. This latter version was made from a much older, and at times much purer, <u>Hebrew text</u> than the one in use at the end of the fourth century. Hence the <u>necessity</u> of taking the

<u>Septuagint</u> into consideration in any attempt to restore the text of the <u>Old Testament</u>. With this exception we must admit the excellence of the translation made by St. Jerome.

His <u>commentaries</u> represent a vast amount of work but of very unequal value. Very often he worked exceedingly rapidly; besides, he considered a <u>commentary</u> a work of compilation, and his chief care was to accumulate the interpretations of his predecessors, rather than to pass judgment on them. The "Quaestiones hebraicae in Genesim" is one of his best works. It is a philological inquiry concerning the original text. It is to be regretted that he was unable to continue, as had been his <u>intention</u>, a style of work entirely new at the time. Although he often asserted his desire to avoid excessive allegory, his efforts in that respect were far from successful, and in later years he was ashamed of some of his earlier allegorical explanations. He himself says that he had recourse to the allegorical meaning only when unable to discover the literal meaning. His treatise, "De Interpretatione nominum hebraicorum", is but a collection of <u>mystical</u> and <u>symbolical</u> meanings.

Excepting the "Commentarius in ep. ad Galatas", which is one of his best, his explanations of the <u>New</u> <u>Testament</u> have no great value. Among his <u>commentaries</u> on the <u>Old Testament</u> must be mentioned those on <u>Amos</u>, <u>Isaias</u>, and <u>Jeremias</u>. There are some that are frankly bad, for instance those on <u>Zacharias</u>, <u>Osee</u>, and <u>Joel</u>.

To sum up, the Biblical knowledge of St. Jerome makes him rank first among ancient exegetes. In the first place, he was very careful as to the sources of his information. He required of the exegete a very extensive knowledge of sacred and profane history, and also of the linguistics and geography of Palestine. He never either categorically acknowledged or rejected the deuterocanonical books as part of the Canon of Scripture, and he repeatedly made use of them. On the inspiration, the existence of a spiritual meaning, and the freedom of the Bible from error, he holds the traditional doctrine. Possibly he has insisted more than others on the share which belongs to the sacred writer in his collaboration in the inspired work. His criticism is not without originality. The controversy with the Jews and with the Pagans had long since called the attention of the Christians to certain difficulties in the Bible. St. Jerome answers in various ways. Not to mention his answers to this or that difficulty, he appeals above all to the principle, that the original text of the Scriptures is the only one inspired and free from error. Therefore one must determine if the text, in which the difficulties arise, has not been altered by the copyist. Moreover, when the writers of the New Testament quoted the Old Testament, they did so not according to the letter but according to the spirit. There are many subtleties and even contradictions in the explanations Jerome offers, but we must bear in mind his evident sincerity. He does not try to cloak over his ignorance; he admits that there are many difficulties in the Bible; at times he seems quite embarrassed. Finally, he proclaims a principle, which, if recognized as legitimate, might serve to adjust the insufficiencies of his criticism. He asserts that in the Bible there is no material error due to the ignorance or the heedlessness of the sacred writer, but he adds: "It is usual for the sacred historian to conform himself to the generally accepted opinion of the masses in his time" (P.L., XXVI, 98; XXIV, 855).

Among the historical works of St. Jerome must be noted the translation and the continuation of the "Chronicon Eusebii Caesariensis", as the continuation written by him, which extends from 325 to 378, served as a model for the <u>annals</u> of the chroniclers of the <u>Middle Ages</u>; hence the defects in such works: dryness, superabundance of data of every description, lack of proportion and of historical sense. The <u>"Vita S. Pauli Eremitae"</u> is not a very reliable document. The <u>"Vita Malchi, monachi"</u> is a eulogy of <u>chastity</u> woven through a number of legendary episodes. As to the <u>"Vita S. Hilarionis"</u>, it has suffered from contact with the preceding ones. It has been asserted that the journeys of <u>St. Hilarion</u> are a plagiarism of some old tales of travel. But these objections are altogether misplaced, as it is really a reliable work. The treatise <u>"De Viris illustribus"</u> is a very excellent literary history. It was written as an <u>apologetic</u> work to prove that the <u>Church</u> had produced learned men. For the first three centuries Jerome depends to a great extent on <u>Eusebius</u>, whose statements he borrows, often distorting them, owing to the rapidity with which he worked. His accounts of the authors of the fourth century however are of great value.

The oratorical consist of about one hundred <u>homilies</u> or short treatises, and in these the Solitary of Bethlehem appears in a new light. He is a <u>monk</u> addressing <u>monks</u>, not without making very obvious allusions to contemporary events. The orator is lengthy and apologizes for it. He displays a wonderful <u>knowledge</u> of the versions and contents of the <u>Bible</u>. His allegory is excessive at times, and his teaching on <u>grace</u> is <u>Semipelagian</u>. A censorious spirit against authority, sympathy for the <u>poor</u> which reaches the point of hostility against the rich, lack of good taste, inferiority of style, and misquotation, such are the most glaring defects of these <u>sermons</u>. Evidently they are notes taken down by his hearers, and it is a question whether they were reviewed by the preacher.

The correspondence of St. Jerome is one of the best known parts of his literary output. It comprises about one hundred and twenty letters from him, and several from his correspondents. Many of these letters were written with a view to publication, and some of them the author even edited himself; hence they show evidence of great care and skill in their composition, and in them St. Jerome reveals himself a master of style. These letters, which had already met with great success with his contemporaries, have been, with the <u>"Confessions"</u> of <u>St.</u> Augustine, one of the works most appreciated by the <u>humanists</u> of the <u>Renaissance</u>. Aside from their literary interest they have great historical value. Relating to a period covering half a century they touch upon most varied subjects; hence their division into letters dealing with <u>theology</u>, polemics, <u>criticism</u>, conduct, and biography. In spite of their turgid diction they are full of the man's <u>personality</u>. It is in this correspondence that the temperament of St. Jerome is most clearly seen: his waywardness, his love of extremes, his exceeding sensitiveness; how he was in turn exquisitely dainty and bitterly satirical, unsparingly outspoken concerning others and equally frank about himself.

The <u>theological</u> writings of St. Jerome are mainly controversial works, one might almost say composed for the occasion. He missed being a <u>theologian</u>, by not applying himself in a consecutive and personal manner to <u>doctrinal</u> questions. In his controversies he was simply the interpreter of the accepted <u>ecclesiastical doctrine</u>. Compared with <u>St. Augustine</u> his inferiority in breadth and originality of view is most evident.

His <u>"Dialogue"</u> against the Luciferians deals with a <u>schismatic sect</u> whose founder was <u>Lucifer</u>, <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Cagliari</u> in <u>Sardinia</u>. The Luciferians refused to approve of the measure of clemency by which the <u>Church</u>, since the <u>Council of Alexandria</u>, in 362, had allowed <u>bishops</u>, who had adhered to <u>Arianism</u>, to continue to discharge their <u>duties</u> on condition of professing the <u>Nicene Creed</u>. This rigorist <u>sect</u> had adherents almost everywhere, and even in <u>Rome</u> it was very troublesome. Against it Jerome wrote his <u>"Dialogue"</u>, scathing in sarcasm, but not always accurate in <u>doctrine</u>, particularly as to the <u>Sacrament of Confirmation</u>.

The book "Adversus Helvidium" belongs to about the same period. Helvidius held the two following tenets:

- Mary bore children to Joseph after the virginal birth of Jesus Christ;
- from a <u>religious</u> viewpoint, the <u>married</u> state is not inferior to <u>celibacy</u>.

Earnest entreaty decided Jerome to answer. In doing so he discusses the various texts of the <u>Gospel</u> which, it was claimed, contained the objections to the <u>perpetual virginity of Mary</u>. If he did not find positive answers on all points, his work, nevertheless, holds a very creditable place in the history of <u>Catholic exegesis</u> upon these questions.

The relative dignity of <u>virginity</u> and <u>marriage</u>, discussed in the book against Helvidius, was taken up again in the book <u>"Adversus Jovinianum"</u> written about ten years later. Jerome recognizes the legitimacy of <u>marriage</u>, but he uses concerning it certain disparaging expressions which were criticized by contemporaries and for which he has given no satisfactory explanation. Jovinian was more dangerous than Helvidius. Although he did not exactly teach <u>salvation</u> by <u>faith</u> alone, and the uselessness of <u>good works</u>, he made far too easy the road to <u>salvation</u> and slighted a life of <u>asceticism</u>. Every one of these points St. Jerome took up.

The "Apologeticum adversus Rufinum" dealt with the Origenistic controversies. St. Jerome was involved in one of the most violent episodes of that struggle, which agitated the <u>Church</u> from <u>Origen's</u> lifetime until the <u>Fifth</u> <u>Ecumenical Council</u> (553). The question at issue was to determine if certain doctrines professed by <u>Origen</u> and others taught by certain <u>pagan</u> followers of <u>Origen</u> could be accepted. In the present case the <u>doctrinal</u> difficulties were embittered by personalities between St. Jerome and his former friend, Rufinus. To understand St. Jerome's position we must remember that the works of <u>Origen</u> were by far the most complete <u>exceptical</u> collection then in existence, and the one most accessible to students. Hence a very natural tendency to make use of them, and it is evident that St. Jerome did so, as well as many others. But we must carefully distinguish between writers who made use of <u>Origen</u> and those who adhered to his doctrines. This distinction is particularly <u>necessary</u> with St. Jerome, whose method of work was very rapid, and consisted in transcribing the interpretations of former <u>excegetes</u> without passing criticism on them. Nevertheless, it is <u>certain</u> that St. Jerome greatly praised and made use of <u>Origen</u>, that he even transcribed some <u>erroneous</u> passages without due reservation. But it is also evident that he never adhered thinkingly and systematically to the <u>Origenistic</u> doctrines.

Under these circumstances it came about that when Rufinus, who was a genuine <u>Origenist</u>, called on him to justify his use of <u>Origen</u>, the explanations he gave were not free from embarrassment. At this distance of <u>time</u> it would require a very subtle and detailed study of the question to decide the real basis of the quarrel. However that may be, Jerome may be accused of imprudence of language and blamed for a too hasty method of work. With a <u>temperament</u> such as his, and confident of his undoubted <u>orthodoxy</u> in the matter of <u>Origenism</u>, he must naturally have been <u>tempted</u> to justify anything. This brought about a most bitter controversy with his wily adversary, Rufinus. But on the whole Jerome's position is by far the stronger of the two, even in the eyes of his contemporaries. It is generally conceded that in this controversy Rufinus was to blame. It was he who brought about the conflict in which he <u>proved</u> himself to be narrow-minded, perplexed, <u>ambitious</u>, even timorous. St. Jerome, whose attitude is not always above reproach, is far superior to him.

Vigilantius, the Gascon <u>priest</u> against whom Jerome wrote a treatise, quarrelled with ecclesiastical usages rather than matters of <u>doctrine</u>. What he principally rejected was the <u>monastic</u> life and the <u>veneration</u> of <u>saints</u> and of <u>relics</u>.

In short, Helvidius, Jovinian, and Vigilantius were the mouthpieces of a reaction against <u>asceticism</u> which had developed so largely in the fourth century. Perhaps the influence of that same reaction is to be seen in the doctrine of the <u>monk Pelagius</u>, who gave his name to the principal <u>heresy</u> on <u>grace</u>: <u>Pelagianism</u>. On this subject Jerome wrote his "Dialogi contra Pelagianos". Accurate as to the <u>doctrine</u> of <u>original sin</u>, the author is much less so when he determines the part of <u>God</u> and of <u>man</u> in the act of <u>justification</u>. In the main his <u>ideas</u> are <u>Semipelagian</u>: <u>man merits</u> first <u>grace</u>: a formula which endangers the absolute freedom of the <u>gift of grace</u>.

The book "De situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum" is a translation of the "Onomasticon" of <u>Eusebius</u>, to which the translator has joined additions and corrections. The translations of the "Homilies" of <u>Origen</u> vary in character according to the <u>time</u> in which they were written. As <u>time</u> went on, Jerome became more expert in the art of translating, and he outgrew the tendency to palliate, as he came across them, certain <u>errors</u> of <u>Origen</u>. We must make special mention of the translation of the <u>homilies</u> "In Canticum Canticorum", the Greek original of which has been lost.

St. Jerome's complete works can be found in P.L., XXII-XXX.

St. John Chrysostom (347-407)

One of the original four Doctors of the Eastern Church

(Chrysostomos, "golden-mouthed" so called on account of his eloquence).

Doctor of the Church, born at Antioch, c. 347; died at Commana in Pontus, 14 September, 407.

John — whose surname "Chrysostom" occurs for the first time in the "Constitution" of <u>Pope Vigilius</u> (cf. P.L., LX, 217) in the year 553 — is generally considered the most prominent <u>doctor</u> of the <u>Greek Church</u> and the greatest preacher ever heard in a <u>Christian pulpit</u>. His natural gifts, as well as exterior circumstances, helped him to become what he was.

Life

Boyhood

At the time of Chrysostom's birth, Antioch was the second city of the Eastern part of the Roman Empire. During the whole of the fourth century religious struggles had troubled the empire and had found their echo at Antioch. Pagans, Manichaeans, Gnostics, Arians, Apollinarians, Jews, made their proselytes at Antioch, and the Catholics were themselves separated by the schism between the bishops Meletius and Paulinus. Thus Chrysostom's youth fell in troubled times. His father, Secundus, was an officer of high rank in the Syrian army. On his death soon after the birth of John, Anthusa, his wife, only twenty years of age, took the sole charge of her two children, John and an elder sister. Fortunately she was a woman of intelligence and character. She not only instructed her son in piety, but also sent him to the best schools of Antioch, though with regard to morals and religion many objections could be urged against them. Beside the lectures of Andragatius, a philosopher not otherwise known, Chrysostom followed also those of Libanius, at once the most famous orator of that period and the most tenacious adherent of the declining paganism of Rome. As we may see from the later writings of Chrysostom, he attained then considerable Greek scholarship and classical culture, which he by no means disowned in his later days. His alleged hostility to classical learning is in reality but a misunderstanding of certain passages in which he defends the *philosophia* of Christianity against the myths of the heathen gods, of which the chief defenders in his time were the representatives and teachers of the *sophia ellenike* (see A. Naegele in "Byzantin. Zeitschrift", XIII, 73-113; Idem, "Chrysostomus und Libanius" in Chrysostomika, I, Rome, 1908, 81-142).

Chrysostom as lector and monk

It was a very decisive turning-point in the life of Chrysostom when he met one day (about 367) the <u>bishop</u> <u>Meletius</u>. The earnest, mild, and winning character of this man captivated Chrysostom in such a measure that he soon began to withdraw from classical and profane studies and to devote himself to an ascetic and <u>religious life</u>. He studied <u>Holy Scripture</u> and frequented the sermons of <u>Meletius</u>. About three years later he received Holy Baptism and was <u>ordained lector</u>. But the young cleric, seized by the desire of a more perfect life, soon afterwards entered one of the ascetic <u>societies</u> near <u>Antioch</u>, which was under the <u>spiritual direction</u> of Carterius and especially of the famous Diodorus, later <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Tarsus</u> (see <u>Palladius</u>, "Dialogus", v; <u>Sozomenus</u>, <u>Church History VIII.2</u>). Prayer, manual labour and the study of <u>Holy Scripture</u> were his chief occupations, and we may safely suppose that his first literary works date from this time, for nearly all his earlier writings deal with ascetic and monastic subjects [cf. below Chrysostom writings: (1) "Opuscuia"]. Four years later, Chrysostom resolved to live as an <u>anchorite</u> in one of the caves near <u>Antioch</u>. He remained there two years, but then as his health was quite ruined by indiscreet watchings and fastings in frost and cold, he prudently returned to <u>Antioch</u> to regain his health, and resumed his office as <u>lector</u> in the church.

Chrysostom as deacon and priest at Antioch

As the sources of the life of Chrysostom give an incomplete <u>chronology</u>, we can but approximately determine the dates for this <u>Antiochene</u> period. Very probably in the beginning of 381 <u>Meletius</u> made him <u>deacon</u>, just before his own departure to Constantinople, where he died as president of the <u>Second Ecumenical Council</u>. The successor of <u>Meletius</u> was Flavian (concerning whose succession see F. Cavallera, "Le Schime d'Antioche",

Paris, 1905). Ties of sympathy and friendship connected Chrysostom with his new bishop. As deacon he had to assist at the liturgical functions, to look after the sick and poor, and was probably charged also in some degree with teaching catechumens. At the same time he continued his literary work, and we may suppose that he composed his most famous book, "On the Priesthood", towards the end of this period (c. 386, see Socrates, *Church History* VI.3), or at latest in the beginning of his priesthood (c. 387, as Nairn with good reasons puts it, in his edition of "De Sacerd.", xii-xv). There may be some doubt if it was occasioned by a real historical fact, viz., that Chrysostom and his friend Basil were requested to accept bishoprics (c. 372). All the earliest Greek biographers seem not to have taken it in that sense. In the year 386 Chrysostom was ordained priest by Flavian, and from that dates his real importance in ecclesiastical history. His chief task during the next twelve years was that of preaching, which he had to exercise either instead of or with Bishop Flavian. But no doubt the larger part of the popular religious instruction and education devolved upon him. The earliest notable occasion which showed his power of speaking and his great authority was the Lent of 387, when he delivered his sermons "On the Statues" (P.G., XLVIII, 15, xxx.). The people of Antioch, excited by the levy of new taxes, had thrown down the statues of Emperor Theodosius. In the panic and fear of punishment which followed, Chrysostom delivered a series of twenty or twenty-one (the nineteenth is probably not authentic) sermons, full of vigour, consolatory, exhortative, tranquilizing, until Flavian, the bishop, brought back from Constantinople the emperor's pardon. But the usual preaching of Chrysostom consisted in consecutive explanations of Holy Scripture. To that custom, unhappily no longer in use, we owe his famous and magnificent commentaries, which offer us such an inexhaustible treasure of dogmatic, moral, and historical knowledge of the transition from the fourth to the fifth century. These years, 386-98, were the period of the greatest theological productivity of Chrysostom, a period which alone would have assured him for ever a place among the first Doctors of the Church. A sign of this may be seen in the fact that in the year 392 St. Jerome already accorded to the preacher of Antioch a place among his Viri illustres ("De Viris ill.", 129, in P.L., XXIII, 754), referring expressly to the great and successful activity of Chrysostom as a theological writer. From this same fact we may infer that during this time his fame had spread far beyond the limits of Antioch, and that he was well known in the Byzantine Empire, especially in the capital.

St. Chrysostom as bishop of Constantinople

In the ordinary course of things Chrysostom might have become the successor of Flavian at <u>Antioch</u>. But on 27 September 397, Nectarius, <u>Bishop</u> of Constantinople, died. There was a general rivalry in the capital, openly or in secret, for the vacant see. After some months it was known, to the great disappointment of the competitors, that Emperor Areadius, at the suggestion of his minister Eutropius, had sent to the Prefect of <u>Antioch</u> to call John Chrysostom out of the town without the <u>knowledge</u> of the people, and to send him straight to Constantinople. In this sudden way Chrysostom was hurried to the capital, and <u>ordained Bishop</u> of Constantinople on 26 February, 398, in the presence of a great assembly of <u>bishops</u>, by <u>Theophilus</u>, <u>Patriarch</u> of <u>Alexandria</u>, who had been <u>obliged</u> to renounce the <u>idea</u> of securing the appointment of Isidore, his own candidate. The change for Chrysostom was as great as it was unexpected. His new position was not an easy one, placed as he was in the midst of an upstart <u>metropolis</u>, half Western, half Oriental, in the neighbourhood of a court in which luxury and intrigue always played the most prominent parts, and at the head of the <u>clergy</u> composed of most heterogeneous elements, and even (if not canonically, at least practically) at the head of the whole Byzantine episcopate. The first act of the new <u>bishop</u> was to bring about a reconciliation between Flavian and <u>Rome</u>. Constantinople itself soon began to feel the impulse of a new <u>ecclesiastical</u> life.

The necessity for reform was undeniable. Chrysostom began "sweeping the stairs from the top" (Palladius, op. cit., v). He called his *oeconomus*, and ordered him to reduce the expenses of the episcopal household; he put an end to the frequent banquets, and lived little less strictly than he had formerly lived as a <u>priest</u> and <u>monk</u>. With regard to the <u>clergy</u>, Chrysostom had at first to forbid them to keep in their houses *syneisactoe*, i.e. <u>women</u> housekeepers who had vowed virginity. He also proceeded against others who, by <u>avarice</u> or luxury, had given <u>scandal</u>. He had even to exclude from the ranks of the <u>clergy</u> two <u>deacons</u>, the one for <u>murder</u> and the other for <u>adultery</u>. Of the <u>monks</u>, too, who were very numerous even at that time at Constantinople, some had preferred to roam about aimlessly and without discipline. Chrysostom confined them to their <u>monasteries</u>. Finally he took

care of the ecclesiastical widows. Some of them were living in a worldly manner: he obliged them either to marry again, or to observe the rules of decorum demanded by their state. After the clergy, Chrysostom turned his attention to his flock. As he had done at Antioch, so at Constantinople and with more reason, he frequently preached against the unreasonable extravagances of the rich, and especially against the ridiculous finery in the matter of dress affected by women whose age should have put them beyond such vanities. Some of them, the widows Marsa, Castricia, Eugraphia, known for such preposterous tastes, belonged to the court circle. It seems that the upper classes of Constantinople had not previously been accustomed to such language. Doubtless some felt the rebuke to be intended for themselves, and the offence given was the greater in proportion as the rebuke was the more deserved. On the other hand, the people showed themselves delighted with the sermons of their new bishop, and frequently applauded him in the church (Socrates, Church History VI). They never forgot his care for the poor and miserable, and that in his first year he had built a great hospital with the money he had saved in his household. But Chrysostom had also very intimate friends among the rich and noble classes. The most famous of these was Olympias, widow and deaconess, a relation of Emperor Theodosius, while in the Court itself there was Brison, first usher of Eudoxia, who assisted Chrysostom in instructing his choirs, and always maintained a true friendship for him. The empress herself was at first most friendly towards the new bishop. She followed the religious processions, attended his sermons, and presented silver candlesticks for the use of the churches (Socrates, op. cit., VI, 8; Sozomenus, op. cit., VIII, 8).

Unfortunately, the feelings of amity did not last. At first Eutropius, the former slave, now minister and consul, abused his influence. He deprived some wealthy <u>persons</u> of their <u>property</u>, and prosecuted others whom he suspected of being adversaries of rivals. More than once Chrysostom went himself to the minister (see "Oratio ad Eutropium" in P.G., Chrys. Op., III, 392) to remonstrate with him, and to warn him of the results of his own acts, but without success. Then the above-named ladies, who immediately surrounded the empress, probably did not hide their resentment against the strict <u>bishop</u>. Finally, the empress herself committed an <u>injustice</u> in depriving a <u>widow</u> of her vineyard (Marcus Diac., "Vita Porphyrii", V, no. 37, in P.G., LXV, 1229). Chrysostom interceded for the latter. But Eudoxia showed herself offended. Henceforth there was a certain coolness between the imperial Court and the episcopal palace, which, growing little by little, led to a catastrophe. It is impossible to ascertain exactly at what period this alienation first began; very probably it dated from the beginning of the year 401. But before this state of things became known to the public there happened events of the highest political importance, and Chrysostom, without seeking it, was implicated in them. These were the fall of Eutropius and the revolt of Gainas.

In January, 399, Eutropius, for a reason not exactly known, fell into disgrace. Knowing the feelings of the people and of his personal enemies, he fled to the church. As he had himself attempted to abolish the immunity of the ecclesiastical asylums not long before, the people seemed little disposed to spare him. But Chrysostom interfered, delivering his famous sermon on Eutropius, and the fallen minister was saved for the moment. As, however, he tried to escape during the night, he was seized, exiled, and some time later put to death. Immediately another more exciting and more dangerous event followed. Gainas, one of the imperial generals, had been sent out to subdue Tribigild, who had revolted. In the summer of 399 Gainas united openly with Tribigild, and, to restore peace, Arcadius had to submit to the most humiliating conditions. Gainas was named commander-in-chief of the imperial army, and even had Aurelian and Saturninus, two men of the highest rank at Constantinople, delivered over to him. It seems that Chrysostom accepted a mission to Gainas, and that, owing to his intervention. Aurelian and Saturninus were spared by Gainas, and even set at liberty. Soon afterwards, Gainas, who was an Arian Goth, demanded one of the Catholic churches at Constantinople for himself and his soldiers. Again Chrysostom made so energetic an opposition that Gainas yielded. Meanwhile the people of Constantinople had become excited, and in one night several thousand Goths were slain. Gainas however escaped, was defeated, and slain by the Huns. Such was the end within a few years of three consuls of the Byzantine Empire. There is no doubt that Chrysostom's authority had been greatly strengthened by the magnanimity and firmness of character he had shown during all these troubles. It may have been this that augmented the jealousy of those who now governed the empire — a clique of courtiers, with the empress at their head. These were now joined by new allies issuing from the ecclesiastical ranks and including some provincial bishops — Severian of Gabala, Antiochus of Ptolemais, and, for some time, Acacius of Beroea —

who preferred the attractions of the capital to residence in their own cities (<u>Socrates</u>, op. cit., VI, 11; <u>Sozomenus</u>, op. cit., VIII, 10). The most intriguing among them was Severian, who flattered himself that he was the rival of Chrysostom in eloquence. But so far nothing had transpired in public. A great change occurred during the absence of Chrysostom for several months from Constantinople. This absence was necessitated by an <u>ecclesiastical</u> affair in <u>Asia Minor</u>, in which he was involved. Following the express invitation of several <u>bishops</u>, Chrysostom, in the first months of 401, had come to Ephesus, where he appointed a new <u>archbishop</u>, and with the consent of the assembled <u>bishops</u> deposed six <u>bishops</u> for <u>simony</u>. After having passed the same sentence on Bishop Gerontius of <u>Nicomedia</u>, he returned to Constantinople.

Meanwhile disagreeable things had happened there. Bishop Severian, to whom Chrysostom seems to have entrusted the performance of some ecclesiastical functions, had entered into open enmity with Serapion, the archdeacon and *oeconomus* of the cathedral and the episcopal palace. Whatever the real reason may have been, Chrysostom, found the case so serious that he invited Severian to return to his own see. It was solely owing to the personal interference of Eudoxia, whose confidence Serapion possessed, that he was allowed to come back from Chalcedon, whither he had retired. The reconciliation which followed was, at least on the part of Severian, not a sincere one, and the public scandal had excited much ill-feeling. The effects soon became visible. When in the spring of 402, Bishop Porphyrius of Gaza (see Marcus Diac., "Vita Porphyrii", V, ed. Nuth, Bonn, 1897, pp. 11-19) went to the Court at Constantinople to obtain a favour for his diocese, Chrysostom answered that he could do nothing for him, since he was himself in disgrace with the empress. Nevertheless, the party of malcontents were not really dangerous, unless they could find some prominent and unscrupulous leader. Such a person presented himself sooner than might have been expected. It was the well-known Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria. He appeared under rather curious circumstances, which in no way foreshadowed the final result. Theophilus, toward the end of the year 402, was summoned by the emperor to Constantinople to apologize before a synod, over which Chrysostom should preside, for several charges, which were brought against him by certain Egyptian monks, especially by the so-called four "tall brothers". The patriarch, their former friend, had suddenly turned against them, and had them persecuted as Origenists (Palladius, "Dialogus", xvi; Socrates, op. cit., VI, 7; Sozomenus, op. cit., VIII, 12).

However, Theophilus was not easily frightened. He had always agents and friends at Constantinople, and knew the state of things and the feelings at the court. He now resolved to take advantage of them. He wrote at once to St. Epiphanius at Cyprus, requesting him to go to Constantinople and prevail upon Chrysostom at to condemn the Origenists. Epiphanius went. But when he found that Theophilus was merely using him for his own purposes, he left the capital, dving on his return in 403. At this time Chrysostom delivered a sermon against the vain luxury of women. It was reported to the empress as though she had been personally alluded to. In this way the ground was prepared. Theophilus at last appeared at Constantinople in June, 403, not alone, as he had been commanded, but with twenty-nine of his suffragan bishops, and, as Palladius (ch. viii) tells us, with a good deal of money and all sorts of gifts. He took his lodgings in one of the imperial palaces, and held conferences with all the adversaries of Chrysostom. Then he retired with his suffragans and seven other bishops to a villa near Constantinople, called epi dryn (see Ubaldi, "La Synodo ad Quercum", Turin, 1902). A long list of the most ridiculous accusations was drawn up against Chrysostom (see Photius, "Bibliotheca", 59, in P.G., CIII, 105-113), who, surrounded by forty-two archbishops and bishops assembled to judge Theophilus in accordance with the orders of the emperor, was now summoned to present himself and apologize. Chrysostom naturally refused to recognize the legality of a synod in which his open enemies were judges. After the third summons Chrysostom, with the consent of the emperor, was declared to be deposed. In order to avoid useless bloodshed, he surrendered himself on the third day to the soldiers who awaited him. But the threats of the excited people, and a sudden accident in the imperial palace, frightened the empress (Palladius, "Dialogus", ix). She feared some punishment from heaven for Chrysostom's exile, and immediately ordered his recall. After some hesitation Chrysostom re-entered the capital amid the great rejoicings of the people. Theophilus and his party saved themselves by flying from Constantinople. Chrysostom's return was in itself a defeat for Eudoxia. When her alarms had gone, her rancour revived. Two months afterwards a silver statue of the empress was unveiled in the square just before the cathedral. The public celebrations which attended this incident, and lasted several days, became so boisterous that the offices in the church were disturbed. Chrysostom complained of this to the

prefect of the city, who reported to Eudoxia that the <u>bishop</u> had complained against her <u>statue</u>. This was enough to excite the empress beyond all bounds. She summoned <u>Theophilus</u> and the other <u>bishops</u> to come back and to depose Chrysostom again. The prudent patriarch, however, did not wish to run the same risk a second time. He only wrote to Constantinople that Chrysostom should be condemned for having re-entered his <u>see</u> in opposition to an article of the Synod of Antioch held in the year 341 (an <u>Arian synod</u>). The other <u>bishops</u> had neither the authority nor the <u>courage</u> to give a formal judgment. All they could do was to urge the emperor to sign a new <u>decree</u> of exile. A double attempt on Chrysostom's life failed. On <u>Easter Eve</u>, 404, when all the <u>catechumens</u> were to receive <u>baptism</u>, the adversaries of the <u>bishop</u>, with imperial soldiers, invaded the <u>baptistery</u> and dispersed the whole congregation. At last Arcadius signed the <u>decree</u>, and on 24 June, 404, the soldiers conducted Chrysostom a second time into exile.

Exile and death

They had scarcely left Constantinople when a huge conflagration destroyed the cathedral, the senate-house, and other buildings. The followers of the exiled bishop were accused of the crime and prosecuted. In haste Arsacius, an old man, was appointed successor of Chrysostom, but was soon succeeded by the cunning Atticus. Whoever refused to enter into communion with them was punished by confiscation of property and exile. Chrysostom himself was conducted to Cucusus, a secluded and rugged place on the east frontier of Armenia, continually exposed to the invasions of the Isaurians. In the following year he had even to fly for some time to the castle of Arabissus to protect himself from these barbarians. Meanwhile he always maintained a correspondence with his friends and never gave up the hope of return. When the circumstances of his deposition were known in the West, the pope and the Italian bishops declared themselves in his favour. Emperor Honorius and Pope Innocent I endeavoured to summon a new synod, but their legates were imprisoned and then sent home. The pope broke off all communion with the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch (where an enemy of Chrysostom had succeeded Flavian), and Constantinople, until (after the death of Chrysostom) they consented to admit his name into the diptychs of the Church. Finally all hopes for the exiled bishop had vanished. Apparently he was living too long for his adversaries. In the summer, 407, the order was given to carry him to Pithyus, a place at the extreme boundary of the empire, near the Caucasus. One of the two soldiers who had to lead him caused him all possible sufferings. He was forced to make long marches, was exposed to the rays of the sun, to the rains and the cold of the nights. His body, already weakened by several severe illnesses, finally broke down. On 14 September the party were at Comanan in Pontus. In the morning Chrysostom had asked to rest there on the account of his state of health. In vain; he was forced to continue his march. Very soon he felt so weak that they had to return to Comana. Some hours later Chrysostom died. His last words were: Doxa to theo panton eneken (Glory be to God for all things) (Palladius, xi, 38). He was buried at Comana. On 27 January, 438, his body was translated to Constantinople with great pomp, and entombed in the church of the Apostles where Eudoxia had been buried in the year 404 (see Socrates, VII, 45; Constantine Prophyrogen., "Cæremoniale Aul Byz.", II, 92, in P.G., CXII, 1204 B).

The writings of St. Chrysostom

Chrysostom has deserved a place in <u>ecclesiastical history</u>, not simply as <u>Bishop</u> of Constantinople, but chiefly as a <u>Doctor of the Church</u>. Of none of the other <u>Greek Fathers</u> do we possess so many writings. We may divide them into three portions, the "opuscula", the "homilies", and the "letters". (1) The chief "opuscula" all date from the earlier days of his literary activity. The following deal with <u>monastical</u> subjects: "Comparatio Regis cum Monacho" ("Opera", I, 387-93, in P.G., XLVII-LXIII), "Adhortatio ad Theodorum (Mopsuestensem?) lapsum" (ibid., 277-319), "Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae" (ibid., 319-87). Those dealing with ascetical subjects in general are the treatise "De Compunctione" in two books (ibid., 393-423), "Adhortatio ad Stagirium" in three books (ibid., 433-94), "Adversus Subintroductas" (ibid., 495-532), "De Virginitate" (ibid., 533-93), "De Sacerdotio" (ibid., 623-93). (2) Among the <u>"homilies"</u> we have to distinguish commentaries on books of <u>Holy Scripture</u>, groups of <u>homilies</u> (sermons) on special subjects, and a great number of single <u>homilies</u>. (a) The chief "commentaries" on the <u>Old Testament</u> are the sixty-seven <u>homilies</u> "On Genesis" (with eight sermons on

Genesis, which are probably a first recension) (IV, 21 sqq., and ibid., 607 sqq.); fifty-nine homilies "On the Psalms" (4-12, 41, 43-49, 108-117, 119-150) (V, 39-498), concerning which see Chrys. Baur, "Der ursprangliche Umfang des Kommentars des hl. Joh. Chrysostomus zu den Psalmen" in Chrysostomika, fase. i (Rome, 1908), 235-42, a commentary on the first chapters of "Isaias" (VI, 11 sqq.). The fragments on Job (XIII, 503-65) are spurious (see Haidacher, "Chrysostomus Fragmente" in *Chrysostomika*, I, 217 sq.); the authenticity of the fragments on the Proverbs (XIII, 659-740), on Jeremias and Daniel (VI, 193-246), and the Synopsis of the Old and the New Testament (ibid., 313 sqg.), is doubtful. The chief commentaries on the New Testament are first the ninety homilies on "St. Matthew" (about the year 390; VII), eighty-eight homilies on "St. John" (c. 389; VIII, 23 sqq. — probably from a later edition), fifty-five homilies on "the Acts" (as preserved by stenographers, IX, 13 sqq.), and homilies "On all Epistles of St. Paul" (IX, 391 sqq.). The best and most important commentaries are those on the Psalms, on St. Matthew, and on the Epistle to the Romans (written c. 391). The thirty-four homilies on the Epistle to the Galatians also very probably comes to us from the hand of a second editor. (b) Among the "homilies forming connected groups", we may especially mention the five homilies "On Anna" (IV, 631-76), three "On David" (ibid., 675-708), six "On Ozias" (VI, 97-142), eight "Against the Jews" (II, 843-942), twelve "De Incomprehensibili Dei Naturæ" (ibid., 701-812), and the seven famous homilies "On St. Paul" (III, 473-514). (c) A great number of "single homilies" deal with moral subjects, with certain feasts or saints. (3) The "Letters" of Chrysostom (about 238 in number: III, 547 sqq.) were all written during his exile. Of special value for their contents and intimate nature are the seventeen letters to the deaconess Olympias. Among the numerous "Apocrypha" we may mention the liturgy attributed to Chrysostom, who perhaps modified, but did not compose the ancient text. The most famous apocryphon is the "Letter to Cæsarius" (III, 755-760). It contains a passage on the holy Eucharist which seems to favour the theory of "impanatio", and the disputes about it have continued for more than two centuries. The most important spurious work in Latin is the "Opus imperfectum", written by an Arian in the first half of the fifth century (see Th. Paas, "Das Opus imperfectum in Matthæum", Tübingen, 1907).

Chrysostom's theological importance

Chrysostom as orator

The success of Chrysostom's preaching is chiefly due to his great natural facility of speech, which was extraordinary even to Greeks, to the abundance of his thoughts as well as the popular way of presenting and illustrating them, and, last but not least, the whole-hearted earnestness and conviction with which he delivered the message which he felt had been given to him. Speculative explanation did not attract his mind, nor would they have suited the tastes of his hearers. He ordinarily preferred moral subjects, and very seldom in his sermons followed a regular plan, nor did he care to avoid digressions when any opportunity suggested them. In this way, he is by no means a model for our modern thematic preaching, which, however we may regret it, has to such a great extent supplanted the old homiletic method. But the frequent outbursts of applause among his congregation may have told Chrysostom that he was on the right path.

Chrysostom as an exegete

As an <u>exegete</u> Chrysostom is of the highest importance, for he is the chief and almost the only successful representative of the <u>exegetical</u> principles of the School of Antioch. <u>Diodorus of Tarsus</u> had initiated him into the grammatico-historical method of that <u>school</u>, which was in strong opposition to the eccentric, allegorical, and mystical interpretation of <u>Origen</u> and the Alexandrian School. But Chrysostom rightly avoided pushing his principles to that extreme to which, later on, his friend <u>Theodore of Mopsuestia</u>, the teacher of Nestorius, carried them. He did not even exclude all allegorical or mystical explanations, but confined them to the cases in which the inspired author himself suggests this meaning.

Chrysostom as dogmatic theologian

As has already been said, Chrysostom's was not a speculative mind, nor was he involved in his lifetime in great dogmatic controversies. Nevertheless it would be a mistake to underrate the great <u>theological</u> treasures hidden in his writings. From the very first he was considered by the Greeks and Latins as a most important witness to the Faith. Even at the Council of Ephesus (431) both parties, St. Cyril and the Antiochians, already invoked him on behalf of their opinions, and at the <u>Seventh Ecumenical Council</u>, when a passage of Chrysostom had been read in favour of the veneration of images, Bishop Peter of <u>Nicomedia</u> cried out: "If John Chrysostom speaks in the way of the images, who would dare to speak against them?" which shows clearly the progress his authority had made up to that <u>date</u>.

Strangely enough, in the Latin Church, Chrysostom was still earlier invoked as an authority on matters of faith. The first writer who quoted him was Pelagius, when he wrote his lost book "De Naturæ" against St. Augustine (c. 415). The Bishop of Hippo himself very soon afterwards (421) claimed Chrysostom for the Catholic teaching in his controversy with Julian of Eclanum, who had opposed to him a passage of Chrysostom (from the "Hom. ad Neophytos", preserved only in Latin) as being against original sin (see Chrys. Baur, "L'entrée littéraire de St. Jean Chrys. dans le monde latin" in the "Revue d'histoire ecclés.", VIII, 1907, 249-65). Again, at the time of the Reformation there arose long and acrid discussions as to whether Chrysostom was a Protestant or a Catholic, and these polemics have never wholly ceased. It is true that Chrysostom has some strange passages on our Blessed Lady (see Newman, "Certain difficulties felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teachings", London, 1876, pp. 130 sqq.), that he seems to ignore private <u>confession</u> to a <u>priest</u>, that there is no clear and any direct passage in favour of the primacy of the pope. But it must be remembered that all the respective passages contain nothing positive against the actual Catholic doctrine. On the other side Chrysostom explicitly acknowledges as a rule of faith tradition (XI, 488), as laid down by the authoritative teaching of the Church (I, 813). This Church, he says, is but one, by the unity of her doctrine (V, 244; XI, 554); she is spread over the whole world, she is the one Bride of Christ (III, 229, 403; V, 62; VIII, 170). As to Christology, Chrysostom holds clearly that Christ is God and man in one person, but he never enters into deeper examination of the manner of this union. Of great importance is his doctrine regarding the Eucharist. There cannot be the slightest doubt that he teaches the Real Presence, and his expressions on the change wrought by the words of the priest are equivalent to the doctrine of transubstantiation (see Naegle, "Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Joh. Chry.", 74 sq.).

St. John Damascene (675-749)

Added by Pope Leo XIII in 1883

Born at Damascus, about 676; died some time between 754 and 787. The only extant life of the saint is that by John, Patriarch of Jerusalem, which dates from the tenth century (P.G. XCIV, 429-90). This life is the single source from which have been drawn the materials of all his biographical notices. It is extremely unsatisfactory from the standpoint of historical criticism. An exasperating lack of detail, a pronounced legendary tendency, and a turgid style are its chief characteristics. Mansur was probably the name of John's father. What little is known of him indicates that he was a sterling Christian whose infidel environment made no impression on his religious fervour. Apparently his adhesion to Christian truth constituted no offence in the eyes of his Saracen countrymen, for he seems to have enjoyed their esteem in an eminent degree, and discharged the duties of chief financial officer for the caliph, Abdul Malek. The author of the life records the names of but two of his children, John and his half-brother Cosmas. When the future apologist had reached the age of twenty-three his father cast about for a Christian tutor capable of giving his sons the best education the age afforded. In this he was singularly fortunate. Standing one day in the market-place he discovered among the captives taken in a recent raid on the shores of Italy a Sicilian monk named Cosmas. Investigation proved him to be a man of deep and broad erudition. Through the influence of the caliph, Mansur secured the captive's liberty and appointed him tutor to his sons. Under the tutelage of Cosmas, John made such rapid progress that, in the enthusiastic language of his biographer, he soon equalled Diophantus in algebra and Euclid in geometry. Equal progress was made in music, astronomy, and theology.

On the death of his father, John Damascene was made protosymbulus, or chief councillor, of Damascus. It was during his incumbency of this office that the Church in the East began to be agitated by the first mutterings of the Iconoclast heresy. In 726, despite the protests of Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, Leo the Isaurian issued his first edict against the veneration of images. From his secure refuge in the caliph's court, John Damascene immediately entered the lists against him, in defence of this ancient usage of the Christians. Not only did he himself oppose the Byzantine monarch, but he also stirred the people to resistance. In 730 the Isaurian issued a second edict, in which he not only forbade the veneration of images, but even inhibited their exhibition in public places. To this royal decree the Damascene replied with even greater vigour than before, and by the adoption of a simpler style brought the Christian side of the controversy within the grasp of the common people. A third letter emphasized what he had already said and warned the emperor to beware of the consequences of this unlawful action. Naturally, these powerful apologies aroused the anger of the Byzantine emperor. Unable to reach the writer with physical force, he sought to encompass his destruction by strategy. Having secured an autograph letter written by John Damascene, he forged a letter, exactly similar in chirography, purporting to have been written by John to the Isaurian, and offering to betray into his hands the city of **Damascus**. The letter he sent to the caliph. Notwithstanding his councillor's earnest avowal of innocence, the latter accepted it as genuine and ordered that the hand that wrote it be severed at the wrist. The sentence was executed, but, according to his biographer, through the intervention of the Blessed Virgin, the amputated hand was miraculously restored.

The caliph, now convinced of John's innocence, would fain have reinstated him in his former office, but the Damascene had heard a call to a higher life, and with his foster-brother entered the <u>monastery</u> of St. Sabas, some eighteen miles south-east of <u>Jerusalem</u>. After the usual probation, John V, <u>Patriarch</u> of <u>Jerusalem</u>, conferred on him the office of the <u>priesthood</u>. In 754 the pseudo-Synod of Constantinople, convened at the command of Constantine Copronymus, the successor of Leo, confirmed the principles of the <u>Iconoclasts</u> and <u>anathematized</u> by name those who had conspicuously opposed them. But the largest measure of the council's spleen was reserved for John of <u>Damascus</u>. He was called a "cursed favourer of Saracens", a "traitorous worshipper of images", a "wronger of Jesus Christ", a "teacher of impiety", and a "bad interpreter of the <u>Scriptures</u>". At the emperor's command his name was written "Manzer" (*Manzeros*, a bastard). But the <u>Seventh General Council</u> of Nicea (787) made ample amends for the insults of his enemies, and <u>Theophanes</u>, writing in 813, tells us that he was surnamed Chrysorrhoas (golden stream) by his friends on account of his oratorical gifts. In the pontificate of <u>Leo XIII</u> he was enrolled among the <u>doctors</u> of the <u>Church</u>. His <u>feast</u> is celebrated on 27 March.

John of <u>Damascus</u> was the last of the <u>Greek Fathers</u>. His genius was not for original <u>theological</u> development, but for compilation of an encyclopedic character. In fact, the state of full development to which <u>theological</u> thought had been brought by the great Greek writers and councils left him little else than the work of an encyclopedist; and this work he performed in such manner as to merit the gratitude of all succeeding ages. Some consider him the precursor of the <u>Scholastics</u>, whilst others regard him as the first <u>Scholastic</u>, and his <u>"De</u> <u>fide orthodoxa"</u> as the first work of <u>Scholasticism</u>. The Arabians too, owe not a little of the fame of their philosophy to his inspiration. The most important and best known of all his works is that to which the author himself gave the name of "Fountain of Wisdom" (*pege gnoseos*). This work has always been held in the highest esteem in both the <u>Catholic</u> and Greek Churches. Its merit is not that of originality, for the author asserts, at the end of the second chapter of the "Dialectic", that it is not his purpose to set forth his own views, but rather to collate and epitomize in a single work the opinions of the great <u>ecclesiastical</u> writers who have gone before him. A special interest attaches to it for the reason that it is the first attempt at a *summa theologica* that has come down to us.

The "Fountain of Wisdom" is divided into three parts, namely, "Philosophical Chapters" (*Kephalaia philosophika*), "Concerning Heresy" (*peri aipeseon*), and "An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith" (*Ikdosis akribes tes orthodoxou pisteos*). The title of the first book is somewhat too comprehensive for its contents and consequently is more commonly called "Dialectic". With the exception of the fifteen chapters that deal exclusively with <u>logic</u>, it has mostly to do with the ontology of <u>Aristotle</u>. It is largely a summary of the

Categories of Aristotle with Porphyry's "Isagoge" (Eisagoge eis tas kategorias). It seems to have been John Damascene's purpose to give his readers only such philosophical knowledge as was necessary for understanding the subsequent parts of the "Fountain of Wisdom". For more than one reason the "Dialectic" is a work of unusual interest. In the first place, it is a record of the technical terminology used by the Greek Fathers, not only against the heretics, but also in the exposition of the Faith for the benefit of Christians. It is interesting, too, for the reason that it is a partial exposition of the "Organon", and the application of its methods to Catholic theology a century before the first Arabic translation of Aristotle made its appearance. The second part, "Concerning Heresy", is little more than a copy of a similar work by Epiphanius, brought up to date by John Damascene. The author indeed expressly disclaims originality except in the chapters devoted to Islamism, Iconoclasm, and Aposchitae. To the list of eighty heresies that constitute the "Panarion" of Epiphanius, he added twenty heresies that had sprung up since his time. In treating of Islamism he vigorously assails the immoral practices of Mohammed and the corrupt teachings inserted in the Koran to legalize the delinquencies of the prophet. Like Epiphanius, he brings the work to a close with a fervent profession of Faith. John's authorship of this book has been challenged, for the reason that the writer, in treating of Arianism, speaks of Arius, who died four centuries before the time of Damascene, as still living and working spiritual ruin among his people. The solution of the difficulty is to be found in the fact that John of Damascene did not epitomize the contents of the "Panarion", but copied it verbatim. Hence the passage referred to is in the exact words of Epiphanius himself, who was a contemporary of Arius.

"Concerning the Orthodox Faith", the third book of the "Fountain of Wisdom", is the most important of John Damascene's writings and one of the most notable works of Christian antiquity. Its authority has always been great among the theologians of the East and West. Here, again, the author modestly disavows any claim of originality — any purpose to essay a new exposition of doctrinal truth. He assigns himself the less pretentious task of collecting in a single work the opinions of the ancient writers scattered through many volumes, and of systematizing and connecting them in a logical whole. It is no small credit to John of Damascus that he was able to give to the Church in the eighth century its first summary of connected theological opinions. At the command of Eugenius III it was rendered into Latin by Burgundio of Pisa, in 1150, shortly before Peter Lombard's "Book of Sentences" appeared. This translation was used by Peter Lombard and St. Thomas Aquinas, as well as by other theologians, till the Humanists rejected it for a more elegant one. The author follows the same order as does Theodoret of Cyrus in his "Epitome of Christian Doctrine". But, while he imitates the general plan of Theodoret, he does not make use of his method. He quotes, not only form the pages of Holy Writ, but also from the writings of the Fathers. As a result, his work is an inexhaustible thesaurus of tradition which became the standard for the great Scholastics who followed. In particular, he draws generously from Gregory of Nazianzus, whose works he seems to have absorbed, from Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, Leo the Great, Athanasius, John Chrysostum, and Epiphanius. The work is divided into four books. This division, however, is an arbitrary one neither contemplated by the author nor justified by the Greek manuscript. It is probably the work of a Latin translator seeking to accommodate it to the style of the four books of Lombard's "Sentences".

The first book of "The Orthodox Faith" treats of the essence and <u>existence</u> of <u>God</u>, the <u>Divine nature</u>, and the <u>Trinity</u>. As evidence of the <u>existence of God</u> he cites the concurrence of opinion among those enlightened by Revelation and those who have only the light of reason to guide them. To the same end he employs the argument drawn from the mutability of created things and that from design. Treating, in the second book, of the physical world, he summarizes all the views of his times, without, however, committing himself to any of them. In the same treatise he discloses a comprehensive <u>knowledge</u> of the <u>astronomy</u> of his day. Here, also, place is given to the consideration of the nature of <u>angels</u> and <u>demons</u>, the <u>terrestrial paradise</u>, the properties of <u>human</u> <u>nature</u>, the foreknowledge of <u>God</u>, and <u>predestination</u>. Treating of man (c.xxvii), he gives what has been aptly called a "<u>psychology</u> *in nuce*". Contrary to the teachings of Plotinus, the master of Porphyry, he identifies mind and <u>soul</u>. In the third book the <u>personality</u> and two-fold nature of Christ are discussed with great ability. This leads up to the consideration of the <u>Monophysite heresy</u>. In this connexion he deals with Peter the Fuller's addition to the "Trisagion", and combats Anastasius's interpretation of this ancient <u>hymn</u>. The latter, who was <u>Abbot</u> of the <u>monastery</u> of <u>St. Euthymius</u> in Palestine, referred the "Trisagion" only to the Second Person of the Trinity. In his letter "Concerning the Trisagion" John Damascene contends that the <u>hymn</u> applies not to the Son

alone, but to each Person of the <u>Blessed Trinity</u>. This book also contains a spirited defence of the Blessed Virgin's claim to the title of "Theotokos." Nestorius is vigorously dealt with for trying to substitute the title of "Mother of Christ" for "Mother of God". The Scriptures are discussed in the fourth book. In assigning twenty-two books to the <u>Old Testament canon</u> he is treating of the Hebrew, and not the <u>Christian</u>, Canon, as he finds it in a work of Epiphanius, "De ponderibus et mensuris". His treatment in this book of the <u>Real Presence</u> is especially satisfactory. The nineteenth chapter contains a powerful plea for the veneration of images.

The treatise, "Against the Jacobites", was written at the request of Peter, <u>Metropolitan</u> of <u>Damascus</u>, who imposed on him the task of reconciling to the Faith the Jacobite <u>bishop</u>. It is a strong polemic against the <u>Jacobites</u>, as the <u>Monophysites</u> in <u>Syria</u> were called. He also wrote against the <u>Manicheans</u> and <u>Monothelites</u>. The "Booklet Concerning Right Judgment" is little more than a profession of Faith, confirmed by arguments setting forth the mysteries of the Faith, especially the Trinity and the Incarnation. Though John of <u>Damascus</u> wrote voluminously on the Scriptures, as in the case of so much of his writing, his work bears little of the stamp of originality. His "Select Passages" (Loci Selecti), as he himself admits, are taken largely from the <u>homilies</u> of <u>St. John Chrysostom</u> and appended as commentaries to texts from the <u>Epistles</u> of <u>St. Paul</u>. The commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians is taken from <u>Cyril of Alexandria</u>. The "Sacred Parallels" (Sacra parallela) is a kind of topical concordance, treating principally of <u>God</u>, man, virtues, and vices.

Under the general title of "Homilies" he wrote fourteen discourses. The sermon on the Transfiguration, which Lequien asserts was delivered in the church on Mt. Tabor, is of more than usual excellence. It is characterized by dramatic eloquence, vivid description, and a wealth of imagery. In it he discourses on his favorite topic, the twofold nature of Christ, quotes the classic text of Scripture in testimony of the primacy of Peter, and witnesses the Catholic doctrine of sacramental Penance. In his sermon on Holy Saturday he descants on the Easter duty and on the Real Presence. The Annunciation is the text of a sermon, now extant only in a Latin version of an Arabic text, in which he attributes various blessings to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin. The second of his three sermons on the Assumption is especially notable for its detailed account of the translation of the body of the Blessed Virgin into heaven, an account, he avers, that is based on the most reliable and ancient tradition. Both Liddledale and Neale regard John of Damascus as the prince of Greek hymnodists. His hymns are contained in the "Carmina" of the Lequien edition. The "canons" on the Nativity, Epiphany, and Pentecost are written in iambic trimeters. Three of his hymns have become widely known and admired in their English version — "Those eternal bowers", "Come ye faithful raise the strain", and "Tis the Day of Resurrection". The most famous of the "canons" is that on Easter. It is a song of triumph and thanksgiving — the "Te Deum" of the Greek Church. It is a traditional opinion, lately controverted, that John Damascene composed the "Octoëchos", which contains the liturgical hymns used by the Greek Church in its Sunday services. Gerbet, in his "History of Sacred Music", credits him with doing for the East what Gregory the Great accomplished for the West substitution of notes and other musical characters for the letters of the alphabet to indicate musical quantities. It is certain he adapted choral music to the purposes of the Liturgy.

Among the several works that are dubiously attributed to John Damascene the most important is the romance entitled "Barlaam and Josaphat". Throughout the <u>Middle Ages</u> it enjoyed the widest popularity in all languages. It is not regarded as authentic by <u>Lequien</u>, and the discovery of a Syriac version of the "Apology of Aristides" shows that what amounts to sixteen printed pages of it was taken directly from Aristides. The panegyric of <u>St.</u> <u>Barbara</u>, while accepted as genuine by <u>Lequien</u>, is rejected by many others. The treatise entitled "Concerning those who have died in the Faith" is rejected as spurious by Francisco Suárez, <u>Bellarmine</u>, and <u>Lequien</u>, not only on account of its <u>doctrinal</u> discrepancies, but for its fabulous character as well. The first Greek edition of any of the works of John Damascene was that of the "Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith" brought out at <u>Verona</u> (1531) under the auspices of John Matthew Gibertus, <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Verona</u>. Another Greek edition at <u>Paris</u> (1507), by James Faber. Henry Gravius, O.P., published a Latin edition at Cologne (1546) which contained the following works: "Dialectic", "Elementary and Dogmatic Instruction", "Concerning the two Wills and Operations", and "Concerning Heresy". A Greek-Latin edition with an introduction by Mark Hopper made its

appearance at Basle (1548). A similar edition, but much more complete was published at the same place in 1575. Another Latin edition, constituting a partial collection of the author's works is that by <u>Michael</u> <u>Lequien,O.P.</u>, published at <u>Paris</u> (1712) and <u>Venice</u> (1748). To the reprint of this edition, P.G., XCIV-XCVI (Paris, 1864), <u>Migne</u> has added a supplement of works attributed by some to the authorship of John Damascene.

Saint John of Avila (1500-69) Added by Pope Benedict XVI in 2012

<u>Apostolic preacher</u> of <u>Andalusia</u> and author, born at Almodóvar del Campo, a small town in the <u>diocese of</u> <u>Toledo</u>, <u>Spain</u>, 6 January, 1500; died at Montilla, 10 May, 1569.

At the age of fourteen he was sent to the <u>University of Salamanca</u> to study <u>law</u>. Conceiving a distaste for <u>jurisprudence</u> he returned after a year to his <u>father's</u> home, where he spent the next three years in the practice of most austere <u>piety</u>. His wonderful <u>sanctity</u> impressed a <u>Franciscan</u> journeying through Almodóvar, and at the <u>friar's</u> advice he took up the study of <u>philosophy</u> and <u>theology</u> at <u>Alcalá</u>, where he was fortunate to have as his teacher the famous <u>Dominican De Soto</u>.

His <u>parents</u> died while he was a student and after his <u>ordination</u> he celebrated his first <u>Mass</u> in the <u>church</u> where they were <u>buried</u>, sold the <u>family property</u> and gave the proceeds to the <u>poor</u>. He saw in the severing of natural ties a <u>vocation</u> to foreign missionary work and made preparation to go to <u>Mexico</u> in <u>America</u>.

While awaiting, at <u>Seville</u> in 1527, a favorable opportunity to start for his new field of labour, his extraordinary devotion in celebrating <u>Mass</u> attracted the attention of Hernando de Contreras, a <u>priest</u> of <u>Seville</u>, who reported his observations to the <u>archbishop</u> and general <u>inquisitor</u>, Don Alphonso Manrique. The <u>archbishop</u> saw in the young missionary a powerful instrument to stir up the <u>faith</u> of <u>Andalusia</u>, and after considerable persuasion Blessed John was induced to abandon his journey to <u>America</u>.

His first <u>sermon</u> was preached on 22 July, 1529, and immediately his <u>reputation</u> was established; crowds thronged the <u>churches</u> at all his <u>sermons</u>. His success, however, brought with it the <u>hatred</u> of a certain class, and while living at <u>Seville</u> he was brought before the <u>inquisitor</u> and charged with exaggerating the dangers of <u>wealth</u> and closing the gates of <u>heaven</u> to the rich. His innocence of the charges was speedily <u>proved</u>, and by special invitation of the court he was appointed to preach the <u>sermon</u> on the next great <u>feast</u> in the church of San Salvador, in <u>Seville</u>. His appearance was a <u>cause</u> of public rejoicing.

He began his career as <u>apostolic preacher</u> of <u>Andalusia</u> at the age of thirty. After nine years in that province he returned to <u>Seville</u> only to depart for the wider fields of <u>Cordova</u>, <u>Granada</u>, Bolza, Montilla, and Zafra. For eighteen years before his death he was the victim of constant illness, the results of the hardships of his apostolate of forty years. He was declared Venerable by <u>Clement XIII</u>, 8 Feb., 1799, and <u>beatified</u> by <u>Leo XIII</u>, 12 Nov., 1893.

Among the disciples drawn to him by his preaching and <u>saintly reputation</u> may be named <u>St. Theresa</u>, <u>St. John</u> <u>of God</u>, <u>St. Francis Borgia</u>, and <u>Ven. Louis of Granada</u>. The spread of the <u>Jesuits</u> in <u>Spain</u> is attributed to his friendship for that body. Blessed John of Avila's works were collected at <u>Madrid</u> in 1618, 1757, 1792, 1805; a <u>French</u> translation by d'Andilly was published at <u>Paris</u> in 1673; and a <u>German</u> translation by Schermer in six volumes was issued at <u>Ratisbon</u> between 1856 and 1881. His best known works are the "Audi Fili" (English translation, 1620), one of the best tracts on <u>Christian perfection</u>, and his "Spiritual Letters" (English translation, 1631, London, 1904) to his disciples.

Saint John of the Cross (1542-91)

Added by Pope Pius XI in 1926

Founder (with St. Teresa) of the Discalced Carmelites, doctor of mystic theology, b. at Hontoveros, Old Castile, 24 June, 1542; d. at Ubeda, Andalusia, 14 Dec., 1591. John de Yepes, youngest child of Gonzalo de Yepes and Catherine Alvarez, poor silk weavers of Toledo, knew from his earliest years the hardships of life. The father, originally of a good family but disinherited on account of his marriage below his rank, died in the prime of his youth; the widow, assisted by her eldest son, was scarcely able to provide the bare necessities. John was sent to the poor school at Medina del Campo, whither the family had gone to live, and proved an attentive and diligent pupil; but when apprenticed to an artisan, he seemed incapable of learning anything. Thereupon the governor of the hospital of Medina took him into his service, and for seven years John divided his time between waiting on the poorest of the poor, and frequenting a school established by the Jesuits. Already at that early age he treated his body with the utmost rigour; twice he was saved from certain death by the intervention of the Blessed Virgin. Anxious about his future life, he was told in prayer that he was to serve God in an order the ancient perfection of which he was to help bring back again. The Carmelites having founded a house at Medina, he there received the habit on 24 February, 1563, and took the name of John of St. Matthias. After profession he obtained leave from his superiors to follow to the letter the original Carmelite rule without the mitigations granted by various popes. He was sent to Salamanca for the higher studies, and was ordained priest in 1567; at his first Mass he received the assurance that he should preserve his baptismal innocence. But, shrinking from the responsibilities of the priesthood, he determined to join the Carthusians.

However, before taking any further step he made the acquaintance of St. Teresa, who had come to Medina to found a <u>convent</u> of <u>nuns</u>, and who persuaded him to remain in the <u>Carmelite Order</u> and to assist her in the establishment of a <u>monastery</u> of <u>friars</u> carrying out the primitive rule. He accompanied her to Valladolid in order to gain practi cal experience of the manner of life led by the reformed <u>nuns</u>. A small house having been offered, St. John resolved to try at once the new form of life, although St. Teresa did not think anyone, however great his spirituality, could bear the discomforts of that hovel. He was joined by two companions, an ex-prior and a <u>lay brother</u>, with whom he inaugurated the reform among <u>friars</u>, 28 Nov., 1568. St. Teresa has left a classical description of the sort of life led by these first Discalced <u>Carmelites</u>, in chaps. xiii and xiv of her "Book of Foundations". John of the Cross, as he now called himself, became the first master of <u>novices</u>, and laid the foundation of the spiritual edifice which soon was to assume majestic proportions. He filled various posts in different places until St. Teresa called him to Avila as director and confessor to the <u>convent</u> of the Incarnation, of which she had been appointed <u>prioress</u>. He remained there, with a few interruptions, for over five years. Meanwhile, the reform spread rapidly, and, partly through the confusion caused by contradictory orders issued by the general and the general chapter on one hand, and the <u>Apostolic nuncio</u> on the other, and partly through human passion which sometimes ran high, its existence became seriously endangered.

St. John was ordered by his provincial to return to the house of his profession (Medina), and, on his refusing to do so, owing to the fact that he held his office not from the order but from the <u>Apostolic delegate</u>, he was taken <u>prisoner</u> in the night of 3 December, 1577, and carried off to Toledo, where he suffered for more than nine months close <u>imprisonment</u> in a narrow, stifling cell, together with such additional punishment as might have been called for in the case of one guilty of the most serious crimes. In the midst of his sufferings he was visited with heavenly consolations, and some of his exquisite poetry dates from that period. He made good his escape in a <u>miraculous</u> manner, August, 1578. During the next years he was chiefly occupied with the foundation and government of <u>monasteries</u> at Baeza, <u>Granada</u>, <u>Cordova</u>, <u>Segovia</u>, and elsewhere, but took no prominent part in the negotiations which led to the establishment of a separate government for the Discalced <u>Carmelites</u>. After the death of St. Teresa (4 Oct., 1582), when the two parties of the Moderates under Jerome Gratian, and the Zelanti under Nicholas Doria struggled for the upper hand, St. John supported the former and shared his fate. For some time he filled the post of vicar provincial of <u>Andalusia</u>, but when Doria changed the government of the order, concentrating all power in the hands of a permanent committee, St. John resisted and, supporting the <u>nuns</u> in their endeavour to secure the <u>papal approbation</u> of their constitutions, drew upon himself the displeasure of the

superior, who deprived him of his offices and relegated him to one of the poorest <u>monasteries</u>, where he fell seriously ill. One of his opponents went so far as to go from <u>monastery</u> to <u>monastery</u> gathering materials in order to bring grave charges against him, hoping for his expulsion from the order which he had helped to found.

As his illness increased he was removed to the <u>monastery</u> of Ubeda, where he at first was treated very unkindly, his constant <u>prayer</u>, "to suffer and to be despised", being thus literally fulfilled almost to the end of his life. But at last even his adversaries came to acknowledge his <u>sanctity</u>, and his funeral was the occasion of a great outburst of enthusiasm. The body, still incorrupt, as has been ascertained within the last few years, was removed to <u>Segovia</u>, only a small portion remaining at Ubeda; there was some litigation about its possession. A strange phenomenon, for which no satisfactory explanation has been given, has frequently been observed in connexion with the <u>relics</u> of St. John of the Cross: Francis de Yepes, the brother of the <u>saint</u>, and after him many other <u>persons</u> have noticed the appearance in his <u>relics</u> of images of Christ on the Cross, the Blessed Virgin, St. Elias, <u>St. Francis Xavier</u>, or other <u>saints</u>, according to the devotion of the beholder. The <u>beatification</u> took place on 25 Jan., 1675, the translation of his body on 21 May of the same year, and the <u>canonization</u> on 27 Dec., 1726.

He left the following works, which for the first time appeared at Barcelona in 1619.

- 1. "The Ascent of Mount Carmel", an explanation of some verses beginning: "In a dark night with anxious <u>love</u> inflamed". This work was to have comprised four books, but breaks off in the middle of the third.
- 2. "The Dark Night of the Soul", another explanation of the same verses, breaking off in the second book. Both these works were written soon after his escape from <u>prison</u>, and, though incomplete, supplement each other, forming a full treatise on mystic <u>theology</u>.
- 3. An explanation of the "Spiritual Canticle", (a paraphrase of the Canticle of Canticles) beginning "Where hast Thou hidden Thyself?" composed part during his <u>imprisonment</u>, and completed and commented upon some years later at the request of Venerable Anne of Jesus.
- 4. An explanation of a poem beginning: "O Living Flame of Love", written about 1584 at the bidding of Doña Ana de Penalosa.
- 5. Some instructions and precautions on matters spiritual.
- 6. Some twenty letters, chiefly to his penitents. Unfortunately the bulk of his correspondence, including numerous letters to and from St. Teresa, was destroyed, partly by himself, partly during the persecutions to which he fell a victim.
- "Poems", of which twenty-six have been hitherto published, viz., twenty in the older editions, and recently six more, discovered partly at the National Library at <u>Madrid</u>, and partly at the <u>convent</u> of <u>Carmelite nuns</u> at <u>Pamplona</u>.
- 8. "A Collection of Spiritual Maxims" (in some editions to the number of one hundred, and in others three hundred and sixty-five) can scarcely count as an independent work, as they are culled from his writings.

It has been recorded that during his studies St. John particularly relished <u>psychology</u>; this is amply borne out by his writings. He was not what one would term a scholar, but he was intimately acquainted with the "Summa" of <u>St. Thomas Aquinas</u>, as almost every page of his works proves. <u>Holy Scripture</u> he seems to have known by heart, yet he evidently obtained his <u>knowledge</u> more by meditation than in the lecture room. But there is no vestige of influence on him of the mystical teaching of the Fathers, the <u>Areopagite</u>, <u>Augustine</u>, <u>Gregory</u>, Bernard, Bonaventure, etc., <u>Hugh of St. Victor</u>, or the German <u>Dominican school</u>. The few quotations from patristic works are easily traced to the <u>Breviary</u> or the "Summa". In the absence of any conscious or unconscious influence of earlier mystical <u>schools</u>, his own system, like that of St. Teresa, whose influence is obvious throughout, might be termed empirical <u>mysticism</u>. They both start from their own experience, St. Teresa avowedly so, while St. John, who hardly ever speaks of himself, "invents nothing" (to quote <u>Cardinal</u> <u>Wiseman</u>), "borrows nothing from others, but gives us clearly the results of his own experience in himself and others. He presents you with a portrait, not with a fancy picture. He represents the ideal of one who has passed, as he had done, through the career of the spiritual life, through its struggles and its victories".

His axiom is that the soul must empty itself of self in order to be filled with God, that it must be purified of the last traces of earthly dross before it is fit to become united with God. In the application of this simple maxim he shows the most uncompromising logic. Supposing the soul with which he deals to be habitually in the state of grace and pushing forward to better things, he overtakes it on the very road leading it, in its opinion to God, and lays open before its eyes a number of sores of which it was altogether ignorant, viz. what he terms the spiritual capital sins. Not until these are removed (a most formidable task) is it fit to be admitted to what he calls the "Dark Night", which consists in the passive purgation, where God by heavy trials, particularly interior ones, perfects and completes what the soul had begun of its own accord. It is now passive, but not inert, for by submitting to the Divine operation it co-operates in the measure of its power. Here lies one of the essential differences between St. John's mysticism and a false quietism. The perfect purgation of the soul in the present life leaves it free to act with wonderful energy: in fact it might almost be said to obtain a share in God's omnipotence, as is shown in the marvelous deeds of so many saints. As the soul emerges from the Dark Night it enters into the full noonlight described in the "Spiritual Canticle" and the "Living Flame of Love". St. John leads it to the highest heights, in fact to the point where it becomes a "partaker of the Divine Nature". It is here that the necessity of the previous cleansing is clearly perceived the pain of the mortification of all the senses and the powers and faculties of the soul being amply repaid by the glory which is now being revealed in it.

St. John has often been represented as a grim character; nothing could be more <u>untrue</u>. He was indeed austere in the extreme with himself, and, to some extent, also with others, but both from his writings and from the depositions of those who <u>knew</u> him, we see in him a man overflowing with charity and kindness, a poetical mind deeply influenced by all that is beautiful and attractive.

Saint Lawrence of Brindisi (1559-1619) Added by Blessed Pope John XXIII in 1959

(Also: Lawrence, or Laurence, of Brindisi.)

Born at <u>Brindisi</u> in 1559; died at <u>Lisbon</u> on 22 July, 1619. In <u>baptism</u> he received the names of Julius Caesar. Guglielmo de Rossi — or Guglielmo Russi, according to a contemporary writer — was his <u>father's</u> name; his mother was Elisabetta Masella. Both were excellent <u>Christians</u>. Of a precocious <u>piety</u>, Lorenzo gave early evidence of a <u>religious vocation</u>. The <u>Conventuals</u> of <u>Brindisi</u> were entrusted with his <u>education</u>. His progress in his studies was very rapid, and, when barely six, he had already given indication of his future success in oratory. Consequently, he was always the one chosen to address, in accordance with the Italian custom, a short sermon to his compatriots on the Infant Jesus during the <u>Christmas</u> festivities. When he was twelve years of age his <u>father</u> died. He then pursued his studies at <u>Venice</u> with the <u>clerics</u> of St. Mark's and under the supervision of one of his uncles. In 1575 he was received into the <u>Order of Capuchins</u> under the name of Brother Lorenzo, and, after his profession, made his <u>philosophical</u> and <u>theological</u> studies at the <u>University of Padua</u>. Owing to his wonderful memory he mastered not only the principal <u>European</u> languages, but also most of the <u>Semitic</u> tongues. It was said he <u>knew</u> the entire original text of the <u>Bible</u>. Such a <u>knowledge</u>, in the eyes of many, could be accounted for only by <u>supernatural</u> assistance, and, during the process of <u>beatification</u>, the examiners of the <u>saint's</u> writings rendered the following judgment: "Vere inter sanctos Ecclesiae doctores adnumerari potest."

Such unusual talents, added to a rare virtue, fitted Brother Lorenzo for the most diverse missions. When still a <u>deacon</u> he preached the <u>Lenten</u> sermons in <u>Venice</u>, and his success was so great that he was called successively to all the principal cities of the peninsula. Subsequently, thanks to his numerous journeys, he was enabled to evangelize at different periods most of the countries of <u>Europe</u>. The sermons he left fill no less than eight folio volumes. He adopted the method of preaching in favour with the great <u>Franciscan</u> missionaries, or rather with apostolic workers of all times, who, aiming primarily to reach men's hearts and convert them, always adapt their style of discourse to the spiritual needs of their hearers. Brother Lorenzo held successively all the offices of his order. From 1596 to 1602 he had, as general definitor, to fix his residence in <u>Rome</u>. <u>Clement VIII</u> assigned him

the task of instructing the Jews; thanks to his knowledge of Hebrew and his powerful reasoning, he brought a great number of them to recognize the truth of the Christian religion. His saintliness, combined with his great kindliness, completed the preparing of the way for the grace of conversion. His success in <u>Rome caused</u> him to be called to several other cities, where he also <u>baptized</u> numerous Jews. At the same time he was commissioned to establish houses of his order in <u>Germany</u> and <u>Austria</u>. Amid the great difficulties created by the <u>heretics</u> he founded the <u>convents</u> of <u>Vienna</u>, <u>Prague</u>, and Graz, the nuclei of three provinces. At the chapter of 1602 he was elected <u>vicar-general</u>. (At that time the Order of <u>Capuchins</u>, which had broken away from the Observants in 1528 and had an independent constitution, gave its first superior the title of <u>vicar-general</u> only. It was not until 1618 that <u>Pope Paul V</u> changed it to that of minister general). The very year of his election the new superior began the <u>visitation</u> of the provinces. <u>Milan</u>, Paris, <u>Marseilles</u>, <u>Spain</u>, received him in turn. As his coming was preceded by a great <u>reputation</u> for <u>holiness</u>, the people flocked to hear him preach and to receive his blessing. His administration characterized by wise firmness and fatherly tenderness, was of great benefit to the order. At the Chapter of 1605 he refused to undertake for a second term the government of his brethren, but until his death he was the best adviser of his successors.

It was on the occasion of the foundation of the convent of Prague (1601) that St. Lorenzo was named chaplain of the Imperial army, then about to march against the Turks. The victory of Lepanto (1571) had only temporarily checked the Moslem invasion, and several battles were still necessary to secure the final triumph of the Christian armies. Mohammed III had, since his accession (1595), conquered a large part of Hungary. The emperor, determined to prevent a further advance, sent Lorenzo of Brindisi as deputy to the German princes to obtain their cooperation. They responded to his appeal, and moreover the Duke of Mercœur, Governor of Brittany, joined the imperial army, of which he received the effective command. The attack on Albe-Royal (now Stulweissenburg) was then contemplated. To pit 18,000 men against 80,000 Turks was a daring undertaking and the generals, hesitating to attempt it, appealed to Lorenzo for advice. Holding himself responsible for victory, he communicated to the entire army in a glowing speech the ardour and confidence with which he was himself animated. As his feebleness prevented him from marching, he mounted on horseback and, crucifix in hand, took the lead of the army, which he drew irresistibly after him. Three other Capuchins were also in the ranks of the army. Although the most exposed to danger, Lorenzo was not wounded, which was universally regarded as due to a miraculous protection. The city was finally taken, and the Turks lost 30,000 men. As however they still exceeded in numbers the Christian army, they formed their lines anew, and a few days later another battle was fought. It always the chaplain who was at the head of the army. "Forward!" he cried, showing them the crucifix, "Victory is ours." The Turks were again defeated, and the honour of this double victory was attributed by the general and the entire army to Lorenzo.

Having resigned his office of <u>vicar-general</u> in 1605, he was sent by the <u>pope</u> to evangelize <u>Germany</u>. He here confirmed the <u>faith</u> of the <u>Catholics</u>, brought back a great number to the practice of virtue, and converted many <u>heretics</u>. In controversies his vast learning always gave him the advantage, and, once he had won the minds of his hearers, his saintliness and numerous <u>miracles</u> completed their conversion. To protect the Faith more efficaciously in their states, the <u>Catholic</u> princes of <u>Germany</u> formed the alliance called the "Catholic League". Emperor Rudolph sent Lorenzo to Philip III of <u>Spain</u> to persuade him to join the League. Having discharged this mission successfully, the saintly ambassador received a double mandate by virtue of which he was to represent the interests of the <u>pope</u> and of <u>Madrid</u> at the court of Maximilian of <u>Bavaria</u>, head of the League. He was thus, much against his wishes, compelled to settle in <u>Munich</u> near Maximilian. Besides being <u>nuncio</u> and ambassador, Lorenzo was also commissary general of his order for the provinces of Tyrol and <u>Bavaria</u>, and <u>spiritual director</u> of the <u>Bavaria</u> army. He was also chosen as arbitrator in the dispute which arose between the princes, and it was in fulfillment of this role that, at the request of the emperor, he restored harmony between the Duke of <u>Mantua</u> and a German nobleman. In addition to all these occupations he undertook, with the assistance of several <u>Capuchins</u>, a missionary campaign throughout <u>Germany</u>, and for eight months travelled in <u>Bavaria</u>, <u>Saxony</u>, and the Palatinate.

Amid so many various undertakings Lorenzo found time for the practices of personal sanctification. And it is perhaps the greatest marvel of his life to have combined with <u>duties</u> so manifold an unusually intense inner life.

In the practice of the religious virtues St. Lorenzo equals the greatest <u>saints</u>. He had to a high degree the gift of <u>contemplation</u>, and very rarely celebrated Holy Mass without falling into <u>ecstasies</u>. After the <u>Holy Sacrifice</u>, his great devotion was the <u>Rosary</u> and the Office of the Blessed Virgin. As in the case of <u>St. Francis of Assisi</u>, there was something poetical about his <u>piety</u>, which often burst forth into canticles to the <u>Blessed Virgin</u>. It was in Mary's name that he worked his <u>miracles</u>, and his favourite blessing was: "Nos cum prole pia benedicat Virgo Maria." Having withdrawn to the <u>monastery</u> of <u>Caserta</u> in 1618, Lorenzo was hoping to enjoy a few days of seclusion, when he was requested by the leading men of <u>Naples</u> to go to <u>Spain</u> and apprise Philip III of the conduct of Viceroy Ossuna. In spite of many obstacles raised by the latter, the <u>saint</u> sailed from <u>Genoa</u> and carried out his mission successfully. But the fatigues of the journey exhausted his feeble strength. He was unable to travel homeward, and after a few days of great suffering died at <u>Lisbon</u> in the native land of St. Anthony (22 July, 1619), as he had predicted when he set out on his journey. He was <u>buried</u> in the cemetery of the <u>Poor Clares</u> of Villafranca.

The process of <u>beatification</u>, several times interrupted by various circumstances, was concluded in 1783. The <u>canonization</u> took place on 8 December, 1881. With St. Anthony, <u>St. Bonaventure</u>, and <u>Blessed John Duns</u> <u>Scotus</u>, he is a Doctor of the <u>Franciscan Order</u>.

The known writings of St. Lorenzo of Brindisi comprise eight volumes of <u>sermons</u>, two didactic treatises on oratory, a commentary on Genesis, another on Ezechiel, and three volumes of religious polemics. Most of his <u>sermons</u> are written in Italian, the other works being in Latin. The three volumes of controversies have notes in Greek and Hebrew.

Note: In 1959 Pope John XXIII proclaimed St. Lorenzo da Brindisi a <u>Doctor of the Universal Church</u>. His <u>feast</u> is kept on 6 July.

Pope Saint Leo the Great (400-61)

Added by Pope Benedict XIV in 1754

(Reigned 440-61).

Place and date of birth unknown; died 10 November, 461. Leo's pontificate, next to that of St. Gregory I, is the most significant and important in Christian antiquity. At a time when the Church was experiencing the greatest obstacles to her progress in consequence of the hastening disintegration of the Western Empire, while the Orient was profoundly agitated over dogmatic controversies, this great pope, with far-seeing sagacity and powerful hand, guided the destiny of the Roman and Universal Church. According to the "Liber Pontificalis" (ed. Mommsen, I, 101 sqq., ed. Duchesne, I, 238 sqq.), Leo was a native of Tuscany and his father's name was Ouintianus. Our earliest certain historical information about Leo reveals him a deacon of the Roman Church under Pope Celestine I (422-32). Even during this period he was known outside of Rome, and had some relations with Gaul, since Cassianus in 430 or 431 wrote at Leo's suggestion his work "De Incarnatione Domini contra Nestorium" (Migne, P.L., L, 9 sqq.), prefacing it with a letter of dedication to Leo. About this time Cyril of Alexandria appealed to Rome against the pretensions of Bishop Juvenal of Jerusalem. From an assertion of Leo's in a letter of later date (ep. cxvi, ed. Ballerini, I, 1212; II, 1528), it is not very clear whether Cyril wrote to him in the capacity of Roman deacon, or to Pope Celestine. During the pontificate of Sixtus III (422-40), Leo was sent to Gaul by Emperor Valentinian III to settle a dispute and bring about a reconciliation between Aëtius, the chief military commander of the province, and the chief magistrate, Albinus. This commission is a proof of the great confidence placed in the clever and able <u>deacon</u> by the Imperial Court. <u>Sixtus III</u> died on 19 August, 440, while Leo was in Gaul, and the latter was chosen his successor. Returning to Rome, Leo was consecrated on 29 September of the same year, and governed the Roman Church for the next twenty-one years.

Leo's chief aim was to sustain the unity of the Church. Not long after his elevation to the Chair of Peter, he saw himself compelled to combat energetically the heresies which seriously threatened church unity even in the West. Leo had ascertained through Bishop Septimus of Altinum, that in Aquileia priests, deacons, and clerics, who had been adherents of Pelagius, were admitted to communion without an explicit abjuration of their heresy. The pope sharply censured this procedure, and directed that a provincial synod should be assembled in Aquileia, at which such persons were to be required to abjure Pelagianism publicly and to subscribe to an unequivocal confession of Faith (epp. i and ii). This zealous pastor waged war even more strenuously against Manichæism, inasmuch as its adherents, who had been driven from Africa by the Vandals, had settled in Rome, and had succeeded in establishing a secret Manichæan community there. The pope ordered the faithful to point out these heretics to the priests, and in 443, together with the senators and presbyters, conducted in person an investigation, in the course of which the leaders of the community were examined. In several sermons he emphatically warned the Christians of Rome to be on their guard against this reprehensible heresy, and repeatedly charged them to give information about its followers, their dwellings, acquaintances, and rendezvous (Sermo ix, 4, xvi, 4; xxiv, 4; xxxiv, 4 sq.; xlii, 4 sq.; lxxvi, 6). A number of Manichæans in Rome were converted and admitted to confession; others, who remained obdurate, were in obedience to imperial decrees banished from Rome by the civil magistrates. On 30 January, 444, the pope sent a letter to all the bishops of Italy, to which he appended the documents containing his proceedings against the Manichæans in Rome, and warned them to be on their guard and to take action against the followers of the sect (ep. vii). On 19 June, 445, Emperor Valentinian III issued, doubtless at the pope's instigation, a stern edict in which he established seven punishments for the Manichæans ("Epist. Leonis", ed. Ballerini, I, 626; ep. viii inter Leon. ep). Prosper of Aquitaine states in his "Chronicle" (ad an. 447; "Mon. Germ. hist. Auct. antiquissimi", IX, I, 341 sqq.) that, in consequence of Leo's energetic measures, the Manichæans were also driven out of the provinces, and even Oriental bishops emulated the pope's example in regard to this sect. In Spain the heresy of Priscillianism still survived, and for some time had been attracting fresh adherents. Bishop Turibius of Astorga became cognizant of this, and by extensive journeys collected minute information about the condition of the churches and the spread of Priscillianism. He compiled the errors of the heresy, wrote a refutation of the same, and sent these documents to several African bishops. He also sent a copy to the pope, whereupon the latter sent a lengthy letter to Turibius (ep. xv) in refutation of the errors of the Priscillianists. Leo at the same time ordered that a council of bishops belonging to the neighbouring provinces should be convened to institute a rigid enquiry, with the object of determining whether any of the bishops had become tainted with the poison of this heresy. Should any such be discovered, they were to be excommunicated without hesitation. The pope also addressed a similar letter to the bishops of the Spanish provinces, notifying them that a universal synod of all the chief pastors was to be summoned; if this should be found to be impossible, the bishops of Galicia at least should be assembled. These two synods were in fact held in Spain to deal with the points at issue (Hefele, "Konziliengesch." II, 2nd ed., pp. 306 sqq.).

The greatly disorganized ecclesiastical condition of certain countries, resulting from national migrations, demanded closer bonds between their episcopate and Rome for the better promotion of ecclesiastical life. Leo, with this object in view, determined to make use of the papal vicariate of the bishops of Arles for the province of Gaul for the creation of a centre for the Gallican episcopate in immediate union with Rome. In the beginning his efforts were greatly hampered by his conflict with St. Hilary, then **Bishop** of Arles. Even earlier, conflicts had arisen relative to the vicariate of the bishops of Arles and its privileges. Hilary made excessive use of his authority over other ecclesiastical provinces, and claimed that all bishops should be consecrated by him, instead of by their own metropolitan. When, for example, the complaint was raised that Bishop Celidonius of Besancon had been consecrated in violation of the canons—the grounds alleged being that he had, as a layman, married a widow, and, as a public officer, had given his consent to a death sentence-Hilary deposed him, and consecrated Importunus as his successor. Celidonius thereupon appealed to the pope and set out in person for Rome. About the same time Hilary, as if the see concerned had been vacant, consecrated another bishop to take the place of a certain Bishop Projectus, who was ill. Projectus recovered, however, and he too laid a complaint at Rome about the action of the Bishop of Arles. Hilary then went himself to Rome to justify his proceedings. The pope assembled a Roman synod (about 445) and, when the complaints brought against Celidonius could not be verified, reinstated the latter in his see. Projectus also received his bishopric again. Hilary returned to

Arles before the synod was over; the <u>pope</u> deprived him of <u>jurisdiction</u> over the other Gallic provinces and of <u>metropolitan rights</u> over the province of Vienne, only allowing him to retain his Diocese of Arles.

These decisions were disclosed by Leo in a letter to the bishops of the Province of Vienne (ep. x). At the same time he sent them an edict of Valentinian III of 8 July, 445, in which the pope's measures in regard to St. Hilary were supported, and the primacy of the Bishop of Rome over the whole Church solemnly recognized "Epist. Leonis," ed. Ballerini, I, 642). On his return to his bishopric Hilary sought a reconciliation with the pope. After this there arose no further difficulties between these two saintly men and, after his death in 449, Hilary was declared by Leo as "beatæ memoriæ". To Bishop Ravennius, St. Hilary's successor in the see of Arles, and the bishops of that province, Leo addressed most cordial letters in 449 on the election of the new metropolitan (epp. xl, xli). When Ravennius consecrated a little later a new bishop to take the place of the deceased Bishop of Vaison, the Archbishop of Vienne, who was then in Rome, took exception to this action. The bishops of the province of Arles then wrote a joint letter to the pope, in which they begged him to restore to Ravennius the rights of which his predecessor Hilary had been deprived (ep. lxv inter ep. Leonis). In his reply dated 5 May, 450 (ep. lxvi), Leo acceded to their request. The Archbishop of Vienne was to retain only the suffragan Bishoprics of Valence, Tarentaise, Geneva, and Grenoble; all the other sees in the Province of Vienne were made subject to the Archbishop of Arles, who also became again the mediator between the Holy See and the whole Gallic episcopate. Leo transmitted to Ravennius (ep. lxvii), for communication to the other Gallican bishops, his celebrated letter to Flavian of Constantinople on the Incarnation. Ravennius thereupon convened a synod, at which forty-four chief pastors assembled. In their synodal letter of 451, they affirm that they accept the pope's letter as a symbol of faith (ep. xxix inter ep. Leonis). In his answer Leo speaks further of the condemnation of Nestorius (ep. cii). The Vicariate of Arles for a long time retained the position Leo had accorded it. Another papal vicariate was that of the bishops of Thessalonica, whose jurisdiction extended over Illyria. The special duty of this vicariate was to protect the rights of the Holy See over the district of Eastern Illyria, which belonged to the Eastern Empire. Leo bestowed the vicariate upon Bishop Anastasius of Thessalonica, just as Pope Siricius had formerly entrusted it to Bishop Anysius. The vicar was to consecrate the metropolitans, to assemble in a synod all bishops of the Province of Eastern Illyria, to oversee their administration of their office; but the most important matters were to be submitted to Rome (epp. v, vi, xiii). But Anastasius of Thessalonica used his authority in an arbitrary and despotic manner, so much so that he was severely reproved by Leo, who sent him fuller directions for the exercise of his office (ep. xiv).

In Leo's conception of his duties as supreme pastor, the maintenance of strict ecclesiastical discipline occupied a prominent place. This was particularly important at a time when the continual rayages of the barbarians were introducing disorder into all conditions of life, and the rules of morality were being seriously violated. Leo used his utmost energy in maintining this discipline, insisted on the exact observance of the ecclesiastical precepts, and did not hesitate to rebuke when necessary. Letters (ep. xvii) relative to these and other matters were sent to the different bishops of the Western Empire—e.g., to the bishops of the Italian provinces (epp. iv, xix, clxvi, clxviii), and to those of Sicily, who had tolerated deviations from the Roman Liturgy in the administration of Baptism (ep. xvi), and concerning other matters (ep. xvii). A very important disciplinary decree was sent to bishop Rusticus of Narbonne (ep. clxvii). Owing to the dominion of the Vandals in Latin North Africa, the position of the Church there had become extremely gloomy. Leo sent the Roman priest Potentius thither to inform himself about the exact condition, and to forward a report to Rome. On receiving this Leo sent a letter of detailed instructions to the episcopate of the province about the adjustment of numerous ecclesiastical and disciplinary questions (ep. xii). Leo also sent a letter to Dioscurus of Alexandria on 21 July, 445, urging him to the strict observance of the canons and discipline of the Roman Church (ep. ix). The primacy of the Roman Church was thus manifested under this pope in the most various and distinct ways. But it was especially in his interposition in the confusion of the Christological guarrels, which then so profoundly agitated Eastern Christendom, that Leo most brilliantly revealed himself the wise, learned, and energetic shepherd of the Church (see MONOPHYSITISM). From his first letter on this subject, written to Eutyches on 1 June, 448 (ep. xx), to his last letter written to the new orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, Timotheus Salophaciolus, on 18 August, 460 (ep. clxxi), we cannot but admire the clear, positive, and systematic manner in which Leo, fortified by the primacy

of the <u>Holy See</u>, took part in this difficult entanglement. For particulars refer to the articles: <u>Eutyches</u>; <u>SAINT</u> FLAVIAN; ROBBER COUNCIL OF EPHESUS.

Eutyches appealed to the pope after he had been excommunicated by Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, on account of his Monophysite views. The pope, after investigating the disputed question, sent his sublime dogmatic letter to Flavian (ep. xxviii), concisely setting forth and confirming the doctrine of the Incarnation, and the union of the Divine and human natures in the one Person of Christ . In 449 the council, which was designated by Leo as the "Robber Synod", was held. Flavian and other powerful prelates of the East appealed to the pope. The latter sent urgent letters to Constantinople, particularly to Emperor Theodosius II and Empress Pulcheria, urging them to convene a general council in order to restore peace to the Church. To the same end he used his influence with the Western emperor, Valentinian III, and his mother Galla Placidia, especially during their visit to Rome in 450. This general council was held in Chalcedon in 451 under Marcian, the successor of Theodosius. It solemnly accepted Leo's dogmatical epistle to Flavian as an expression of the Catholic Faith concerning the Person of Christ. The pope confirmed the decrees of the Council after eliminating the canon, which elevated the Patriarchate of Constantinople, while diminishing the rights of the ancient Oriental patriarchs. On 21 March, 453, Leo issued a circular letter confirming his dogmatic definition (ep. cxiv). Through the mediation of Bishop Julian of Cos, who was at that time the papal ambassador in Constantinople, the pope tried to protect further ecclesiastical interests in the Orient. He persuaded the new Emperor of Constantinople, Leo I, to remove the heretical and irregular patriarch, Timotheus Ailurus, from the See of Alexandria. A new and orthodox patriarch, Timotheus Salophaciolus, was chosen to fill his place, and received the congratulations of the pope in the last letter which Leo ever sent to the Orient.

In his far-reaching pastoral care of the Universal Church, in the West and in the East, the pope never neglected the domestic interests of the Church at Rome. When Northern Italy had been devastated by Attila, Leo by a personal encounter with the King of the Huns prevented him from marching upon Rome. At the emperor's wish, Leo, accompanied by the Consul Avienus and the Prefect Trigetius, went in 452 to Upper Italy, and met Attila at Mincio in the vicinity of Mantua, obtaining from him the promise that he would withdraw from Italy and negotiate peace with the emperor. The pope also succeeded in obtaining another great favour for the inhabitants of Rome. When in 455 the city was captured by the Vandals under Genseric, although for a fortnight the town had been plundered, Leo's intercession obtained a promise that the city should not be injured and that the lives of the inhabitants should be spared. These incidents show the high moral authority enjoyed by the pope, manifested even in temporal affairs. Leo was always on terms of intimacy with the Western Imperial Court. In 450 Emperor Valentinian III visited Rome, accompanied by his wife Eudoxia and his mother Galla Placidia. On the feast of Cathedra Petri (22 February), the Imperial family with their brilliant retinue took part in the solemn services at St. Peter's, upon which occasion the pope delivered an impressive sermon. Leo was also active in building and restoring churches. He built a basilica over the grave of Pope Cornelius in the Via Appia. The roof of St. Paul's without the Walls having been destroyed by lightning, he had it replaced, and undertook other improvements in the basilica. He persuaded Empress Galla Placidia, as seen from the inscription, to have executed the great mosaic of the Arch of Triumph, which has survived to our day. Leo also restored St. Peter's on the Vatican. During his pontificate a pious Roman lady, named Demetria, erected on her property on the Via Appia a basilica in honour of St. Stephen, the ruins of which have been excavated.

Leo was no less active in the spiritual elevation of the <u>Roman congregations</u>, and his <u>sermons</u>, of which ninetysix genuine examples have been preserved, are remarkable for their profundity, clearness of diction, and elevated style. The first five of these, which were delivered on the anniversaries of his <u>consecration</u>, manifest his lofty conception of the dignity of his office, as well as his thorough conviction of the primacy of the <u>Bishop</u> <u>of Rome</u>, shown forth in so outspoken and decisive a manner by his whole activity as supreme <u>pastor</u>. Of his letters, which are of great importance for <u>church history</u>, 143 have come down to us: we also possess thirty which were sent to him. The so-called "Sacramentarium Leonianum" is a collection of orations and prefaces of the Mass, prepared in the second half of the sixth century. Leo died on 10 November, 461, and was buried in the <u>vestibule</u> of St. Peter's on the Vatican. In 688 <u>Pope Sergius</u> had his remains transferred to the basilica itself, and a special altar erected over them. They rest today in St. Peter's, beneath the altar specially dedicated to St. Leo. In 1754 <u>Benedict XIV</u> exalted him to the dignity of <u>Doctor of the Church</u> (*doctor ecclesiæ*). In the <u>Latin Church</u> the <u>feast day</u> of the great <u>pope</u> is held on 11 April, and in the <u>Eastern Church</u> on 18 February.

St. Peter Canisius (1521-97) Added by Pope Pius XI in 1925

(Kannees, Kanys, probably also De Hondt). See... http://www.catholic-forum.com/saintS/ncd06455.htm-->

Born at Nimwegen in the Netherlands, 8 May, 1521; died in Fribourg, 21 November, 1597. His father was the wealthy burgomaster, Jacob Canisius; his mother, Ægidia van Houweningen, died shortly after Peter's birth. In 1536 Peter was sent to Cologne, where he studied arts, civil law, and theology at the university; he spent a part of 1539 at the University of Louvain, and in 1540 received the degree of Master of Arts at Cologne. Nicolaus van Esche was his spiritual adviser, and he was on terms of friendship with such staunch Catholics as Georg of Skodborg (the expelled Archbishop of Lund), Johann Gropper (canon of the cathedral), Eberhard Billick (the Carmelite monk), Justus Lanspergius, and other Carthusian monks. Although his father desired him to marry a wealthy young woman, on 25 February, 1540 he pledged himself to celibacy. In 1543 he visited Peter Faber and, having made the "Spiritual Exercises" under his direction, was admitted into the Society of Jesus at Mainz, on 8 May. With the help of Leonhard Kessel and others, Canisius, labouring under great difficulties, founded at Cologne the first German house of the order; at the same time he preached in the city and vicinity, and debated and taught in the university. In 1546 he was admitted to the priesthood, and soon afterwards was sent by the clergy and university to obtain assistance from Emperor Charles V, the nuncio, and the clergy of Liège against the apostate Archbishop, Hermann von Wied, who had attempted to pervert the diocese. In 1547, as the theologian of Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, Bishop of Augsburg, he participated in the general ecclesiastical council (which sat first at Trent and then at Bologna), and spoke twice in the congregation of the theologians. After this he spent several months under the direction of Ignatius in Rome. In 1548 he taught rhetoric at Messina, Sicily, preaching in Italian and Latin. At this time Duke William IV of Bavaria requested Paul III to send him some professors from the Society of Jesus for the University of Ingolstadt; Canisius was among those selected.

On 7 September, 1549, he made his solemn profession as Jesuit at Rome, in the presence of the founder of the order. On his journey northward he received, at Bologna, the degree of doctor of theology. On 13 November, accompanied by Fathers Jaius and Salmeron, he reached Ingolstadt, where he taught theology, catechized, and preached. In 1550 he was elected rector of the university, and in 1552 was sent by Ignatius to the new college in Vienna; there he also taught theology in the university, preached at the Cathedral of St. Stephen, and at the court of Ferdinand I, and was confessor at the hospital and prison. During Lent, 1553 he visited many abandoned parishes in Lower Austria, preaching and administering the sacraments. The king's eldest son (later Maximilian II) had appointed to the office of court preacher, Phauser, a married priest, who preached the Lutheran doctrine. Canisius warned Ferdinand I, verbally and in writing, and opposed Phauser in public disputations. Maximilian was obliged to dismiss Phauser and, on this account, the rest of his life he harboured a grudge against Canisius. Ferdinand three times offered him the Bishopric of Vienna, but he refused. In 1557 Julius III appointed him administrator of the bishopric for one year, but Canisius succeeded in ridding himself of this burden (cf. N. Paulus in "Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie", XXII, 742-8). In 1555 he was present at the Diet of Augsburg with Ferdinand, and in 1555-56 he preached in the cathedral of Prague. After long negotiations and preparations he was able to open Jesuit colleges at Ingolstadt and Prague. In the same year Ignatius appointed him first provincial superior of Upper Germany (Swabia, Bavaria, Bohemia, Hungary, Lower and Upper Austria). During the winter of 1556-57 he acted as adviser to the King of the Romans at the Diet of Ratisbon and delivered many sermons in the cathedral. By the appointment of the Catholic princes and the order of the pope he took part in the religious discussions at Worms. As champion of the Catholics he repeatedly spoke in opposition to Melanchthon. The fact that the Protestants disagreed among themselves and were obliged to leave the field was due in a great measure to Canisius. He also preached in the cathedral of Worms.

During Advent and Christmas he visited the Bishop of Strasburg at Zabern, started negotiations for the building of a Jesuit college there, preached, explained the catechism to the children, and heard their confessions. He also preached in the cathedral of Strasburg and strengthened the Catholics of Alsace and Freiburg in their faith. Ferdinand, on his way to Frankfort to be proclaimed emperor, met him at Nuremburg and confided his troubles to him. Then Duke Albert V of Bavaria secured his services; at Straubing the pastors and preachers had fled, after having persuaded the people to turn from the Catholic faith. Canisius remained in the town for six weeks, preaching three or four times a day, and by his gentleness he undid much harm. From Straubing he was called to Rome to be present at the First General Congregation of his order, but before its close Paul IV sent him with the nuncio Mentuati to Poland to the imperial Diet of Pieterkow; at Cracow he addressed the clergy and members of the university. In the year 1559 he was summoned by the emperor to be present at the Diet of Augsburg. There, at the urgent request of the chapter, he became preacher at the cathedral and held this position until 1566. His manuscripts show the care with which he wrote his sermons. In a series of sermons he treats of the end of man, of the Decalogue, the Mass, the prophecies of Jonas; at the same time he rarely omitted to expound the Gospel of the day; he spoke in keeping with the spirit of the age, explained the justification of man, Christian liberty, the proper way of interpreting the Scriptures, defended the worship of saints, the ceremonies of the Church, religious vows, indulgences. urged obedience to the Church authorities, confession, communion, fasting, and almsgiving; he censured the faults of the <u>clergy</u>, at times perhaps too sharply, as he felt that they were public and that he must avoid demanding reformation from the laity only. Against the influence of evil spirits he recommended the means of defence which had been in use in the Church during the first centuries—lively faith, prayer, ecclesiastical benedictions, and acts of penance. From 1561-62 he preached about two hundred and ten sermons, besides giving retreats and teaching catechism. In the cathedral, his confessional and the altar at which he said Mass were surrounded by crowds, and alms were placed on the altar. The envy of some of the cathedral clergy was aroused, and Canisius and his companions were accused of usurping the parochial rights. The pope and bishop favoured the Jesuits, but the majority of the chapter opposed them. Canisius was obliged to sign an agreement according to which he retained the pulpit but gave up the right of administering the sacraments in the cathedral.

In 1559 he opened a college in Munich; in 1562 he appeared at Trent as papal theologian. The council was discussing the question whether communion should be administered under both forms to those of the laity who asked for it. Lainez, the general of the Society of Jesus, opposed it unconditionally. Canisius held that the cup might be administered to the Bohemians and to some Catholics whose faith was not very firm. After one month he departed from Trent, but he continued to support the work of the Fathers by urging the bishops to appear at the council, by giving expert opinion regarding the Index and other matters, by reports on the state of public opinion, and on newly-published books. In the spring of 1563 he rendered a specially important service to the Church: the emperor had come to Innsbruck (near Trent), and had summoned thither several scholars, including Canisius, as advisers. Some of these men fomented the displeasure of the emperor with the pope and the cardinals who presided over the council. For months Canisius strove to reconcile him with the Curia. He has been blamed unjustly for communicating to his general and to the pope's representatives some of Ferdinand's plans, which otherwise might have ended contrary to the intention of all concerned in the dissolution of the council and in a new national apostasy. The emperor finally granted all the pope's demands and the council was able to proceed and to end peacefully. All Rome praised Canisius, but soon after he lost favour with Ferdinand and was denounced as disloyal; at this time he also changed his views regarding the giving of the cup to the laity (in which the emperor saw a means of relieving all his difficulties), saying that such a concession would only tend to confuse faithful Catholics and to encourage the disobedience of the recalcitrant.

In 1562 the College of Innsbruck was opened by Canisius, and at that time he acted as confessor to the "Queen" Magdalena (declared Venerable in 1906 by <u>Pius X</u>; daughter of Ferdinand I, who lived with her four sisters at <u>Innsbruck</u>), and as <u>spiritual adviser</u> to her sisters. At their request he sent them a confessor from the <u>society</u>, and, when Magdalena presided over the <u>convent</u>, which she had founded at Hall, he sent her complete directions for attaining <u>Christian perfection</u>. In 1563 he preached at many <u>monasteries</u> in Swabia; in 1564 he sent the first missionaries to Lower <u>Bavaria</u>, and recommended the provincial synod of <u>Salzburg</u> not to allow the cup to the <u>laity</u>, as it had authority to do; his advice, however, was not accepted. In this year Canisius opened a <u>college</u> at

Dillingen and assumed, in the name of the order, the administration of the <u>university</u> which had been founded there by Cardinal Truchsess. In 1565 he took part in the Second General Congregation of the order in <u>Rome</u>. While in <u>Rome</u> he visited Philip, son of the <u>Protestant</u> philologist Joachim Camerarius, at that time a <u>prisoner</u> of the <u>Inquisition</u>, and instructed and consoled him. <u>Pius IV</u> sent him as his secret <u>nuncio</u> to deliver the decrees of the <u>Council of Trent</u> to <u>Germany</u>; the <u>pope</u> also commissioned him to urge their enforcement, to ask the <u>Catholic</u> princes to defend the <u>Church</u> at the coming diet, and to negotiate for the founding of colleges and <u>seminaries</u>. Canisius negotiated more or less successfully with the Electors of <u>Mainz</u> and <u>Trier</u>, with the <u>bishops</u> of <u>Augsburg</u>, <u>Würzburg</u>, <u>Osnabrück</u>, <u>Münster</u>, and <u>Paderborn</u>, with the Duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg, and with the City and <u>University of Cologne</u>; he also visited Nimwegen, preaching there and at other places; his mission, however, was interrupted by the death of the <u>pope</u>. <u>Pius V</u> desired its continuation, but Canisius requested to be relieved; he said that it aroused suspicions of espionage, of arrogance, and of interference in politics (for a detailed account of his mission see "Stimmen aus Maria-Laach", LXXI, 58, 164, 301).

At the Diet of Augsburg (1566), Canisius and other theologians, by order of the pope, gave their services to the cardinal legate Commendone; with the help of his friends he succeeded, although with great difficulty, in persuading the legate not to issue his protest against the religious peace, and thus prevented a new fratricidal war. The Catholic members of the diet accepted the decrees of the council, the designs of the Protestants were frustrated, and from that time a new and vigorous life began for the Catholics in Germany. In the same year Canisius went to Wiesensteig, where he visited and brought back to the Church the Lutheran Count of Helfenstein and his entire countship, and where he prepared for death two witches who had been abandoned by the Lutheran preachers. In 1567 he preached the Lenten sermons in the cathedral of Würzburg, gave instruction in the Franciscan church twice a week to the children and domestics of the town, and discussed the foundling of a Jesuit college at Würzburg with the bishop. Then followed the diocesan synod of Dillingen (at which Canisius was principal adviser of the Bishop of Augsburg), journeys to Würzburg, Mainz, Speyer, and a visit to the Bishop of Strasburg, whom he advised, though unsuccessfully, to take a coadjutor. At Dillingen he received the application of Stanislaus Kostka to enter the Society of Jesus, and sent him with hearty recommendations to the general of the order at Rome. At this time he successfully settled a dispute in the philosophical faculty of the University of Ingolstadt. In 1567 and 1568 he went several times to Innsbruck, where in the name of the general he consulted with the Archduke Ferdinand II and his sisters about the confessors of the archduchesses and about the establishment of a Jesuit house at Hall. In 1569 the general decided to accept the college at Hall.

During Lent of 1568 Canisius preached at Ellwangen, in Würtemberg; from there he went with Cardinal Truchsess to Rome. The Upper German province of the order had elected the provincial as its representative at the meeting of the procurators; this election was illegal, but Canisius was admitted. For months he collected in the libraries of Rome material for a great work which he was preparing. In 1569 he returned to Augsburg and preached Lenten sermons in the Church of St. Mauritius. Having been a provincial for thirteen years (an unusually long time) he was relieved of the office at his own request, and went to Dillingen, where he wrote, catechized, and heard confessions, his respite, however, was short; in 1570 he was obliged again to go to Augsburg. A year latter he was compelled to move to Innsbruck and to accept the office of court preacher to Archduke Ferdinand II. In 1575 Gregory XIII sent him with papal messages to the archduke and to the Duke of Bavaria. When he arrived in Rome to make his report, the Third General Congregation of the order was assembled and, by special favour, Canisius was invited to be present. From this time he was preacher in the parish church of Innsbruck until the Diet of Ratisbon (1576), which he attended as theologian of the cardinal legate Morone. In the following year he supervised at Ingolstadt the printing of an important work, and induced the students of the university to found a sodality of the Blessed Virgin. During Lent, 1578, he preached at the court of Duke William of Bavaria at Landshut. The nuncio Bonhomini desired to have a college of the society at Fribourg: the order at first refused on account of the lack of men, but the pope intervened and, at the end of 1580, Canisius laid the foundation stone. In 1581 he founded a sodality of the Blessed Virgin among the citizens and, soon afterwards, sodalities for women and students; in 1582 schools were opened, and he preached in the parish church and in other places until 1589.

The canton had not been left uninfluenced by the <u>Protestant</u> movement. Canisius worked indefatigably with the <u>provost</u> Peter Schnewly, the <u>Franciscan</u> Johannes Michel, and others, for the revival of religious sentiments amongst the people; since then Fribourg has remained a stronghold of the <u>Catholic Church</u>. In 1584, while on the way to take part in another meeting of the order at <u>Augsburg</u>, he preached at <u>Lucerne</u> and made a <u>pilgrimage</u> to the <u>miraculous</u> image of the Blessed Virgin at <u>Einsiedeln</u>. According to his own account, it was then that <u>St</u>. <u>Nicholas</u>, the <u>patron saint</u> of Fribourg, made known to him his desire that Canisius should not leave Fribourg again. Many times the superiors of the order planned to transfer him to another house, but the <u>nuncio</u>, the city council, and the citizens themselves opposed the measure; they would not consent to lose this celebrated and saintly man. The last years of his life he devoted to the instruction of converts, to making spiritual addresses to the brothers of the order, to writing and re-editing books. The city authorities ordered his body to be buried before the <u>high altar</u> of the principal church, the Church of St. Nicolaus, from which they were translated in 1625 to that of St. Michael, the church of the <u>Jesuit College</u>.

Canisius held that to defend the <u>Catholic truths</u> with the pen was just as important as to convert the <u>Hindus</u>. At <u>Rome</u> and <u>Trent</u> he strongly urged the appointment at the council, at the <u>papal</u> court, and in other parts of <u>Italy</u>, of able <u>theologians</u> to write in defence of the <u>Catholic faith</u>. He begged <u>Pius V</u> to send yearly subsidies to the <u>Catholic</u> printers of <u>Germany</u>, and to permit German scholars to edit Roman <u>manuscripts</u>; he induced the city council of Fribourg to erect a printing establishment, and he secured special privileges for printers. He also kept in touch with the chief <u>Catholic</u> printers of his time — Plantin of <u>Antwerp</u>, Cholin of Cologne, and Mayer of Dillingen — and had foreign works of importance reprinted in <u>Germany</u>, for example, the works of <u>Andrada</u>, Fontidonio, and Villalpando in defence of the <u>Council of Trent</u>.

Canisius advised the generals of the order to create a <u>college</u> of authors; urged scholars like Bartholomæus Latomus, Friedrich Staphylus, and Hieronymus Torensis to publish their works; assisted <u>Onofrio Panvinio</u> and the polemic <u>Stanislaus Hosius</u>, reading their <u>manuscripts</u> and correcting <u>proofs</u>; and contributed to the work of his friend <u>Surius</u> on the councils. At his solicitation the "Briefe aus Indien", the first relations of <u>Catholic</u> missioners, were published (Dillingen, 1563-71); "Canisius", wrote the <u>Protestant</u> preacher, Witz, "by this activity gave an impulse which deserves our undivided recognition, indeed which arouses our admiration" ("Petrus Canisius", <u>Vienna</u>, 1897, p. 12).

The latest bibliography of the Society of Jesus devotes thirty-eight quarto pages to a list of the works published by Canisius and their different editions, and it must be added that this list is incomplete. The most important of his works are described below; the asterisk signifies that the work bears the name of Canisius neither on the title page nor in the preface. His chief work is his triple "Catechism". In 1551 King Ferdinand I asked the University of Vienna to write a compendium of Christian doctrine, and Canisius wrote (Vienna, 1555), at first for advanced students, his "Summa doctrinæ christianæ ... in usum Christianæ pueritiæ", two hundred and eleven questions in five chapters (the first edition appeared without the name of the author, but later all three catechisms bore his name); then a short extract for school children, "Summa . . . ad captum rudiorum accommodata" (Ingolstadt, 1556), was published as an appendix to the "Principia Grammatices"; his catechism for students of the lower and middle grades, "Parvus Catechismus Catholicorum" (later known as "Institutiones christianæ pietatis" or "Catechismus catholicus"), is an extract from the larger catechism, written in the winter of 1557-58. Of the first Latin edition (Cologne, 1558), no copy is known to exist; the German edition appeared at Dillingen, 1560. The "Summa" only received its definite form in the Cologne edition of 1556; it contains two hundred and twentytwo questions, and two thousand quotations from the Scriptures, and about twelve hundred quotations from the Fathers of the Church are inscribed on the margins; later all these quotations were compiled in the original by Peter Busæus, S.J., and appeared in four quarto volumes under the title "Authoritates Sacræ Scripturæ et Sanctorum patrum" etc. (Cologne, 1569-70); in 1557 Johannes Hasius, S.J., published the same work in one large folio volume, entitled "Opus catechisticum", for which Canisius wrote an introduction. The catechism of Canisius is remarkable for its ecclesiastically correct teachings, its clear, positive sentences, its mild and dignified form. It is today recognized as a masterpiece even by non-Catholics, e.g., the historians Ranke, Menzel, Philippson, and the theologians Kawerau, Rouffet, Zerschwitz.

Pius V entrusted Canisius with the confutation of the Centuriators of Magdeburg. Canisius undertook to prove the dishonesty of the centuriators by exposing their treatment of the principal persons in the Gospel — John the Baptist, the Mother of God, the Apostle St. Peter—and published (Dillingen, 1571) his next most important work, "Commentariorum de Verbi Dei corruptelis liber primus: in quo de Sanctissimi Præcursoris Domini Joannis Baptistæ Historia Evangelica . . . pertractatur". Here the confutation of the principal errors of Protestantism is exceptical and historical rather than scholastical; in 1577 "De Maria Virgine incomparabili, et Dei Genitrice sacrosancta, libri quinque" was published at Ingolstadt. Later he united these two works into one book of two volumes, "Commentariorum de Verbi corruptelis" (Ingolstadt, 1583, and later Paris and Lyons); the treatise on St. Peter and his primacy was only begun; the work on the Virgin Mary contains some quotations from the Fathers of the Church that had not been printed previously, and treats of the worship of Mary by the Church. A celebrated theologian of the present day called this work a classic defence of the whole Catholic doctrine about the Blessed Virgin (Scheeben, "Dogmatik", III, 478); in 1543 he published (under the name of Petrus Nouiomagus) "Des erleuchten D. Johannis Tauleri, von eym waren Euangelischen leben, Göttliche Predig. Leren" etc., in which several writings of the Dominican mystic appear in print for the first time. This was the first book published by a Jesuit. "Divi Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini Opera" (Latin translation, 2 fol. vols., Cologne, 1546); "D. Leonis Papæ huius nominis primi . . . Opera" (Cologne, 1546, later reprinted at Venice, Louvain, and Cologne), Leo is brought forward as a witness for the Catholic teachings and the discipline of the Church against the innovators; "De consolandis ægrotis" (Vienna, 1554), exhortations (Latin, German, and Italian) and prayers, with a preface by Canisius; "Lectiones et Precationes Ecclesiasticæ" (Ingolstadt, 1556), a prayerbook for students, reprinted more than thirty times under the titles of "Epistolæ et Evangelia" etc.; *"Principia grammatices" (Ingolstadt, 1556); Hannibal Codrett's Latin Grammar, adapted for German students by Canisius, reprinted in 1561, 1564 and 1568; *"Ordnung der Letaney von vnser lieben Frawen" [Dillingen (1558)], the first known printing of the Litany of Loreto, the second (Macerata, 1576) was most probably arranged by Canisius; *"Vom abschiedt des Coloquij zu Wormbs" (s. l. a., 1558?).

*"Ain Christlicher Bericht, was die hailige Christliche Kirch . . . sey" (Dillingen, 1559), translation and preface by Canisius (cf. N. Paulus in "Historischpolit. Blätter", CXXI, 765); "Epistolæ B. Hieronymi . . . selectæ" (Dillingen, 1562), a <u>school</u> edition arranged and prefaced by, Canisius and later reprinted about forty times; <u>"Hortulus Animæ"</u>, a German <u>prayer-book</u> arranged by Canisius (Dillingen, 1563), reprinted later, probably published also in Latin by him. The "Hortuli" were placed later on the Index *nisi corrigantur*; *"Von der Gesellschaft Jesu Durch. Joannem Albertum Wimpinensem" (Ingolstadt, 1563), a defence of the order against Chemnitz and Zanger, the greater part of which was written by Canisius; "Institutiones, et Exercitamentas Christianæ Pietatis" (Antwerp, 1566), many times reprinted, in which Canisius combined the <u>catechism</u> for the middle grades and the "Lectiones et Precationes ecclesiasticæ" (revised in <u>Rome</u>); "Beicht und Communionbüchlein" [Dillingen, 1567 (?), 1575, 1579, 1582, 1603; Ingolstadt, 1594, etc.]; "Christenliche . . . Predig von den vier Sontagen im Aduent, auch vonn dem heiligen Christag" (Dillingen, 1570).

At the request of Ferdinand II of Tyrol, Canisius supervised the publishing of *"Von dem hoch und weitberhümpten Wunderzeichen, so sich . . . auf dem Seefeld . . . zugetragen" (Dillingen, 1580), and wrote a long preface for it; then appeared "Zwey vnd neuntzig Betrachtung vnd Gebett, dess . . . Bruders Clausen von Vnterwalden" (Fribourg, 1586); "Manuale Catholicorum. In usum pie precandi" (Fribourg, 1587); "Zwo . . . Historien . . . Die erste von . . . S. Beato, ersten Prediger in Schweitzerland. Die andere von S. Fridolino, ersten Prediger zu Glaris vnd Seckingen" (Fribourg, 1590): in this, the first of the popular biographies of the saints especially worshipped in <u>Switzerland</u>, Canisius does not give a scholarly essay, but endeavours to strengthen the <u>Catholic Swiss</u> in their <u>faith</u> and arouse their <u>piety;</u> "Notæ in Evangelicas lectiones, quæ per totum annum Dominicis diebus . . . recitantur (Fribourg, 1591), a large quarto volume valuable for sermons and meditations for the <u>clergy;</u> "Miserere, das ist: Der 50. Psalm Davids . . . Gebettsweiss . . . aussgelegt" (Munich, 1594, Ingolstadt, 1594); "Warhafte Histori . . . Von Sanct Moritzen . . . vnd seiner Thebaischen Legion . . . Auch insonderheit von Sanct Vrso" (Fribourg, 1594); *"Catholische Kirchengesäng zum theil vor vnd nach dem Catechismo zum teil sonst durchs Jahr . . . zusingen" (Fribourg, 1596); "Enchiridion Pietatis quo ad precandum Deum instruitur Princeps" (s. l., 1751), dedicated by Canisius in 1592 to the future emperor Ferdinand II (Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie; XIV, 741); "Beati Petri Canisii Exhortationes domesticæ", mostly short

sketches, collected and edited by G. Schlosser, S.J. (Roermond, 1876); "Beati Petri Canisii Epistulæ et Acta": 1541-65, edited by O. Braunsberger, S.J. (4 vols., Freiburg im Br., 1896-1905). There still remain unpublished four or five volumes containing eleven hundred and ninety-five letters and *regesta* written to or by Canisius, and six hundred and twenty-five documents dealing with his labours.

"Peter Canisius", says the Protestant professor of theology, Krüger, "was a noble Jesuit; no blemish stains his character" ("Petrus Canisius" in "Geschichte u. Legende", Giessen, 1898, 10). The principal trait of his character was love for Christ and for his work; he devoted his life to defend, propagate, and strengthen the Church. Hence his devotion to the pope. He did not deny the abuses which existed in Rome; he demanded speedy remedies; but the supreme and full power of the pope over the whole Church, and the infallibility of his teaching as Head of the Church, Canisius championed as vigorously as the Italian and Spanish brothers of the order. He cannot be called an "Episcopalian" or "Semi-Gallican"; his motto was "whoever adheres to the Chair of St. Peter is my man. With Ambrose I desire to follow the Church of Rome in every respect". Pius V wished to make him cardinal. The bishops, Brendel of Mains, Brus of Prague, Pflug of Naumburg, Blarer of Basle, Cromer of Ermland, and Spaur of Brixen, held him in great esteem. St. Francis of Sales sought his advice by letter. He enjoyed the friendship of the most distinguished members of the College of Cardinals - Borromeo, Hosius, Truchsess, Commendone, Morone, Sirlet; of the nuncios Delfino, Portia, Bonhomini and others; of many leading exponents of ecclesiastical learning; and of such prominent men as the Chancellor of the University of Louvain, Ruard Tapper, the provost Martin Eisengrein, Friedrich Staphylus, Franz Sonnius, Martin Rithovius, Wilhelm Lindanus, the imperial vice-chancellors Jacob Jonas and Georg Sigismund Seld, the Bavarian chancellor Simon Thaddaeus Eck, and the Fuggers and Welsers of Augsburg. "Canisius's whole life", writes the Swiss Protestant theologian Gautier, "is animated by the desire to form a generation of devout clerics capable of serving the Church worthily" ("Etude sur la correspondance de Pierre Canisius", Geneva, 1905, p. 46). At Ingolstadt he held disputations and homiletic exercises among the young clerics, and endeavoured to raise the religious and scientific standard of the Georgianum. He collected for and sent pupils to the German College at Rome and provided for pupils who had returned home. He also urged Gregory XIII to make donations and to found similar institutions in Germany; soon papal seminaries were built at Prague, Fulda, Braunsberg, and Dillingen. At Ingolstadt, Innsbruck, Munich, and Vienna schools were built under the guidance of Canisius for the nobility and the poor, the former to educate the clergy of the cathedrals, the latter for the clergy of the lower grades. The reformed ordinances published at that time for the Universities of Cologne, Ingolstadt, and Vienna must be credited in the main to his suggestions.

With apostolic zeal he loved the Society of Jesus; the day of his admission to the order he called his second birthday. Obedience to his superiors was his first rule. As a superior he cared with parental love for the necessities of his subordinates. Shortly before his death he declared that he had never regretted becoming a Jesuit, and recalled the abuses which the opponents of the Church had heaped upon his order and his person. Johann Wigand wrote a vile pamphlet against his "Catechism"; Flacius Illyricus, Johann Gnypheus, and Paul Scheidlich wrote books against it; Melanchthon declared that he defended errors wilfully; Chemnitz called him a cynic; the satirist Fischart scoffed at him; Andreæ Dathen, Gallus, Hesshusen, Osiander, Platzius, Roding, Vergerio, and others wrote vigorous attacks against him; at Prague the Hussites threw stones into the church where he was saying Mass; at Berne he was derided by a Protestant mob. At Easter, 1568, he was obliged to preach in the Cathedral of Würzburg in order to disprove the rumour that he had become a Protestant. Unembittered by all this, he said, "the more our opponents <u>calumniate</u> us, the more we must <u>love</u> them". He requested Catholic authors to advocate the truth with modesty and dignity without scoffing or ridicule. The names of Luther and Melanchthon were never mentioned in his "Catechism". His love for the German people is characteristic; he urged the brothers of the order to practise German diligently, and he liked to hear the German national hymns sung. At his desire St. Ignatius decreed that all the members of the order should offer monthly Masses and prayers for the welfare of Germany and the North. Ever the faithful advocate of the Germans at the Holy See, he obtained clemency for them in questions of ecclesiastical censures, and permission to give extraordinary absolutions and to dispense from the law of fasting. He also wished the Index to be modified that German confessors might be authorized to permit the reading of some books, but in his sermons he warned the faithful to abstain from reading such books without permission. While he was rector of the University of

<u>Ingolstadt</u>, a resolution was passed forbidding the use of <u>Protestant</u> textbooks and, at his request, the Duke of <u>Bavaria</u> forbade the importation of books opposed to religion and <u>morals</u>. At Cologne he requested the town council to forbid the printing or sale of books hostile to the Faith or immoral, and in the Tyrol had Archduke Ferdinand II suppress such books. He also advised Bishop Urban of <u>Gurk</u>, the court preacher of Ferdinand I, not to read so many <u>Protestant</u> books, but to study instead the Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers. At Nimwegen he searched the <u>libraries</u> of his friends, and burned all <u>heretical</u> books. In the midst of all these cares Canisius remained essentially a man of <u>prayer</u>; he was an ardent advocate of the <u>Rosary</u> and its sodalities. He was also one of the precursors of the modern devotion of the Sacred Heart.

During his lifetime his "Catechism" appeared in more than 200 editions in at least twelve languages. It was one of the works which influenced St. Aloysius Gonzaga to enter the Society of Jesus; it converted, among others, Count Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg; and as late as the eighteenth century in many places the words "Canisi" and catechism were synonymous. It remained the foundation and pattern for the catechisms printed later. His preaching also had great influence; in 1560 the clergy of the cathedral of Augsburg testified that by his sermons nine hundred persons had been brought back to the Church, and in May, 1562, it was reported the Easter communicants numbered one thousand more than in former years. Canisius induced some of the prominent Fuggers to return to the Church, and converted the leader of the Augsburg Anabaptists. In 1537 the Catholic clergy had been banished from Augsburg by the city council; but after the preaching of Canisius public processions were held, monasteries gained novices, people crowded to the jubilee indulgence, pilgrimages were revived, and frequent Communion again became the rule. After the elections of 1562 there were eighteen Protestants and twenty-seven Catholics on the city council. He received the approbation of Pius IV by a special Brief in 1561. Great services were rendered by Canisius to the Church through the extension of the Society of Jesus; the difficulties were great: lack of novices, insufficient education of some of the younger members, poverty, plague, animosity of the Protestants, jealousy on the part of fellow-Catholics, the interference of princes and city councils. Notwithstanding all this, Canisius introduced the order into Bavaria, Bohemia, Swabia, the Tyrol, and Hungary, and prepared the way in Alsace, the Palatinate, Hesse, and Poland. Even opponents admit that to the Jesuits principally is due the credit of saving a large part of Germany from religious innovation. In this work Canisius was the leader. In many respects Canisius was the product of an age which believed in strange miracles, put witches to death, and had recourse to force against the adherents of another faith; but notwithstanding all this, Johannes Janssen does not hesitate to declare that Canisius was the most prominent and most influential Catholic reformer of the sixteenth century (Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, 15th and 16th editions, IV, p. 406). "Canisius more than any other man", writes A. Chroust, "saved for the Church of Rome the Catholic Germany of today" (Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft, new series, II, 106). It has often been declared that Canisius in many ways resembles St. Boniface, and he is therefore called the second Apostle of Germany. The Protestant professor of theology, Paul Drews, says: "It must be admitted that, from the standpoint of Rome, he deserves the title of Apostle of Germany" ("Petrus Canisius", Halle, 1892, p. 103).

Soon after his death reports spread of the <u>miraculous</u> help obtained by invoking his name. His <u>tomb</u> was visited by <u>pilgrims</u>. The <u>Society of Jesus</u> decided to urge his <u>beatification</u>. The <u>ecclesiastical</u> investigations of his virtues and <u>miracles</u> were at first conducted by the Bishops of Fribourg, Dillingen, and Freising (1625-90); the apostolic proceedings began in 1734, but were interrupted by political and <u>religions</u> disorders. <u>Gregory XVI</u> resumed them about 1833; <u>Pius IX</u> on 17 April, 1864, approved of four of the <u>miracles</u> submitted, and on 20 November, 1869, the solemn <u>beatification</u> took place in St. Peter's at <u>Rome</u>. In connection with this, there appeared between 1864-66 more than thirty different biographies. On the occasion of the tercentenary of his death, <u>Leo XIII</u> issued to the <u>bishops</u> of <u>Austria</u>, <u>Germany</u>, and <u>Switzerland</u> his much-discussed "Epistola Encyclica de memoria sæculari B. Petri Canisii"; the <u>bishops</u> of <u>Switzerland</u> issued a collective pastoral; in numerous places of <u>Europe</u> and in some places in the <u>United States</u> this tercentenary was celebrated and about fifty pamphlets were published. In order to encourage the veneration of Canisius there is published at <u>Fribourg</u>, <u>Switzerland</u>, monthly since 1896, the "Canisius-Stimmen" (in German and French). The infirmary of the College of St. Michael, in which Canisius died, is now a <u>chapel</u>. Vestments and other objects which he used are kept in different houses of the order. The Canisius College at <u>Buffalo</u> possesses precious <u>relics</u>. In the house of

Canisius in the Broersstraat at Nimwegen the room is still shown where he was born. Other memorials are: the Canisius <u>statue</u> in one of the public squares of Fribourg, the <u>statue</u> in the <u>cathedral</u> of <u>Augsburg</u>, the <u>Church</u> of the Holy Saviour and the Mother of Sorrows, recently built in his memory in <u>Vienna</u>, and the new Canisius College at Nimwegen. At the twenty-sixth general meeting of German <u>Catholics</u> held at <u>Aachen</u>, 1879, a Canisius <u>society</u> for the religious <u>education</u> of the young was founded. The general <u>prayer</u>, said every <u>Sunday</u> in the churches originated by Canisius, is still in use in the greater part of <u>Germany</u>, and also in many places in <u>Austria</u> and <u>Switzerland</u>. Various portraits of Canisius exist: in the Churches of St. Nicolaus and St. Michael in Fribourg; in the vestry of the Augsburg Cathedral; in the Church of St. Michael at <u>Munich</u>; in the town hall at <u>Ingolstadt</u>; in the <u>Cistercian monastery</u> at Stams. The woodcut in Pantaleo, "Prosopographia", III (Basle, 1566), is worthless. Copper-plates were produced by Wierx (1619), Custos (1612), Sadeler (1628), Hainzelmann (1693), etc. In the nineteenth century are: Fracassini's <u>painting</u> in the Vatican; Jeckel's steel engraving; Leo Samberger's <u>painting</u>; <u>Steinle's</u> engraving (1886). In most of these pictures Canisius is represented with his <u>catechism</u> and other books, or surrounded by children whom he is instructing. (*See* <u>CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE</u>; <u>COUNTER-REFORMATION</u>; <u>SOCIETY OF JESUS</u>.)

St. Peter Chrysologus (400-50)

Added by Pope Benedict XIII in 1729

Born at <u>Imola</u>, 406; died there, 450. His biography, first written by Agnellus (Liber pontificalis ecclesiæ Ravennatis) in the ninth century, gives but scanty information about him. He was <u>baptised</u>, <u>educated</u>, and <u>ordained deacon</u> by Cornelius, <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Imola</u>, and was elevated to the Bishopric of <u>Ravenna</u> in 433. There are indications that <u>Ravenna</u> held the rank of <u>metropolitan</u> before this time. His <u>piety</u> and <u>zeal</u> won for him universal admiration, and his oratory merited for him the name Chrysologus. He shared the confidence of <u>Leo</u> <u>the Great</u> and enjoyed the patronage of the Empress Galla Placidia. After his condemnation by the Synod of Constantinople (448), the <u>Monophysite Eutyches</u> endeavoured to win the support of Peter, but without success.

A collection of his <u>homilies</u>, numbering 176, was made by Felix, <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Ravenna</u> (707-17). Some are interpolations, and several other <u>homilies</u> known to be written by the <u>saint</u> are included in other collections under different names. They are in a great measure explanatory of Biblical texts and are brief and concise. He has explained beautifully the mystery of the <u>Incarnation</u>, the <u>heresies</u> of Arius and <u>Eutyches</u>, and the <u>Apostles'</u> <u>Creed</u>, and he dedicated a series of <u>homilies</u> to the Blessed Virgin and <u>St. John the Baptist</u>. His works were first edited by Agapitus Vicentinus (Bologna, 1534), and later by D. Mita (Bolonga, 1634), and S. Pauli (Venice, 1775) — the latter collection having been reprinted in P.L., LII. Fr. Liverani ("Spicilegium Liberianum"), <u>Florence</u>, 1863, 125 seq.) edited nine new <u>homilies</u> and published from <u>manuscripts</u> in <u>Italian libraries</u> different readings of several other sermons. Several <u>homilies</u> were translated into German by M. Held (Kempten, 1874).

St. Peter Damian (1007-72) Added by Pope Leo XII in 1828

(Or Damiani).

Doctor of the Church, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, b. at <u>Ravenna</u> "five years after the death of the <u>Emperor Otto</u> <u>III</u>," 1007; d. at <u>Faenza</u>, 21 Feb., 1072.

He was the youngest of a large <u>family</u>; his <u>parents</u> were noble, but poor. At his birth an elder brother protested against this new charge on the resources of the <u>family</u> with such effect that his mother refused to suckle him and the babe nearly died. A <u>family</u> retainer, however, fed the starving child and by example and reproaches recalled his mother to her <u>duty</u>. Left an <u>orphan</u> in early years, he was at first adopted by an elder brother, who ill-treated

and under-fed him while employing him as a swineherd. The child showed signs of great <u>piety</u> and of remarkable <u>intellectual</u> gifts, and after some years of this servitude another brother, who was <u>archpriest</u> at <u>Ravenna</u>, had pity on him and took him away to be <u>educated</u>. This brother was called Damian and it was generally accepted that St. Peter added this name to his own in grateful recognition of his brother's kindness. He made rapid progress in his studies, first at <u>Ravenna</u>, then at <u>Faenza</u>, finally at the University of <u>Parma</u>, and when about twenty-five years old was already a famous teacher at <u>Parma</u> and <u>Ravenna</u>. But, though even then much given to <u>fasting</u> and to other <u>mortifications</u>, he could not endure the <u>scandals</u> and distractions of <u>university</u> life and decided (about 1035) to retire from the world. While meditating on his resolution he encountered two <u>hermits</u> of <u>Fonte-Avellana</u>, was charmed with their spirituality and detachment, and desired to join them. Encouraged by them Peter, after a forty days' retreat in a small cell, left his friends secretly and made his way to the hermitage of <u>Fonte-Avellana</u>. Here he was received, and, to his surprise, clothed at once with the monastic habit.

Both as <u>novice</u> and as professed religious his fervour was remarkable and led him to such extremes of penance that, for a time, his health was affected. He occupied his convalescence with a thorough study of <u>Holy Scripture</u> and, on his recovery, was appointed to lecture to his fellow-monks. At the request of Guy of Pomposa and other heads of neighbouring <u>monasteries</u>, for two or three years he lectured to their subjects also, and (about 1042) wrote the life of <u>St. Romuald</u> for the <u>monks</u> of Pietrapertosa. Soon after his return to <u>Fonte-Avellana</u> he was appointed economus of the house by the prior, who also pointed him out as his successor. This, in fact, he became in 1043, and he remained <u>prior</u> of <u>Fonte-Avellana</u> till his death. His priorate was characterized by a wise moderation of the rule, as well as by the foundation of subject-hermitages at <u>San Severino</u>, Gamugno, Acerata, Murciana, San Salvatore, Sitria, and Ocri. It was remarkable, too, for the introduction of the regular use of the discipline, a penitential exercise which he induced the great abbey of <u>Monte Cassino</u> to imitate. There was much opposition outside his own circle to this practice, but Peter's persistent advocacy ensured its acceptance to such an extent that he was <u>obliged</u> later to moderate the imprudent <u>zeal</u> of some of his own <u>hermits</u>. Another innovation was that of the daily siesta, to make up for the fatigue of the night office. during his tenure of the priorate a <u>cloister</u> was built, silver <u>chalices</u> and a silver processional cross were purchased, and many books added to the <u>library</u>. (See <u>Fonte-Avellana</u>.)

Although living in the seclusion of the cloister, Peter Damian watched closely the fortunes of the Church, and like his friend Hildebrand, the future Gregory VII, he strove for her purification in those deplorable times. In 1045 when Benedict IX resigned the supreme pontificate into the hands of the archpriest John Gratian (Gregory VI). Peter hailed the change with joy and wrote to the pope, urging him to deal with the scandals of the church in Italy, especially with the evil bishops of Pesaro, of Città di Castello, and of Fano (see BENEDICT IX; GREGORY VI.) He was present in Rome when Clement II crowned Henry III and his wife Agnes, and he also attended a synod held at the Lateran in the first days of 1047, in which decrees were passed against simony. After this he returned to his hermitage (see CLEMENT II; DAMASUS II). Pope St. Leo IX was solemnly enthroned at Rome, 12 Feb., 1049, to succeed Damasus II, and about two years later Peter published his terrible treatise on the vices of the clergy, the "Liber Gomorrhianus", dedicating it to the pope. It caused a great stir and aroused not a little enmity against its author. Even the pope, who had at first praised the work, was persuaded that it was exaggerated and his coldness drew from Damian a vigorous letter of protest. Meanwhile the question arose as to the validity of the ordinations of simoniacal clerics. The prior of Fonte-Avellana was appealed to and wrote (about 1053) a treatise, the "Liber Gratissimus", in favour of their validity, a work which, though much combatted at the time, was potent in deciding the question in their favour before the end of the twelfth century. In June, 1055, during the pontificate of Victor II, Damian attended a synod held at Florence, where simony and clerical incontinence were once more condemned. About two years later he fell ill at Fonte-Avellana and nearly died, but suddenly, after seven weeks of pain, recovered, as he believed, through a miracle.

During his illness the pope died, and Frederic, <u>abbot</u> of <u>Monte Cassino</u>, was elected as <u>Stephen X</u>. In the autumn of 1057, <u>Stephen X</u> determined to create Damian a <u>cardinal</u>. For a long time he resisted the offer, but was finally forced, under threat of <u>excommunication</u>, to accept, and was <u>consecrated Cardinal-Bishop</u> of <u>Ostia</u> on 30 Nov., 1057. In addition he was appointed administrator of the <u>Diocese of Gubbio</u>. The new <u>cardinal</u> was

impressed with the great responsibilities of his office and wrote a stirring letter to his brother-cardinals, exhorting them to shine by their example before all. Four months later Pope Stephen died at Florence and the <u>Church</u> was once more distracted by <u>schism</u>. The <u>Cardinal</u> of <u>Ostia</u> was vigorous in his opposition to the <u>antipope Benedict X</u>, but force was on the side of the intruder and Damian retired to Fonte-Avallana. (*See* <u>NICHOLAS II; GREGORY VII</u>.)

About the end of the year 1059 Peter was sent as legate to Milan by Nicholas II. The Church at Milan had been, for some time, the prey of simony and incontinence. So bad was the state of things, that benefices were openly bought and sold and the clergy publicly "married" the women they lived with. But the faithful of Milan, led by St. Ariald the Deacon and St. Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, strove hard to remedy these evils. At length the contest between the two parties became so bitter that an appeal was made to the Holy See to decide the matter. Nicholas II sent Damian and the Bishop of Lucca as his legates. But now the party of the irregular clerics took alarm and raised the cry that Rome had no authority over Milan. At once Peter took action. Boldly confronting the rioters in the cathedral, he proved to them the authority of the Holy See with such effect that all parties submitted to his decision. He exacted first a solemn oath from the archbishop and all his clergy that for the future no preferment should be paid for; then, imposing a penance on all who had been guilty, he re-instated in their benefices all who under took to live continently. This prudent decision was attacked by some of the rigourists at Rome, but was not reversed. Unfortunately, on the death of Nicholas II, the same disputes broke out; nor were they finally settled till after the martyrdom of St. Ariald in 1066. Meanwhile Peter was in vain pleading to be released from the cares of his office. Neither Nicholas II nor Hildebrand would consent to spare him.

In July, 1061, the <u>pope</u> died and once more a <u>schism</u> ensued. Damian used all his powers to persuade the <u>antipope Cadalous</u> to withdraw, but to no purpose. Finally Hanno, the Regent of <u>Germany</u>, summoned a council at <u>Augsburg</u> at which a long argument by St. Peter Damian was read and greatly contributed to the decision in favour of <u>Alexander II</u>. In 1063 the <u>pope</u> held a synod at <u>Rome</u>, at which Damian was appointed <u>legate</u> to settle the dispute between the Abbey of Cluny and the <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Mâcon</u>. He proceeded to <u>France</u>, summoned a council at Châlon-sur-Saône, <u>proved</u> the justice of the contentions of Cluny, settled other questions at issue in the <u>Church</u> of <u>France</u>, and returned in the autumn to <u>Fonte-Avellana</u>. While he was in <u>France</u> the <u>antipope</u> <u>Cadalous</u> had again become active in his attempts to gain <u>Rome</u>, and Damian brought upon himself a sharp reproof from Alexander and <u>Hildebrand</u> for twice imprudently appealing to the royal power to judge the case anew. In 1067 the <u>cardinal</u> was sent to Florence to settle the dispute between the <u>bishop</u> and the <u>monks</u> of Vallombrosa, who accused the former of <u>simony</u>. His efforts, however, were not successful, largely because he misjudged the case and threw the weight of his authority on the side of the <u>bishop</u>. The matter was not settled till the following year by the <u>pope</u> in person. In 1069 Damian went as the <u>pope's legate</u> to <u>Germany</u> to prevent King Henry from repudiating his wife <u>Bertha</u>. This task he accomplished at a council at <u>Frankfort</u> and returned to <u>Fonte-Avellana</u>, were he was left in peace for two years.

Early in 1072 he was sent to <u>Ravenna</u> to reconcile its inhabitants to the <u>Holy See</u>, they having been <u>excommunicated</u> for supporting their <u>archbishop</u> in his adhesion to the <u>schism</u> of <u>Cadalous</u>. On his return thence he was seized with fever near <u>Faenza</u>. He lay ill for a week at the <u>monastery</u> of <u>Santa Maria</u> degl'Angeli, now Santa Maria Vecchia. On the night preceding the feast of the Chair of St. Peter at <u>Antioch</u>, he ordered the office of the feast to be recited and at the end of the <u>Lauds</u> he died. He was at once buried in the <u>monastery</u> church, lest others should claim his <u>relics</u>. Six times has his body been translated, each time to a more splendid resting-place. It now lies in a <u>chapel dedicated</u> to the <u>saint</u> in the <u>cathedral</u> of <u>Faenza</u> in 1898. No formal <u>canonization</u> ever took place, but his cultas has existed since his death at <u>Faenza</u>, at <u>Fonte-Avellana</u>, at <u>Monte Cassino</u>, and at Cluny. In 1823 Leo XII extended his feast (23 Feb.) to the whole Church and pronounced him a <u>Doctor of the Church</u>. The saint is represented in art as a <u>cardinal</u> bearing a discipline in his hand; also sometimes he is depicted as a pilgrim holding a <u>papal Bull</u>, to signify his many legations.

St. Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621)

Added by Pope Pius XI in 1931

(Also, "Bellarmino").

A distinguished Jesuit theologian, writer, and cardinal, born at Montepulciano, 4 October, 1542; died 17 September, 1621. His father was Vincenzo Bellarmino, his mother Cinthia Cervini, sister of Cardinal Marcello Cervini, afterwards Pope Marcellus II. He was brought up at the newly founded Jesuit college in his native town, and entered the Society of Jesus on 20 September, 1560, being admitted to his first vows on the following day. The next three years he spent in studying philosophy at the Roman College, after which he taught the humanities first at Florence, then at Mondovi. In 1567 he began his theology at Padua, but in 1569 was sent to finish it at Louvain, where he could obtain a fuller acquaintance with the prevailing heresies. Having been ordained there, he quickly obtained a reputation both as a professor and a preacher, in the latter capacity drawing to his pulpit both Catholics and Protestants, even from distant parts. In 1576 he was recalled to Italy, and entrusted with the chair of Controversies recently founded at the Roman College. He proved himself equal to the arduous task, and the lectures thus delivered grew into the work "De Controversiis" which, amidst so much else of excellence, forms the chief title to his greatness. This monumental work was the earliest attempt to systematize the various controversies of the time, and made an immense impression throughout Europe, the blow it dealt to Protestantism being so acutely felt in Germany and England that special chairs were founded in order to provide replies to it. Nor has it even yet been superseded as the classical book on its subject-matter, though, as was to be expected, the progress of criticism has impaired the value of some of its historical arguments.

In 1588 Bellarmine was made Spiritual Father to the Roman College, but in 1590 he went with Cardinal Gaetano as theologian to the embassy Sixtus V was then sending into France to protect the interests of the Church amidst the troubles of the civil wars. Whilst he was there news reached him that Sixtus, who had warmly accepted the dedication of his "De Controversiis", was now proposing to put its first volume on the Index. This was because he had discovered that it assigned to the Holy See not a direct but only an indirect power over temporals. Bellarmine, whose loyalty to the Holy See was intense, took this greatly to heart; it was, however, averted by the death of Sixtus, and the new pope, Gregory XIV, even granted to Bellarmine's work the distinction of a special approbation. Gaetano's mission now terminating, Bellarmine resumed his work as Spiritual Father, and had the consolation of guiding the last years of St. Aloysius Gonzaga, who died in the Roman College in 1591. Many years later he had the further consolation of successfully promoting the beatification of the saintly youth. Likewise at this time he sat on the final commission for the revision of the Vulgate text. This revision had been desired by the Council of Trent, and subsequent popes had laboured over the task and had almost brought it to completion. But Sixtus V, though unskilled in this branch of criticism, had introduced alterations of his own, all for the worse. He had even gone so far as to have an impression of this vitiated edition printed and partially distributed, together with the proposed Bull enforcing its use. He died, however, before the actual promulgation, and his immediate successors at once proceeded to remove the blunders and call in the defective impression. The difficulty was how to substitute a more correct edition without affixing a stigma to the name of Sixtus, and Bellarmine proposed that the new edition should continue in the name of Sixtus, with a prefatory explanation that, on account of aliqua vitia vel typographorum vel aliorum which had crept in, Sixtus had himself resolved that a new impression should be undertaken. The suggestion was accepted, and Bellarmine himself wrote the preface, still prefixed to the Clementine edition ever since in use. On the other hand, he has been accused of untruthfulness in stating that Sixtus had resolved on a new impression. But his testimony, as there is no evidence to the contrary, should be accepted as decisive, seeing how conscientious a man he was in the estimation of his contemporaries; and the more so since it cannot be impugned without casting a slur on the character of his fellow-commissioners who accepted his suggestion, and of <u>Clement VIII</u> who with full <u>knowledge</u> of the facts gave his sanction to Bellarmine's preface being prefixed to the new edition. Besides, Angelo Rocca, the Secretary of the revisory commissions of Sixtus V and the succeeding pontiffs, himself wrote a draft preface for the new edition in which he makes the same

statement: (<u>Sixtus</u>) "dum errores ex typographiâ ortos, et mutationes omnes, atque varias hominum opiniones recognoscere cœpit, ut postea de toto negotio deliberare atque Vulgatam editionem, prout debebat, publicare posset, morte præventus quod cœperat perficere non potuit". This draft preface, to which Bellarmine's was preferred, is still extant, attached to the copy of the Sixtine edition in which the Clementine corrections are marked, and may be seen in the Biblioteca Angelica at <u>Rome</u>.

In 1592 Bellarmine was made Rector of the Roman College, and in 1595 Provincial of Naples. In 1597 Clement VIII recalled him to Rome and made him his own theologian and likewise Examiner of Bishops and Consultor of the Holy Office. Further, in 1599 he made him <u>Cardinal-Priest</u> of the title of <u>Santa Maria</u> *in viâ*, alleging as his reason for this promotion that "the <u>Church of God</u> had not his equal in learning". He was now appointed, along with the <u>Dominican</u> Cardinal d'Ascoli, an assessor to Cardinal Madruzzi, the President of the Congregation *de Auxiliis*, which had been instituted shortly before to settle the controversy which had recently arisen between the <u>Thomists</u> and the <u>Molinists</u> concerning the nature of the concord between efficacious grace and human liberty. Bellarmine's advice was from the first that the <u>doctrinal</u> question should not be decided authoritatively, but left over for further discussion in the <u>schools</u>, the disputants on either side being strictly forbidden to indulge in censures or condemnations of their adversaries. <u>Clement VIII</u> at first inclined to this view, but afterwards changed completely and determined on a <u>doctrinal</u> definition. Bellarmine's presence then became embarrassing, and he appointed him to the Archbishopric of <u>Capua</u> just then vacant. This is sometimes spoken of as the <u>cardinal's</u> disgrace, but Clement <u>consecrated</u> him with his own hands--an <u>honour</u> which the popes usually accord as a mark of special regard. The new <u>archbishop</u> departed at once for his <u>see</u>, and during the next three years set a bright example of pastoral <u>zeal</u> in its administration.

In 1605 Clement VIII died, and was succeeded by Leo XI who reigned only twenty-six days, and then by Paul V. In both conclaves, especially that latter, the name of Bellarmine was much before the electors, greatly to his own distress, but his quality as a Jesuit stood against him in the judgment of many of the cardinals. The new pope insisted on keeping him at Rome, and the cardinal, obediently complying, demanded that at least he should be released from an episcopal charge the duties of which he could no longer fulfil. He was now made a member of the Holy Office and of other congregations, and thenceforth was the chief advisor of the Holy See in the theological department of its administration. Of the particular transactions with which his name is most generally associated the following were the most important: The inquiry de Auxiliis, which after all Clement had not seen his way to decide, was now terminated with a settlement on the lines of Bellarmine's original suggestion. 1606 marked the beginning of the quarrel between the Holy See and the Republic of Venice which, without even consulting the pope, had presumed to abrogate the law of clerical exemption from civil jurisdiction and to withdraw the Church's right to hold real property. The quarrel led to a war of pamphlets in which the part of the Republic was sustained by John Marsiglio and an apostate monk named Paolo Sarpi, and that of the Holy See by Bellarmine and Baronius. Contemporaneous with the Venetian episode was that of the English Oath of Alliance. In 1606, in addition to the grave disabilities which already weighed them down, the English Catholics were required under pain of *prœmunire* to take an oath of allegiance craftily worded in such wise that a Catholic in refusing to take it might appear to be disavowing an undoubted civil obligation, whilst if he should take it he would be not merely rejecting but even condemning as "impious and heretical" the doctrine of the deposing power, that is to say, of a power, which, whether rightly or wrongly, the Holy See had claimed and exercised for centuries with the full approval of Christendom, and which even in that age the mass of the theologians of Europe defended. The Holy See having forbidden Catholics to take this oath, King James himself came forward as its defender, in a book entitled "Tripoli nodo triplex cuneus", to which Bellarmine replied in his "Responsio Matthfi Torti". Other treatises followed on either side, and the result of one, written in denial of the deposing power by William Barclay, an English jurist resident in France, was that Bellarmine's reply to it was branded by the Regalist Parlement of Paris. Thus it came to pass that, for following the via media of the indirect power, he was condemned in 1590 as too much of a Regalist and in 1605 as too much of a Papalist.

Bellarmine did not live to deal with the later and more serious stage of the <u>Galileo</u> case, but in 1615 he took part in its earlier stage. He had always shown great interest in the discoveries of that investigator, and was on terms of friendly correspondence with him. He took up too--as is witnessed by his letter to <u>Galileo's</u> friend Foscarini-- exactly the right attitude towards scientific theories in seeming contradiction with Scripture. If, as was undoubtedly the case then with <u>Galileo's</u> heliocentric theory, a scientific theory is insufficiently <u>proved</u>, it should be advanced only as an hypothesis; but if, as is the case with this theory now, it is solidly demonstrated, care must be taken to interpret Scripture only in accordance with it. When the Holy Office condemned the heliocentric theory, by an excess in the opposite direction, it became Bellarmine's official duty to signify the condemnation to <u>Galileo</u>, and receive his submission. Bellarmine lived to see one more <u>conclave</u>, that which elected <u>Gregory XV</u> (February, 1621). His health was now failing, and in the summer of the same year he was permitted to retire to Sant' Andrea and prepare for the end. His death was most edifying and was a fitting termination to a life which had been no less remarkable for its virtues than for its achievements.

His spirit of <u>prayer</u>, his singular delicacy of <u>conscience</u> and freedom from <u>sin</u>, his spirit of <u>humility</u> and poverty, together with the disinterestedness which he displayed as much under the <u>cardinal's</u> robes as under the <u>Jesuit's</u> gown, his lavish charity to the <u>poor</u>, and his devotedness to work, had combined to impress those who <u>knew</u> him intimately with the feeling that he was of the number of the <u>saints</u>. Accordingly, when he died there was a general expectation that his cause would be promptly introduced. And so it was, under <u>Urban VIII</u> in 1627, when he became entitled to the appellation of Venerable. But a technical obstacle, arising out of <u>Urban VIII's</u> own general legislation in regard to beatifications, required its prorogation at that time. Though it was reintroduced on several occasions (1675, 1714, 1752, and 1832), and though on each occasion the great preponderance of votes was in favour of the <u>beatification</u>, a successful issue came only after many years. This was partly because of the influential character of some of those who recorded adverse votes, Barbarigo, Casante, and Azzolino in 1675, and <u>Passionei</u> in 1752, but still more for reasons of political expediency, Bellarmine's name being closely associated with a <u>doctrine</u> of <u>papal</u> authority most obnoxious to the Regalist politicians of the French Court. "We have said", wrote <u>Benedict XIV</u> to <u>Cardinal de Tencin</u>, "in confidence to the General of the <u>Jesuits</u> that the delay of the Cause has come not from the petty matters laid to his charge by <u>Cardinal Passionei</u>, but from the sad circumstances of the times" (Études Religieuses, 15 April, 1896).

[*Note:* St. Robert Bellarmine was <u>canonized</u> by Pope Pius XI in 1930, and declared a <u>Doctor of the Universal</u> <u>Church</u> in 1931. He is the <u>patron saint</u> of catechists.]

Writings

A full list of Bellarmine's writings, and of those directed against him, may be seen in Sommervogel's "Bibliothhque de la compagnie de Jésus". The following are the principal:

- *Controversial works.* "Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei adversus hujus temporis hereticos", of the innumerable editions of which the chief are those of Ingolstadt (1586-89), Venice (1596), revised personally by the author, but abounding in printer's errors, Paris or "Triadelphi" (1608), Prague (1721), <u>Rome</u> (1832); "De Exemptione clericorum", and "De Indulgentiis et Jubilaeo", published as monographs in 1599, but afterwards incorporated in the "De Controversiis"; "De Transitu Romani Imperii a Graecis ad Francos" (1584); "Responsio ad praecipua capita Apologiae . . . pro successione Henrici Navarreni" (1586); "Judicium de Libro quem Lutherani vocant Concordiae" (1585); four *Risposte* to the writings on behalf of the <u>Venetian</u> Republic of John Marsiglio and Paolo Sarpi (1606); "Responsio Matthaei Torti ad librum inscriptum Triplici nodo triplex cuneus" 1608); "Apologia Bellarmini pro responsi one sub ad librum Jacobi Magnae Britanniae Regis" (1609); Tractatus de potestate Summi Pontificis in rebus temporalibus, adversus Gulielmum Barclay" (1610).
- Catechetical and Spiritual Works. "Dottrina Cristiana breve", and "Dichiarazione più copiosa della dottrina cristiana" (1598), two <u>catechetical</u> works which have more than once received <u>papal</u> approbation, and have been translated into various languages; "Dichiarazione del Simbolo" (1604), for the use of priests; "Admonitio ad Episcopum Theanensem nepotem suum quae sint necessaria episcopo" (1612); "Exhortationes domesticae", published only in 1899, by Pére van Ortroy; "Conciones habitae Lovanii", the more correct edition (1615); "De Ascensione mentis in Deum" (1615); "De Aeterna

felicitate sanctorum" (1616); "De gemitu columbae" (1617); "De septem verbis Christi" (1618); "De arte bene moriendi" (1620). The last five are spiritual works written during his annual retreats.

Exegetical and other works. "De Scriptoribus ecclesiasticis" (1615); "De Editione Latinae Vulgatae, quo sensu a Concilio Tridentino definitum sit ut ea pro authenticae habeatur", not published till 1749; "In omnes Psalmos dilucida expositio" (1611). Complete editions of Bellarmine's Opera omnia have been published at Cologne (1617); <u>Venice</u> (1721); <u>Naples</u> (1856); <u>Paris</u> (1870).

Saint Teresa of Avila (1515-82)

Added by Pope Paul VI in 1970

Teresa Sanchez Cepeda Davila y Ahumada

Born at Avila, Old Castile, 28 March, 1515; died at Alba de Tormes, 4 Oct., 1582.

The third child of Don Alonso Sanchez de Cepeda by his second wife, Doña Beatriz Davila y Ahumada, who died when the <u>saint</u> was in her fourteenth year, Teresa was brought up by her saintly father, a lover of serious books, and a tender and <u>pious</u> mother. After her death and the marriage of her eldest sister, Teresa was sent for her <u>education</u> to the Augustinian <u>nuns</u> at <u>Avila</u>, but owing to illness she left at the end of eighteen months, and for some years remained with her father and occasionally with other relatives, notably an uncle who made her acquainted with the <u>Letters of St. Jerome</u>, which determined her to adopt the <u>religious life</u>, not so much through any attraction towards it, as through a desire of choosing the safest course. Unable to obtain her father's consent she left his house unknown to him on Nov., 1535, to enter the <u>Carmelite</u> Convent of the Incarnation at <u>Avila</u>, which then counted 140 <u>nuns</u>. The wrench from her <u>family</u> caused her a pain which she ever afterwards compared to that of death. However, her father at once yielded and Teresa took the habit.

After her profession in the following year she became very seriously ill, and underwent a prolonged cure and such unskillful medical treatment that she was reduced to a most pitiful state, and even after partial recovery through the intercession of St. Joseph, her health remained permanently impaired. During these years of suffering she began the practice of mental prayer, but fearing that her conversations with some world-minded relatives, frequent visitors at the convent, rendered her unworthy of the graces God bestowed on her in prayer, discontinued it, until she came under the influence, first of the Dominicans, and afterwards of the Jesuits. Meanwhile God had begun to visit her with "intellectual visions and locutions", that is manifestations in which the exterior senses were in no way affected, the things seen and the words heard being directly impressed upon her mind, and giving her wonderful strength in trials, reprimanding her for unfaithfulness, and consoling her in trouble. Unable to reconcile such graces with her shortcomings, which her delicate conscience represented as grievous faults, she had recourse not only to the most spiritual confessors she could find, but also to some saintly laymen, who, never suspecting that the account she gave them of her sins was greatly exaggerated, believed these manifestations to be the work of the evil spirit. The more she endeavoured to resist them the more powerfully did God work in her soul. The whole city of Avila was troubled by the reports of the visions of this nun. It was reserved to St. Francis Borgia and St. Peter of Alcantara, and afterwards to a number of Dominicans (particularly Pedro Ibañez and Domingo Bañez), Jesuits, and other religious and secular priests, to discern the work of God and to guide her on a safe road.

The account of her spiritual life contained in the "Life written by herself" (completed in 1565, an earlier version being lost), in the "Relations", and in the "Interior Castle", forms one of the most remarkable spiritual biographies with which only the <u>"Confessions of St. Augustine"</u> can bear comparison. To this period belong also such extraordinary manifestations as the piercing or transverberation of her heart, the spiritual espousals, and the <u>mystical marriage</u>. A <u>vision</u> of the place destined for her in <u>hell</u> in case she should have been unfaithful to <u>grace</u>, determined her to seek a more <u>perfect</u> life. After many troubles and much opposition St. Teresa founded the <u>convent</u> of <u>Discalced Carmelite</u> Nuns of the Primitive Rule of St. Joseph at <u>Avila</u> (24 Aug., 1562),

and after six months obtained permission to take up her residence there. Four years later she received the visit of the General of the <u>Carmelites</u>, John-Baptist Rubeo (Rossi), who not only approved of what she had done but granted leave for the foundation of other <u>convents</u> of <u>friars</u> as well as <u>nuns</u>. In rapid succession she established her <u>nuns</u> at Medina del Campo (1567), Malagon and Valladolid (1568), Toledo and Pastrana (1569), Salamanca (1570), Alba de Tormes (1571), Segovia (1574), Veas and Seville (1575), and Caravaca (1576). In the "Book of Foundations" she tells the story of these <u>convents</u>, nearly all of which were established in spite of violent opposition but with manifest assistance from above. Everywhere she found <u>souls</u> generous enough to embrace the austerities of the primitive rule of <u>Carmel</u>. Having made the acquaintance of Antonio de Heredia, <u>prior</u> of Medina, and <u>St. John of the Cross</u>, she established her <u>reform</u> among the <u>friars</u> (28 Nov., 1568), the first <u>convents</u> being those of Duruelo (1568), Pastrana (1569), Mancera, and Alcalá de Henares (1570).

A new epoch began with the entrance into religion of Jerome Gratian, inasmuch as this remarkable man was almost immediately entrusted by the <u>nuncio</u> with the authority of visitor Apostolic of the <u>Carmelite friars</u> and <u>nuns</u> of the old observance in <u>Andalusia</u>, and as such considered himself entitled to overrule the various restrictions insisted upon by the general and the general chapter. On the death of the <u>nuncio</u> and the arrival of his successor a fearful storm burst over St. Teresa and her work, lasting four years and threatening to annihilate the nascent <u>reform</u>. The incidents of this <u>persecution</u> are best described in her letters. The storm at length passed, and the province of <u>Discalced Carmelites</u>, with the support of Philip II, was approved and canonically established on 22 June, 1580. St. Teresa, old and broken in health, made further foundations at Villanuava de la Jara and Palencia (1580), Soria (1581), <u>Granada</u> (through her assistant the Venerable Anne of Jesus), and at <u>Burgos</u> (1582). She left this latter place at the end of July, and, stopping at <u>Palencia</u>, <u>Valladolid</u>, and Medina del Campo, reached Alba de Torres in September, suffering intensely. Soon she took to her bed and passed away on 4 Oct., 1582, the following day, owing to the reform of the calendar, being reckoned as 15 October. After some years her body was transferred to <u>Avila</u>, but later on reconveyed to Alba, where it is still preserved incorrupt. Her heart, too, showing the marks of the Transverberation, is exposed there to the veneration of the <u>faithful</u>. She was <u>beatified</u> in 1614, and <u>canonized</u> in 1622 by <u>Gregory XV</u>, the feast being fixed on 15 October.

St. Teresa's position among writers on <u>mystical theology</u> is unique. In all her writings on this subject she deals with her personal experiences, which a deep insight and analytical gifts enabled her to explain clearly. The <u>Thomistic</u> substratum may be traced to the influence of her confessors and directors, many of whom belonged to the <u>Dominican Order</u>. She herself had no pretension to found a <u>school</u> in the accepted sense of the term, and there is no vestige in her writings of any influence of the <u>Areopagite</u>, the Patristic, or the <u>Scholastic</u> Mystical <u>schools</u>, as represented among others, by the German <u>Dominican</u> Mystics. She is intensely personal, her system going exactly as far as her experiences, but not a step further.

A word must be added on the orthography of her name. It has of late become the fashion to write her name Teresa or Teresia, without "h", not only in Spanish and Italian, where the "h" could have no place, but also in French, German, and Latin, which ought to preserve the etymological spelling. As it is derived from a Greek name, *Tharasia*, the saintly wife of <u>St. Paulinus of Nola</u>, it should be written Theresia in German and Latin, and Thérèse in French.

Saint Therese of Lisieux (1873-97) Added by Pope John Paul II in 1997

(Sister Teresa of the Child Jesus)

<u>Carmelite</u> of Lisieux, better known as the Little Flower of Jesus, born at Alençon, <u>France</u>, 2 January, 1873; died at Lisieux 30 September, 1897.

She was the ninth child of <u>saintly parents</u>, Louis and Zélie Martin, both of whom had wished to <u>consecrate</u> their lives to <u>God</u> in the <u>cloister</u>. The <u>vocation</u> denied them was given to their children, five of whom became <u>religious</u>, one to the <u>Visitation Order</u> and four in the <u>Carmelite Convent</u> of Lisieux. Brought up in an atmosphere of <u>faith</u> where every <u>virtue</u> and aspiration were carefully nurtured and developed, her <u>vocation</u> manifested itself when she was still only a child. <u>Educated</u> by the <u>Benedictines</u>, when she was fifteen she applied for permission to enter the <u>Carmelite Convent</u>, and being refused by the superior, went to <u>Rome</u> with her father, as eager to give her to <u>God</u> as she was to give herself, to seek the consent of the <u>Holy Father</u>, <u>Leo</u> <u>XIII</u>, then celebrating his jubilee</u>. He preferred to leave the decision in the hands of the superior, who finally consented and on 9 April, 1888, at the unusual age of fifteen, Thérèse Martin entered the <u>convent</u> of Lisieux where two of her sisters had preceded her.

The account of the eleven years of her <u>religious life</u>, marked by signal <u>graces</u> and constant growth in <u>holiness</u>, is given by Soeur Thérèse in her autobiography, written in <u>obedience</u> to her superior and published two years after her death. In 1901 it was translated into <u>English</u>, and in 1912 another translation, the first complete edition of the life of the Servant of God, containing the autobiography, "Letters and Spiritual Counsels", was published. Its success was immediate and it has passed into many editions, spreading far and wide the <u>devotion</u> to this "little" <u>saint</u> of simplicity, and <u>abandonment</u> in <u>God's</u> service, of the <u>perfect</u> accomplishment of small <u>duties</u>.

The fame of her <u>sanctity</u> and the many <u>miracles</u> performed through her <u>intercession</u> caused the introduction of her cause of <u>canonization</u> only seventeen years after her death, 10 Jun, 1914.

Editor's Note: After the publication of this article, St. Thérèse was <u>canonized</u> and later declared a <u>Doctor of the</u> <u>Church</u>.]

St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-74) Added by Pope Saint Pius V in 1568

<u>Philosopher</u>, <u>theologian</u>, <u>doctor of the Church</u> (*Angelicus Doctor*), <u>patron</u> of <u>Catholic universities</u>, <u>colleges</u>, and <u>schools</u>. Born at Rocca Secca in the <u>Kingdom of Naples</u>, 1225 or 1227; died at Fossa Nuova, 7 March, 1274.

Life

The great outlines and all the important events of his life are <u>known</u>, but biographers differ as to some details and <u>dates</u>. Death prevented <u>Henry Denifle</u> from executing his project of writing a critical life of the <u>saint</u>. <u>Denifle's</u> friend and pupil, Dominic Prümmer, O.P., professor of <u>theology</u> in the <u>University of Fribourg</u>, <u>Switzerland</u>, took up the work and published the "Fontes Vitae S. Thomae Aquinatis, notis historicis et criticis illustrati"; and the first fascicle (Toulouse, 1911) has appeared, giving the life of St. Thomas by Peter Calo (1300) now published for the first time. From <u>Tolomeo of Lucca</u>... we learn that at the time of the <u>saint's</u> death there was a <u>doubt</u> about his exact age (Prümmer, op. cit., 45). The end of 1225 is usually assigned as the <u>time</u> of his birth. Father Prümmer, on the authority of Calo, thinks 1227 is the more probable <u>date</u> (op. cit., 28). All agree that he died in 1274.

Landulph, his <u>father</u>, was Count of <u>Aquino</u>; Theodora, his mother, Countess of Teano. His <u>family</u> was related to the Emperors <u>Henry VI</u> and <u>Frederick II</u>, and to the Kings of <u>Aragon</u>, <u>Castile</u>, and <u>France</u>. Calo relates that a <u>holy hermit</u> foretold his career, saying to Theodora before his birth: "He will enter the <u>Order of Friars</u> <u>Preachers</u>, and so great will be his learning and <u>sanctity</u> that in his day no one will be found to equal him" (Prümmer, op. cit., 18). At the age of five, according to the <u>custom</u> of the times, he was sent to receive his first training from the <u>Benedictine monks</u> of <u>Monte Cassino</u>. Diligent in study, he was thus early noted as being

meditative and devoted to <u>prayer</u>, and his preceptor was surprised at hearing the child ask frequently: "What is <u>God</u>?"

About the year 1236 he was sent to the University of <u>Naples</u>. Calo says that the change was made at the instance of the <u>Abbot</u> of <u>Monte Cassino</u>, who wrote to Thomas's father that a boy of such talents should not be left in obscurity (Prümmcr, op. cit., 20). At <u>Naples</u> his preceptors were Pietro Martini and Petrus Hibernus. The chronicler says that he soon surpassed Martini at grammar, and he was then given over to Peter of Ireland, who trained him in <u>logic</u> and the <u>natural sciences</u>. The customs of the times divided the <u>liberal arts</u> into two courses: the Trivium, embracing grammar, <u>logic</u>, and rhetoric; the Quadrivium, comprising music, mathematics, geometry, and <u>astronomy</u>.... Thomas could repeat the lessons with more depth and lucidity than his masters displayed. The youth's heart had remained pure amidst the corruption with which he was surrounded, and he resolved to embrace the <u>religious life</u>.

Some time between 1240 and August, 1243, he received the habit of the <u>Order of St. Dominic</u>, being attracted and directed by John of St. Julian, a noted preacher of the <u>convent</u> of <u>Naples</u>. The city wondered that such a noble young man should don the garb of <u>poor friar</u>. His mother, with mingled feelings of joy and sorrow, hastened to <u>Naples</u> to see her son. The <u>Dominicans</u>, fearing she would take him away, sent him to <u>Rome</u>, his ultimate destination being <u>Paris</u> or <u>Cologne</u>. At the instance of Theodora, Thomas's brothers, who were soldiers under the <u>Emperor Frederick</u>, captured the <u>novice</u> near the town of <u>Aquapendente</u> and confined him in the fortress of San Giovanni at Rocca Secca. Here he was detained nearly two years, his <u>parents</u>, brothers, and sisters endeavouring by various means to destroy his <u>vocation</u>. The brothers even laid snares for his <u>virtue</u>, but the pure-minded <u>novice</u> drove the temptress from his room with a brand which he snatched from the fire. Towards the end of his life, <u>St. Thomas</u> confided to his faithful friend and companion, <u>Reginald of Piperno</u>, the secret of a remarkable favour received at this <u>time</u>. When the temptress had been driven from his chamber, he <u>knelt</u> and most earnestly implored <u>God</u> to grant him integrity of <u>mind</u> and body. He fell into a gentle sleep, and, as he slept, two <u>angels</u> appeared to assure him that his <u>prayer</u> had been heard. They then girded him about with a white girdle, saying: "We gird thee with the girdle of perpetual <u>virginity</u>." And from that day forward he never experienced the slightest motions of <u>concupiscence</u>.

The <u>time</u> spent in captivity was not lost. His mother relented somewhat, after the first burst of <u>anger</u> and grief; the <u>Dominicans</u> were allowed to provide him with new habits, and through the kind offices of his sister he procured some books — the <u>Holy Scriptures</u>, <u>Aristotle's</u> Metaphysics, and the "Sentences" of <u>Peter Lombard</u>. After eighteen months or two years spent in <u>prison</u>, either because his mother saw that the <u>hermit's prophecy</u> would eventually be fulfilled or because his brothers <u>feared</u> the threats of <u>Innocent IV</u> and <u>Frederick II</u>, he was set at liberty, being lowered in a basket into the arms of the <u>Dominicans</u>, who were delighted to find that during his captivity "he had made as much progress as if he had been in a *studium generale*" (Calo, op. cit., 24).

Thomas immediately pronounced his <u>vows</u>, and his superiors sent him to <u>Rome</u>. <u>Innocent IV</u> examined closely into his motives in joining the <u>Friars Preachers</u>, dismissed him with a <u>blessing</u>, and forbade any further interference with his <u>vocation</u>. John the Teutonic, fourth master general of the <u>order</u>, took the young student to <u>Paris</u> and, according to the majority of the <u>saint's</u> biographers, to <u>Cologne</u>, where he arrived in 1244 or 1245, and was placed under <u>Albertus Magnus</u>, the most renowned professor of the <u>order</u>. In the schools Thomas's <u>humility</u> and taciturnity were misinterpreted as signs of dullness, but when <u>Albert</u> had heard his brilliant defence of a difficult thesis, he exclaimed: "We call this young man a dumb ox, but his bellowing in <u>doctrine</u> will one day resound throughout the world."

In 1245 <u>Albert</u> was sent to <u>Paris</u>, and Thomas accompanied him as a student. In 1248 both returned to <u>Cologne</u>. <u>Albert</u> had been appointed regent of the new *studium generale*, erected that year by the <u>general chapter</u> of the <u>order</u>, and Thomas was to teach under him as Bachelor. (On the system of graduation in the thirteenth century see <u>ORDER OF PREACHERS</u> — II, A, 1, d). During his stay in <u>Cologne</u>, probably in 1250, he was raised to the <u>priesthood</u> by <u>Conrad of Hochstaden</u>, <u>archbishop</u> of that city. Throughout his busy life, he frequently preached the Word of God, in <u>Germany</u>, <u>France</u>, and <u>Italy</u>. His <u>sermons</u> were forceful, redolent of <u>piety</u>, full of solid instruction, abounding in apt citations from the <u>Scriptures</u>.

In the year 1251 or 1252 the master general of the <u>order</u>, by the advice of <u>Albertus Magnus</u> and <u>Hugo a S.</u> <u>Charo (Hugh of St. Cher)</u>, sent Thomas to fill the office of Bachelor (sub-regent) in the <u>Dominican studium</u> at <u>Paris</u>. This appointment may be regarded as the beginning of his public career, for his teaching soon attracted the attention both of the professors and of the students. His <u>duties</u> consisted principally in explaining the "Sentences" of <u>Peter Lombard</u>, and his commentaries on that text-book of <u>theology</u> furnished the materials and, in great part, the plan for his chief work, the <u>"Summa theologica"</u>.

In due <u>time</u> he was ordered to prepare himself to obtain the degree of Doctor in Theology from the <u>University of</u> <u>Paris</u>, but the conferring of the degree was postponed, owing to a dispute between the <u>university</u> and the <u>friars</u>. The conflict, originally a dispute between the <u>university</u> and the <u>civic authorities</u>, arose from the <u>slaying</u> of one of the students and the wounding of three others by the city guard. The <u>university</u>, jealous of its autonomy, demanded satisfaction, which was refused. The <u>doctors</u> closed their <u>schools</u>, solemnly <u>swore</u> that they would not reopen them until their demands were granted, and decreed that in future no one should be admitted to the degree of Doctor unless he would take an <u>oath</u> to follow the same line of conduct under similar circumstances. The <u>Dominicans</u> and <u>Franciscans</u>, who had continued to teach in their <u>schools</u>, refused to take the prescribed <u>oath</u>, and from this there arose a bitter conflict which was at its height when St. Thomas and <u>St. Bonaventure</u> were ready to be presented for their degrees. <u>William of St-Amour</u> extended the dispute beyond the original question, <u>violently</u> attacked the <u>friars</u>, of whom he was evidently jealous, and denied their <u>right</u> to occupy chairs in the <u>university</u>. Against his book, "De periculis novissimorum temporum" (The Perils of the Last Times), St. Thomas wrote a treatise "Contra impugnantes religionem", an apology for the religious orders (<u>Touron</u>, op. cit., II, cc. vii sqq.). The book of <u>William of St-Amour</u> was condemned by <u>Alexander IV</u> at <u>Anagni</u>, 5 October, 1256, and the pope gave orders that the mendicant friars should be admitted to the doctorate.

About this time St. Thomas also combated a dangerous book, "The Eternal Gospel" (<u>Touron</u>, op. cit., II, cxii). The <u>university</u> authorities did not <u>obey</u> immediately; the influence of <u>St. Louis IX</u> and eleven <u>papal Briefs</u> were required before peace was firmly established, and St. Thomas was admitted to the degree of Doctor in Theology. The <u>date</u> of his promotion, as given by many biographers, was 23 October, 1257. His theme was "The Majesty of Christ". His text, "Thou waterest the hills from thy upper rooms: the earth shall be filled with the fruit of thy works" (<u>Psalm 103:13</u>), said to have been suggested by a <u>heavenly visitor</u>, seems to have been <u>prophetic</u> of his career. A tradition says that <u>St. Bonaventure</u> and St. Thomas received the doctorate on the same day, and that there was a contest of <u>humility</u> between the two friends as to which should be promoted first.

From this <u>time</u> St. Thomas's life may be summed up in a few words: <u>praying</u>, preaching, teaching, writing, journeying. Men were more anxious to hear him than they had been to hear <u>Albert</u>, whom St. Thomas surpassed in accuracy, lucidity, brevity, and power of exposition, if not in universality of <u>knowledge</u>. <u>Paris</u> claimed him as her own; the <u>popes</u> wished to have him near them; the *studia* of the <u>order</u> were eager to enjoy the benefit of his teaching; hence we find him successively at <u>Anagni</u>, <u>Rome</u>, Bologna, <u>Orvieto</u>, <u>Viterbo</u>, <u>Perugia</u>, in <u>Paris</u> again, and finally in <u>Naples</u>, always teaching and writing, living on earth with one passion, an ardent <u>zeal</u> for the explanation and defence of <u>Christian truth</u>. So devoted was he to his sacred task that with tears he begged to be excused from accepting the <u>Archbishopric</u> of <u>Naples</u>, to which he was appointed by <u>Clement IV</u> in 1265. Had this appointment been accepted, most probably the <u>"Summa theologica"</u> would not have been written.

Yielding to the requests of his brethren, he on several occasions took part in the deliberations of the <u>general</u> <u>chapters</u> of the <u>order</u>. One of these <u>chapters</u> was held in <u>London</u> in 1263. In another held at Valenciennes (1259) he collaborated with <u>Albertus Magnus</u> and Peter of Tarentasia (afterwards <u>Pope Innocent V</u>) in formulating a system of studies which is substantially preserved to this day in the *studia generalia* of the <u>Dominican Order</u> (cf. Douais, op. cit.).

It is not surprising to read in the biographies of St. Thomas that he was frequently abstracted and in <u>ecstasy</u>. Towards the end of his life the <u>ecstasies</u> became more frequent. On one occasion, at <u>Naples</u> in 1273, after he had completed his treatise on the <u>Eucharist</u>, three of the brethren saw him lifted in <u>ecstasy</u>, and they heard a <u>voice</u> proceeding from the <u>crucifix on the altar</u>, saying "Thou hast written well of me, Thomas; what reward wilt thou have?" Thomas replied, "None other than Thyself, Lord" (Prümmer, op. cit., p. 38). Similar declarations are said to have been made at <u>Orvieto</u> and at <u>Paris</u>.

On 6 December, 1273, he laid aside his pen and would write no more. That day he experienced an unusually long <u>ecstasy</u> during <u>Mass</u>; what was revealed to him we can only surmise from his reply to <u>Father Reginald</u>, who urged him to continue his writings: "I can do no more. Such secrets have been revealed to me that all I have written now appears to be of little value" (*modica*, Prümmer, op. cit., p. 43). The <u>"Summa theologica"</u> had been completed only as far as the <u>ninetieth question of the third part</u> (De partibus poenitentiae).

Thomas began his immediate preparation for death. Gregory X, having convoked a general council, to open at Lyons on 1 May, 1274, invited St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure to take part in the deliberations, commanding the former to bring to the council his treatise "Contra errores Graecorum" (Against the Errors of the Greeks). He tried to obey, setting out on foot in January, 1274, but strength failed him; he fell to the ground near Terracina, whence he was conducted to the Castle of Maienza, the home of his niece the Countess Francesca Ceccano. The Cistercian monks of Fossa Nuova pressed him to accept their hospitality, and he was conveyed to their monastery, on entering which he whispered to his companion: "This is my rest for ever and ever: here will I dwell, for I have chosen it" (Psalm 131:14). When Father Reginald urged him to remain at the castle, the saint replied: "If the Lord wishes to take me away, it is better that I be found in a religious house than in the dwelling of a lay person." The Cistercians were so kind and attentive that Thomas's humility was alarmed. "Whence comes this honour", he exclaimed, "that servants of God should carry wood for my fire!" At the urgent request of the monks he dictated a brief commentary on the Canticle of Canticles.

The end was near; <u>extreme unction</u> was administered. When the <u>Sacred Viaticum</u> was brought into the room he pronounced the following act of <u>faith</u>:

If in this world there be any <u>knowledge</u> of this <u>sacrament</u> stronger than that of <u>faith</u>, I wish now to use it in affirming that I firmly <u>believe</u> and <u>know</u> as <u>certain</u> that <u>Jesus Christ</u>, <u>True God</u> and <u>True Man</u>, <u>Son of God</u> and Son of the <u>Virgin Mary</u>, is in this <u>Sacrament</u>... I receive Thee, the price of my <u>redemption</u>, for Whose <u>love</u> I have watched, studied, and laboured. Thee have I preached; Thee have I taught. Never have I said anything against Thee: if anything was not well said, that is to be attributed to my <u>ignorance</u>. Neither do I wish to be obstinate in my opinions, but if I have written anything <u>erroneous</u> concerning this <u>sacrament</u> or other matters, I submit all to the judgment and correction of the <u>Holy Roman Church</u>, in whose <u>obedience</u> I now pass from this life.

He died on 7 March, 1274. Numerous <u>miracles</u> attested his <u>sanctity</u>, and he was <u>canonized</u> by John XXII, 18 July, 1323. The <u>monks</u> of Fossa Nuova were anxious to keep his <u>sacred remains</u>, but by order of <u>Urban V</u> the body was given to his <u>Dominican</u> brethren, and was solemnly translated to the <u>Dominican</u> church at <u>Toulouse</u>, 28 January, 1369. A magnificent shrine erected in 1628 was destroyed during the <u>French Revolution</u>, and the body was removed to the <u>Church</u> of St. Sernin, where it now reposes in a sarcophagus of gold and silver, which was <u>solemnly blessed</u> by Cardinal Desprez on 24 July, 1878. The chief bone of his left arm is preserved in the <u>cathedral</u> of <u>Naples</u>. The right arm, bestowed on the <u>University of Paris</u>, and originally kept in the St. Thomas's Chapel of the <u>Dominican</u> church, is now preserved in the <u>Dominican</u> Church of S. Maria Sopra Minerva in <u>Rome</u>, whither it was transferred during the <u>French Revolution</u>.

A description of the <u>saint</u> as he appeared in life is given by Calo (Prümmer, op. cit., p. 401), who says that his features corresponded with the greatness of his <u>soul</u>. He was of lofty stature and of heavy build, but straight and well proportioned. His complexion was "like the colour of new wheat": his head was large and well shaped, and he was slightly bald. All portraits represent him as noble, meditative, gentle yet strong. <u>St. Pius V</u> proclaimed

St. Thomas a <u>Doctor of the Universal Church</u> in the year 1567. In the <u>Encyclical "Aeterni Patris"</u>, of 4 August, 1879, on the restoration of <u>Christian philosophy</u>, <u>Leo XIII</u> declared him "the prince and master of all <u>Scholastic</u> doctors". The same illustrious <u>pontiff</u>, by a <u>Brief dated</u> 4 August, 1880, designated him <u>patron</u> of all <u>Catholic</u> <u>universities</u>, academies, <u>colleges</u>, and <u>schools</u> throughout the world.

Writings (general remarks)

Although St. Thomas lived less than fifty years, he composed more than sixty works, some of them brief, some very lengthy. This does not necessarily mean that every word in the <u>authentic</u> works was written by his hand; he was assisted by secretaries, and biographers assure us that he could dictate to several scribes at the same <u>time</u>. Other works, some of which were composed by his <u>disciples</u>, have been falsely attributed to him.

In the "Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum" (Paris, 1719) Fr. Echard devotes eighty-six folio pages to St. Thomas's works, the different editions and translations (I, pp. 282-348). Touron (op. cit., pp. 69 sqq.) says that manuscript copies were found in nearly all the libraries of Europe, and that, after the invention of printing, copies were multiplied rapidly in Germany, Italy, and France, portions of the "Summa theologica" being one of the first important works printed. Peter Schöffer, a printer of Mainz, published the "Secunda Secundae" in 1467. This is the first known printed copy of any work of St. Thomas. The first complete edition of the "Summa" was printed at Basle, in 1485. Many other editions of this and of other works were published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially at <u>Venice</u> and at <u>Lyons</u>. The principal editions of all the work (Opera Omnia) were published as follows: Rome, 1570; Venice, 1594, 1612, 1745; Antwerp, 1612; Paris, 1660, 1871-80 (Vives); Parma, 1852-73; Rome, 1882 (the Leonine). The Roman edition of 1570, called "the Piana", because edited by order of St. Pius V, was the standard for many years. Besides a carefully revised text it contained the commentaries of Cardinal Cajetan and the valuable "Tabula Aurea" of Peter of Bergamo. The Venetian edition of 1612 was highly prized because the text was accompanied by the Cajetan-Porrecta commentaries The Leonine edition, begun under the patronage of Leo XIII, now continued under the master general of the Dominicans, undoubtedly will be the most perfect of all. Critical dissertations on each work will be given, the text will be carefully revised, and all references will be verified. By direction of Leo XIII (Motu Proprio, 18 Jan., 1880) the "Summa contra gentiles" will be published with the commentaries of Sylvester Ferrariensis, whilst the commentaries of Cajetan go with the "Summa theologica".

The latter has been published, being volumes IV-XII of the edition (last in 1906). St. Thomas's works may be classified as <u>philosophical</u>, <u>theological</u>, <u>scriptural</u>, and <u>apologetic</u>, or controversial. The division, however, cannot always be rigidly maintained. The <u>"Summa theologica"</u>, e.g., contains much that is <u>philosophical</u>, whilst the "Summa contra gentiles" is principally, but not exclusively, <u>philosophical</u> and <u>apologetic</u>. His <u>philosophical</u> works are chiefly commentaries on <u>Aristotle</u>, and his first important <u>theological</u> writings were commentaries on <u>Peter Lombard's</u> four books of "Sentences"; but he does not slavishly follow either the <u>Philosopher</u> or the <u>Master of the Sentences</u> (on opinions of the <u>Lombard</u> rejected by <u>theologians</u>, see <u>Migne</u>, 1841, edition of the <u>"Summa"</u> I, p. 451).

Writings (his principal works)

Amongst the works wherein St. Thomas's own <u>mind</u> and method are shown, the following deserve special mention:

(1) "Quaestiones disputatae" (Disputed Questions) — These were more complete treatises on subjects that had not been fully elucidated in the lecture halls, or concerning which the professor's opinion had been sought. They are very valuable, because in them the author, free from limitations as to <u>time</u> or <u>space</u>, freely expresses his <u>mind</u> and gives all arguments for or against the opinions adopted. These treatises, containing the questions "De potentia", "De malo", "De spirit. creaturis", "De anima", "De unione Verbi Incarnati", "De virt. in communi",

"De caritate", "De corr. fraterna", "De spe", "De virt. cardinal.", "De veritate", were often reprinted, e.g. recently by the Association of St. Paul (2 vols., Paris and Fribourg, Switzerland, 1883).

(2) "Quodlibeta" (may be rendered "Various Subjects", or "Free Discussions") — They present questions or arguments proposed and answers given in or outside the lecture halls, chiefly in the more formal <u>Scholastic</u> exercises, termed *circuli, conclusiones*, or *determinationes*, which were held once or twice a year.

(3) "De unitate intellectus contra Averroistas" -- This opusculum refuted a very dangerous and widespread error, viz., that there was but one <u>soul</u> for all <u>men</u>, a theory which did away with <u>individual liberty</u> and responsibility. (See <u>AVERROES</u>)

(4) "Commentaria in Libros Sententiarum" (mentioned above) -- This with the following work are the immediate forerunners of the <u>"Summa theologica"</u>.

(5) "Summa de veritate catholicae fidei contra gentiles" (Treatise on the Truth of the Catholic Faith, against Unbelievers) -- This work, written at Rome, 1261-64, was composed at the request of St. Raymond of Pennafort, who desired to have a philosophical exposition and defence of the Christian Faith, to be used against the Jews and Moors in Spain. It is a perfect model of patient and sound apologetics, showing that no demonstrated truth (science) is opposed to revealed truth (faith). The best recent editions are those of Rome, 1878 (by Uccelli), of Paris and Fribourg, Switzerland, 1882, and of Rome, 1894. It has been translated into many languages. It is divided into four books: I. Of God as He is in Himself; II. Of God the Origin of Creatures; III. Of God the End of Creatures; IV. Of God in His Revelation. It is worthy of remark that the Fathers of the Vatican Council, treating the necessity of revelation (Constitution "Dei Filius", c. 2), employed almost the very words used by St. Thomas in treating that subject in this work (I, cc. iv, V), and in the "Summa theologica" (I:1:1).

(6) Three works written by order of <u>Urban IV</u> --

- The "Opusculum contra errores Graecorum" refuted the <u>errors</u> of the <u>Greeks</u> on doctrines in dispute between them and the <u>Roman Church</u>, viz., the procession of the <u>Holy Ghost</u> from the Father <u>and the</u> <u>Son</u>, the <u>primacy</u> of the <u>Roman pontiff</u>, the <u>Holy Eucharist</u>, and <u>purgatory</u>. It was used against the <u>Greeks</u> with telling effect in the <u>Council of Lyons</u> (1274) and in the <u>Council of Florence</u> (1493). In the range of human reasonings on deep subjects there can be found nothing to surpass the sublimity and depth of the argument adduced by St. Thomas to <u>prove</u> that the <u>Holy Ghost</u> proceeds from the Father <u>and the Son</u> (cf. <u>Summa I:36:2</u>); but it must be borne in mind that our <u>Faith</u> is not based on that argument alone.
- "Officium de festo Corporis Christi". Mandonnet (Ecrits, p. 127) declares that it is now established beyond <u>doubt</u> that St. Thomas is the author of the beautiful <u>Office</u> of <u>Corpus Christi</u>, in which solid <u>doctrine</u>, tender <u>piety</u>, and enlightening <u>Scriptural</u> citations are combined, and expressed in language remarkably accurate, beautiful, <u>chaste</u>, and poetic. Here we find the well-known <u>hymns</u>, <u>"Sacris Solemniis"</u>, <u>"Pange Lingua"</u> (concluding in the <u>"Tantum Ergo"</u>), <u>"Verbum Supernum"</u> (concluding with the <u>"O Salutaris Hostia"</u>) and, in the <u>Mass</u>, the beautiful <u>sequence "Lauda Sion"</u>. In the <u>responses</u> of the <u>office</u>, St. Thomas places side by side words of the <u>New Testament</u> affirming the <u>real presence</u> of <u>Christ</u> in the <u>Blessed Sacrament</u> and texts from the <u>Old Testament</u> referring to the <u>types</u> and figures of the <u>Eucharist</u>. Santeuil, a poet of the seventeenth century, said he would give all the verses he had written for the one <u>stanza</u> of the <u>"Verbum Supernum"</u>: "Se nascens dedit socium, convescens in edulium: Se moriens in pretium, Se regnans dat in praemium" "In birth, man's fellow-man was He, His meat, while sitting at the Board: He died his Ransomer to be, He reigns to be his Great Reward" (tr. by <u>Marquis of Bute</u>). Perhaps the gem of the whole office is the <u>antiphon</u> "O Sacrum Convivium" (cf. Conway, "St. Thomas Aquinas", London and New York, 1911, p. 61).
- The "Catena Aurea", though not as original as his other writings, furnishes a striking <u>proof</u> of St. Thomas's prodigious <u>memory</u> and manifests an intimate acquaintance with the <u>Fathers of the Church</u>.

The work contains a series of passages selected from the writings of the various <u>Fathers</u>, arranged in such order that the texts cited form a running <u>commentary</u> on the <u>Gospels</u>. The <u>commentary</u> on <u>St.</u> <u>Matthew</u> was dedicated to <u>Urban IV</u>. An English translation of the "Catena Aurea" was edited by <u>John</u> <u>Henry Newman</u> (4 vols., Oxford, 1841-1845; see Vaughan, op. cit., vol. II,) pp. 529 sqq..

(7) *The "Summa theologica"*-- This work immortalized St. Thomas. The author himself modestly considered it simply a manual of <u>Christian doctrine</u> for the use of students. In reality it is a complete scientifically arranged exposition of <u>theology</u> and at the same time a summary of <u>Christian philosophy</u> (*see SUMMÆ*). In the brief <u>prologue</u> St. Thomas first calls attention to the difficulties experienced by students of <u>sacred doctrine</u> in his day, the causes assigned being: the multiplication of useless questions, articles, and arguments; the lack of scientific order; frequent repetitions, "which beget disgust and confusion in the <u>minds</u> of learners". Then he adds: "Wishing to avoid these and similar drawbacks, we shall endeavour, confiding in the Divine assistance, to treat of these things that pertain to <u>sacred doctrine</u> with brevity and clearness, in so far as the subject to be treated will permit."

In the introductory question, "On Sacred Doctrine", he proves that, besides the knowledge which reason affords, Revelation also is necessary for salvation first, because without it men could not know the supenatural end to which they must tend by their voluntary acts; secondly, because, without Revelation, even the truths concerning God which could be proved by reason would be known "only by a few, after a long time, and with the admixture of many errors". When revealed truths have been accepted, the mind of man proceeds to explain them and to draw conclusions from them. Hence results theology, which is a science, because it proceeds from principles that are certain (Answer 2). The object, or subject, of this science is God; other things are treated in it only in so far as they relate to God (Answer 7). Reason is used in theology not to prove the truths of faith, which are accepted on the authority of God, but to defend, explain, and develop the doctrines revealed (Answer 8). He thus announces the division of the "Summa": "Since the chief aim of this sacred science is to give the knowledge of God, not only as He is in Himself, but also as He is the Beginning of all things, and the End of all, especially of rational creatures, we shall treat first of God; secondly, of the rational creature's advance towards God (de motu creaturae rationalis in Deum); thirdly, of Christ, Who, as Man, is the way by which we tend to God." God in Himself, and as He is the Creator; God as the End of all things, especially of man; God as the Redeemer — these are the leading ideas, the great headings, under which all that pertains to theology is contained.

(a) Sub-divisions

The <u>First Part</u> is divided into three tracts:

- On those things which pertain to the Essence of God;
- On the distinction of <u>Persons</u> in <u>God</u> (the <u>mystery</u> of the <u>Trinity</u>);
- On the <u>production of creatures</u> by <u>God</u> and on the creatures produced.

The Second Part, On <u>God</u> as He is in the End of <u>man</u>, is sometimes called the <u>Moral Theology</u> of St. Thomas, i.e., his treatise on the end of <u>man</u> and on <u>human acts</u>. It is subdivided into two parts, known as the <u>First Section</u> <u>of the Second</u> (I-II, or 1a 2ae) and the <u>Second</u> of the <u>Second</u> (II-II, or 2a 2ae).

The <u>First of the Second</u>. The first five questions are devoted to <u>proving</u> that <u>man's</u> last end, his <u>beatitude</u>, consists in the possession of <u>God</u>. <u>Man</u> attains to that end or deviates from it by <u>human acts</u>, i.e. by free, deliberate acts. Of <u>human acts</u> he treats, first, in general (in all but the first five questions of the <u>I-II</u>), secondly, in particular (in the whole of the <u>II-II</u>). The treatise on <u>human acts</u> in general is divided into two parts: the first, on <u>human acts</u> in themselves; the other, on the principles or causes, extrinsic or intrinsic, of those <u>acts</u>. In these tracts and in the <u>Second of the Second</u>, St. Thomas, following <u>Aristotle</u>, gives a perfect description and a wonderfully keen <u>analysis</u> of the movements of <u>man's mind</u> and <u>heart</u>.

The <u>Second of the Second</u> considers <u>human acts</u>, i.e., the <u>virtues</u> and <u>vices</u>, in particular. In it St. Thomas treats, first, of those things that pertain to all <u>men</u>, no matter what may be their station in life, and, secondly, of those things that pertain to some <u>men</u> only. Things that pertain to all <u>men</u> are reduced to seven headings: <u>Faith</u>, <u>Hope</u>, and <u>Charity</u>; <u>Prudence</u>, <u>Justice</u>, <u>Fortitude</u>, and <u>Temperance</u>. Under each title, in order to avoid repetitions, St. Thomas treats not only of the <u>virtue</u> itself, but also of the <u>vices</u> opposed to it, of the <u>commandment</u> to practise it, and of the <u>gift</u> of the <u>Holy Ghost</u> which corresponds to it. Things pertaining to some <u>men</u> only are reduced to three headings: the <u>graces</u> freely given (*gratia gratis datae*) to certain individuals for the <u>good</u> of the <u>Church</u>, such as the <u>gifts</u> of <u>tongues</u>, of <u>prophecy</u>, of <u>miracles</u>; the active and the <u>contemplative life</u>; the particular states of life, and <u>duties</u> of those who are in different states, especially <u>bishops</u> and <u>religious</u>.

The <u>Third Part</u> treats of <u>Christ</u> and of the benefits which He has conferred upon <u>man</u>, hence three tracts: On the <u>Incarnation</u>, and on what the <u>Saviour</u> did and suffered; On the <u>Sacraments</u>, which were instituted by <u>Christ</u>, and have their efficacy from His <u>merits</u> and <u>sufferings</u>; On Eternal Life, i.e., on the end of the world, the <u>resurrection of bodies</u>, judgment, the <u>punishment of the wicked</u>, the <u>happiness</u> of the just who, through <u>Christ</u>, attain to <u>eternal life</u> in <u>heaven</u>.

Eight years were given to the composition of this work, which was begun at <u>Rome</u>, where the <u>First Part</u> and the <u>First of the Second</u> were written (1265-69). The <u>Second of the Second</u>, begun in <u>Rome</u>, was completed in <u>Paris</u> (1271). In 1272 St. Thomas went to <u>Naples</u>, where the <u>Third Part</u> was written, down to the <u>ninetieth question</u> of the tract On Penance (*see* Leonine edition, I, p. xlii). The work has been completed by the addition of a <u>supplement</u>, drawn from other writings of St. Thomas, attributed by some to <u>Peter of Auvergne</u>, by others to Henry of Gorkum. These attributions are rejected by the editors of the Leonine edition (XI, pp. viii, xiv, xviii). Mandonnet (op. cit., 153) inclines to the very probable opinion that it was compiled by <u>Father Reginald de</u> <u>Piperno</u>, the <u>saint's</u> faithful companion and secretary.

The entire "Summa" contains 38 Treatises, 612 Questions, subdivided into 3120 articles, in which about 10,000 objections are proposed and answered. So admirably is the promised order preserved that, by reference to the beginning of the Tracts and Questions, one can see at a glance what place it occupies in the general plan, which embraces all that can be known through theology of God, of man, and of their mutual relations ... "The whole Summa is arranged on a uniform plan. Every subject is introduced as a question, and divided into articles.... Each article has also a uniform disposition of parts. The topic is introduced as an inquiry for discussion, under the term Utrum, whether — e.g. Utrum Deus sit? The objections against the proposed thesis are then stated. These are generally three or four in number, but sometimes extend to seven or more. The conclusion adopted is then introduced by the words, Respondeo dicendum. At the end of the thesis expounded the objections are answered, under the forms, *ad primum, ad secundum*, etc." The "Summa" is Christian doctrine in scientific form; it is human reason rendering its highest service in defence and explanation of the truths of the Christian religion. It is the answer of the matured and saintly doctor to the question of his youth: What is God? Revelation, made known in the Scriptures and by tradition; reason and its best results; soundness and fulness of doctrine, order, conciseness and clearness of expression, effacement of self, the love of truth alone, hence a remarkable fairness towards adversaries and calmness in combating their errors; soberness and soundness of judgment, together with a charmingly tender and enlightened piety — these are all found in this "Summa" more than in his other writings, more than in the writings of his contemporaries, for "among the Scholastic doctors, the chief and master of all, towers Thomas Aquinas, who, as Cajetan observes (In 2am 2ae, Q. 148, a. 4) because he most venerated the ancient doctors of the Church in a certain way seems to have inherited the intellect of all'" (Encyclical, "Aeterni Patris", of Leo XIII).

(b) Editions and Translations

It is impossible to mention the various editions of the <u>"Summa"</u>, which has been in constant use for more than seven hundred years. Very few books have been so often republished. The first complete edition, printed at <u>Basle</u> in 1485, was soon followed by others, e.g., at <u>Venice</u> in 1505, 1509, 1588, 1594; at <u>Lyons</u> in 1520, 1541, 1547, 1548, 1581, 1588, 1624,1655; at <u>Antwerp</u> in 1575. These are enumerated by <u>Touron</u> (op. cit., p. 692),

who says that about the same <u>time</u> other editions were published at <u>Rome</u>, <u>Antwerp</u>, <u>Rouen</u>, <u>Paris</u>, <u>Douai</u>, <u>Cologne</u>, <u>Amsterdam</u>, Bologna, etc. The editors of the Leonine edition deem worthy of mention those published at <u>Paris</u> in 1617, 1638, and 1648, at <u>Lyons</u> in 1663, 1677, and 1686, and a <u>Roman</u> edition of 1773 (IV, pp. xi, xii). Of all old editions they consider the most accurate two published at <u>Padua</u>, one in 1698, the other in 1712, and the <u>Venice</u> edition of 1755. Of recent editions the best are the following: the Leonine; the <u>Migne</u> editions (Paris, 1841, 1877); the first volume of the 1841 edition containing the "Libri quatuor sententiarum" of <u>Peter</u> <u>Lombard</u>; the very practical Faucher edition (5 vols. small quarto, Paris, 1887), dedicated to Cardinal Pecci, enriched with valuable notes; a <u>Roman</u> edition of 1894. The <u>"Summa"</u> has been translated into many modern languages as well.

Writings (method and style)

It is not possible to characterize the method of St. Thomas by one word, unless it can be called eclectic. It is Aristotelean, Platonic, and Socratic; it is inductive and deductive; it is analytic and synthetic. He chose the best that could he find in those who preceded him, carefully sifting the chaff from the wheat, approving what was true, rejecting the false. His powers of synthesis were extraordinary. No writer surpassed him in the faculty of expressing in a few well-chosen words the truth gathered from a multitude of varying and conflicting opinions; and in almost every instance the student sees the truth and is perfectly satisfied with St. Thomas's summary and statement. Not that he would have students swear by the words of a master. In philosophy, he says, arguments from authority are of secondary importance; philosophy does not consist in knowing what men have said, but in knowing the truth (In I lib. de Coelo, lect. xxii; II Sent., D. xiv, a. 2, ad 1um). He assigns its proper place to reason used in theology (see below: Influence of St. Thomas), but he keeps it within its own sphere. Against the Traditionalists the Holy See has declared that the method used by St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure does not lead to Rationalism (Denzinger-Bannwart, n. 1652). Not so bold or original in investigating nature as were Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon, he was, nevertheless, abreast of his time in science, and many of his opinions are of scientific value in the twentieth century. Take, for instance, the following: "In the same plant there is the twofold virtue, active and passive, though sometimes the active is found in one and the passive in another, so that one plant is said to be masculine and the other feminine" (3 Sent., D. III, Q. ii, a 1).

The style of St. Thomas is a medium between the rough expressiveness of some Scholastics and the fastidious elegance of John of Salisbury; it is remarkable for accuracy, brevity, and completeness. Pope Innocent VI (quoted in the Encyclical, "Aeterni Patris", of Leo XIII) declared that, with the exception of the canonical writings, the works of St. Thomas surpass all others in "accuracy of expression and truth of statement" (habet proprietatem verborum, modum dicendorum, veritatem sententiarum). Great orators, such as Bossuet, Lacordaire, Monsabré, have studied his style, and have been influenced by it, but they could not reproduce it. The same is true of theological writers. Cajetan knew St. Thomas's style better than any of his disciples, but Cajetan is beneath his great master in clearness and accuracy of expression, in soberness and solidity of judgment. St. Thomas did not attain to this perfection without an effort. He was a singularly blessed genius, but he was also an indefatigable worker, and by continued application he reached that stage of perfection in the art of writing where the art disappears. "The author's manuscript of the Summa Contra Gentiles is still in great part extant. It is now in the Vatican Library. The manuscript consists of strips of parchment, of various shades of colour, contained in an old parchment cover to which they were originally stitched. The writing is in double column, and difficult to decipher, abounding in abbreviations, often passing into a kind of shorthand. Throughout many passages a line is drawn in sign of erasure" (Rickaby, Op. cit., preface: see Ucelli ed., "Sum. cont. gent.", Rome, 1878).

Influences exerted on St. Thomas

How was this great genius formed? The causes that exerted an influence on St. Thomas were of two kinds, <u>natural</u> and <u>supernatural</u>.

Natural causes

(1) As a foundation, he "was a witty child, and had received a <u>good soul</u>" (<u>Wisdom 8:19</u>). From the beginning he manifested precocious and extraordinary talent and thoughtfulness beyond his years.

(2) His <u>education</u> was such that great things might have been expected of him. His training at <u>Monte Cassino</u>, at <u>Naples</u>, <u>Paris</u>, and <u>Cologne</u> was the best that the thirteenth century could give, and that century was the golden age of <u>education</u>. That it afforded excellent opportunities for forming great <u>philosophers</u> and <u>theologians</u> is evident from the character of St. Thomas's contemporaries. <u>Alexander of Hales</u>, <u>Albertus Magnus</u>, <u>St.</u> <u>Bonaventure</u>, <u>St. Raymond of Pennafort</u>, <u>Roger Bacon</u>, <u>Hugo a S. Charo</u>, <u>Vincent of Beauvais</u>, not to mention scores of others, <u>prove</u> beyond all <u>doubt</u> that those were days of really great scholars. (*See* Walsh, "The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries", New York, 1907.) The men who trained St. Thomas were his teachers at <u>Monte Cassino</u> and <u>Naples</u>, but above all <u>Albertus Magnus</u>, under whom he studied at <u>Paris</u> and <u>Cologne</u>.

(3) The books that exercised the greatest influence on his <u>mind</u> were the <u>Bible</u>, the <u>Decrees</u> of the <u>councils</u> and of the <u>popes</u>, the works of the <u>Fathers</u>, Greek and <u>Latin</u>, especially of <u>St. Augustine</u>, the "Sentences" of <u>Peter</u> <u>Lombard</u>, the writings of the <u>philosophers</u>, especially of <u>Plato</u>, <u>Aristotle</u>, and <u>Boethius</u>. If from these authors any were to be selected for special mention, undoubtedly they would be <u>Aristotle</u>, <u>St. Augustine</u>, and <u>Peter</u> <u>Lombard</u>. In another sense the writings of St. Thomas were influenced by <u>Averroes</u>, the chief opponent whom he had to combat in order to defend and make <u>known</u> the <u>true Aristotle</u>.

(4) It must be borne in mind that St. Thomas was <u>blessed</u> with a retentive <u>memory</u> and great powers of penetration. Father Daniel d'Agusta once pressed him to say what he considered the greatest <u>grace</u> he had ever received, <u>sanctifying grace</u> of course excepted. "I think that of having understood whatever I have read", was the reply. <u>St. Antoninus</u> declared that "he <u>remembered</u> everything be had read, so that his <u>mind</u> was like a huge <u>library</u>" (cf. <u>Drane</u>, op. cit., p. 427; Vaughan, op. cit., II, p. 567). The bare enumeration of the texts of <u>Scripture</u> cited in the <u>"Summa theologica"</u> fills eighty small-print columns in the <u>Migne</u> edition, and by many it is not unreasonably supposed that he learned the <u>Sacred Books</u> by heart while he was <u>imprisoned</u> in the Castle of San Giovanni. Like <u>St. Dominic</u> he had a special <u>love</u> for the <u>Epistles</u> of <u>St. Paul</u>, on which he wrote <u>commentaries</u> (recent edition in 2 vols., Turin, 1891).

(5) Deep reverence for the <u>Faith</u>, as made <u>known</u> by <u>tradition</u>, characterizes all his writings. The *consuetudo ecclesiae* — the practice of the <u>Church</u> — should prevail over the authority of any <u>doctor</u> (<u>Summa II-II:10:12</u>). In the <u>"Summa"</u> he quotes from 19 <u>councils</u>, 41 <u>popes</u>, and 52 <u>Fathers of the Church</u>. A slight acquaintance with his writings will show that among the <u>Fathers</u> his favourite was <u>St. Augustine</u> (on the <u>Greek Fathers</u> see Vaughan, op. cit., II, cc. iii sqq.).

(6) With <u>St. Augustine</u> (*On Christian Doctrine* <u>II.40</u>), St. Thomas held that whatever there was of <u>truth</u> in the writings of <u>pagan philosophers</u> should be taken from them, as from "unjust possessors", and adapted to the teaching of the <u>true religion</u> (<u>Summa I:84:5</u>). In the <u>"Summa"</u> alone he quotes from the writings of 46 <u>philosophers</u> and poets, his favourite authors being <u>Aristotle</u>, <u>Plato</u>, and, among <u>Christian</u> writers, <u>Boethius</u>. From <u>Aristotle</u> he learned that love of order and accuracy of expression which are characteristic of his own works. From <u>Boethius</u> he learned that <u>Aristotle's</u> works could be used without detriment to <u>Christianity</u>. He did not follow <u>Boethius</u> in his vain attempt to reconcile <u>Plato</u> and <u>Aristotle</u>. In general the <u>Stagirite</u> was his master, but the elevation and grandeur of St. Thomas's conceptions and the majestic dignity of his methods of treatment speak strongly of the sublime <u>Plato</u>.

Supernatural causes

Even if we do not accept as literally <u>true</u> the declaration of <u>John XXII</u>, that St. Thomas wrought as many <u>miracles</u> as there are articles in the <u>"Summa"</u>, we must, nevertheless, go beyond causes merely natural in attempting to explain his extraordinary career and wonderful writings.

(1) Purity of <u>mind</u> and body contributes in no small degree to clearness of vision (*see* St. Thomas, "Commentaries on I Cor., c. vii", Lesson v). By the gift of <u>purity</u>, <u>miraculously</u> granted at the time of the <u>mystic</u> girdling, <u>God</u> made Thomas's life <u>angelic</u>; the perspicacity and depth of his <u>intellect</u>, <u>Divine grace</u> aiding, made him the <u>"Angelic Doctor"</u>.

(2) The spirit of <u>prayer</u>, his great piety and devotion, drew down <u>blessings</u> on his studies. Explaining why he read, every day, portions of the "Conferences" of <u>Cassian</u>, he said: "In such reading I find devotion, whence I readily ascend to <u>contemplation</u>" (Prümmer, op. cit., p. 32). In the lessons of the <u>Breviary</u> read on his <u>feast day</u> it is explicitly stated that he never began to study without first invoking the assistance of <u>God</u> in <u>prayer</u>; and when he wrestled with obscure passages of the <u>Scriptures</u>, to <u>prayer</u> he added <u>fasting</u>.

(3) Facts narrated by <u>persons</u> who either <u>knew</u> St. Thomas in life or wrote at about the <u>time</u> of his <u>canonization</u> <u>prove</u> that he received assistance from <u>heaven</u>. To <u>Father Reginald</u> he declared that he had learned more in <u>prayer</u> and <u>contemplation</u> than he had acquired from <u>men</u> or books (Prümmer, op. cit., p. 36). These same authors tell of mysterious visitors who came to encourage and enlighten him. The <u>Blessed Virgin appeared</u>, to assure him that his life and his writings were acceptable to <u>God</u>, and that he would persevere in his <u>holy</u> <u>vocation</u>. Sts. <u>Peter</u> and <u>Paul</u> came to aid him in interpreting an obscure passage in <u>Isaias</u>. When <u>humility</u> <u>caused</u> him to consider himself unworthy of the doctorate, a venerable <u>religious</u> of his <u>order</u> (supposed to be <u>St.</u> <u>Dominic</u>) appeared to encourage him and suggested the text for his opening discourse (Prümmer, op. cit., 29, 37; Tocco in "Acta SS.", VII Mar.; Vaughan, op. cit., II, 91). His <u>ecstasies</u> have been mentioned. His abstractions in presence of <u>King Louis IX (St. Louis)</u> and of distinguished visitors are related by all biographers. Hence, even if allowance be made for great enthusiasm on the part of his admirers, we must conclude that his extraordinary learning cannot be attributed to merely natural causes. Of him it may truly be said that he laboured as if all depended on his own efforts and <u>prayed</u> as if all depended on <u>God</u>.

Influence of St. Thomas (on sanctity)

The great Scholastics were holy as well as learned men. Alexander of Hales, St. Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas, and St. Bonaventure prove that learning does not necessarily dry up devotion. The angelic Thomas and the seraphic Bonaventure represent the highest types of Christian scholarship, combining eminent learning with heroic sanctity. Cardinal Bessarion called St. Thomas "the most saintly of learned men and the most learned of saints". His works breathe the spirit of God, a tender and enlightened piety, built on a solid foundation, viz. the knowledge of God, of Christ, of man. The "Summa theologica" may be made a manual of piety as well as a text-book for the study of theology (Cf. Drane, op. cit., p. 446). St. Francis de Sales, St. Philip Neri, St. Charles Borromeo, St. Vincent Ferrer, St. Pius V, St. Antoninus constantly studied St. Thomas. Nothing could be more inspiring than his treatises on Christ, in His sacred Person, in His life and sufferings. His treatise on the sacraments, especially on penance and the Eucharist, would melt even hardened hearts. He takes pains to explain the various ceremonies of the Mass ("De ritu Eucharistiae" in Summa III:83), and no writer has explained more clearly than St. Thomas the effects produced in the souls of men by this heavenly Bread (Summa III:79). The principles recently urged, in regard to frequent Communion, by Pius X ("Sacra Trid. Synodus", 1905) are found in St. Thomas (Summa III:79:8, III:80:10), although he is not so explicit on this point as he is on the Communion of children. In the Decree "Quam Singulari" (1910) the pope cites St. Thomas, who teaches that, when children begin to have some use of reason, so that they can conceive some devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, they may be allowed to communicate (Summa III:80:9). The spiritual and devotional aspects of St. Thomas's theology have been pointed out by Father Contenson, O.P., in his "Theologia mentis et cordis". They are more fully explained by Father Vallgornera, O.P., in his "Theologia Mystica D. Thomae", wherein the author leads the soul to God through the purgative, illuminative, and unitive ways. The Encyclical

Letter of Leo XIII on the Holy Spirit is drawn largely from St. Thomas, and those who have studied the <u>"Prima Secundae"</u> and the <u>"Secundae" know</u> how admirably the <u>saint</u> explains the gifts and fruits of the <u>Holy</u> <u>Ghost</u>, as well as the <u>Beatitudes</u>, and their relations to the different <u>virtues</u> Nearly all <u>good</u> spiritual writers seek in St. Thomas definitions of the <u>virtues</u> which they recommend.

Influence of St. Thomas (on intellectual life)

Since the days of <u>Aristotle</u>, probably no one man has exercised such a powerful influence on the thinking world as did St. Thomas. His authority was very great during his lifetime. The <u>popes</u>, the <u>universities</u>, the *studia* of his <u>order</u> were anxious to profit by his learning and <u>prudence</u>. Several of his important works were written at the request of others, and his opinion was sought by all classes. On several occasions the <u>doctors</u> of <u>Paris</u> referred their disputes to him and gratefully abided by his decision (Vaughan, op. cit., II, 1 p. 544). His principles, made known by his writings, have continued to influence <u>men</u> even to this day. This subject cannot be considered in all its aspects, nor is that <u>necessary</u>. His influence on matters purely <u>philosophical</u> is fully explained in histories of <u>philosophy</u>. (<u>Theologians</u> who followed St. Thomas will be mentioned in <u>THOMISM</u>. See also <u>ORDER OF</u> <u>PREACHERS</u>) His paramount importance and influence may be explained by considering him as the <u>Christian</u> <u>Aristotle</u>, combining in his person the best that the world has known in <u>philosophy</u> and <u>theology</u>. It is in this light that he is proposed as a model by <u>Leo XIII</u> in the famous <u>Encyclical</u> "<u>Aeterni Patris</u>". The work of his life may be summed up in two propositions: he established the <u>true</u> relations between <u>faith</u> and <u>reason</u>; he systematized <u>theology</u>.

(1) Faith and Reason

The principles of St. Thomas on the relations between <u>faith</u> and <u>reason</u> were solemnly proclaimed in the <u>Vatican</u> <u>Council</u>. The second, third, and fourth chapters of the Constitution "Dei Filius" read like pages taken from the works of the <u>Angelic Doctor</u>. First, <u>reason</u> alone is not sufficient to guide <u>men</u>: they need <u>Revelation</u>; we must carefully distinguish the <u>truths known</u> by <u>reason</u> from higher <u>truths</u> (<u>mysteries</u>) <u>known</u> by <u>Revelation</u>. Secondly, <u>reason</u> and <u>Revelation</u>, though distinct, are not opposed to each other. Thirdly, <u>faith</u> preserves <u>reason</u> from <u>error</u>; <u>reason</u> should do service in the cause of <u>faith</u>. Fourthly, this service is rendered in three ways:

- <u>reason</u> should prepare the <u>minds</u> of <u>men</u> to receive the <u>Faith</u> by <u>proving</u> the <u>truths</u> which <u>faith</u> presupposes (*praeambula fidei*);
- <u>reason</u> should explain and develop the <u>truths</u> of <u>Faith</u> and should propose them in <u>scientific</u> form;
- <u>reason</u> should defend the <u>truths</u> revealed by <u>Almighty God</u>.

This is a development of <u>St. Augustine's</u> famous saying (*On the Holy Trinity* <u>XIV.1</u>), that the right use of <u>reason</u> is "that by which the most wholesome <u>faith</u> is begotten . . . is nourished, defended, and made strong." These principles are proposed by St. Thomas in many places, especially in the following: "In Boethium, da Trin. Proem.", Q. ii, a. 1; "Sum. cont. gent.", I, cc. iii-ix; <u>Summa I:1:1</u>, <u>I:1:5</u>, <u>I:1:8</u>, <u>I:32:1</u>, <u>I:84:5</u>. St. Thomas's services to the <u>Faith</u> are thus summed up by <u>Leo XIII</u> in the <u>Encyclical</u> "Aeterni Patris": "He won this title of distinction for himself: that singlehanded he victoriously combated the <u>errors</u> of former times, and supplied invincible arms to put to rout those which might in after times spring up. Again, clearly distinguishing, as is fitting, <u>reason</u> and <u>faith</u>, he both preserved and had regard for the <u>rights</u> of each; so much so, indeed, that <u>reason</u>, borne on the wings of Thomas, can scarcely rise higher, while <u>faith</u> could scarcely expect more or stronger aids from <u>reason</u> than those which she has already obtained through Thomas."

St. Thomas did not combat imaginary foes; he attacked living adversaries. The works of <u>Aristotle</u> had been introduced into <u>France</u> in faulty translations and with the misleading commentaries of <u>Jewish</u> and <u>Moorish</u> <u>philosophers</u>. This gave rise to a flood of <u>errors</u> which so alarmed the authorities that the reading of <u>Aristotle's</u> *Physics* and *Metaphysics* was forbidden by <u>Robert de Courçon</u> in 1210, the <u>decree</u> being moderated by <u>Gregory</u> <u>IX</u> in 1231. There crept into the <u>University of Paris</u> an insidious spirit of irreverence and <u>Rationalism</u>,

represented especially by <u>Abelard</u> and <u>Raymond Lullus</u>, which claimed that <u>reason</u> could <u>know</u> and <u>prove</u> all things, even the <u>mysteries</u> of <u>Faith</u>. Under the authority of <u>Averroes</u> dangerous doctrines were propagated, especially two very pernicious <u>errors</u>: first, that <u>philosophy</u> and <u>religion</u> being in different regions, what is <u>true</u> in <u>religion</u> might be <u>false</u> in <u>philosophy</u>; secondly, that all <u>men</u> have but one <u>soul</u>. <u>Averroes</u> was commonly styled "The Commentator", but St. Thomas says he was "not so much a Peripatetic as a corruptor of Peripatetic <u>philosophy</u>" (Opusc. de unit. intell.). Applying a principle of <u>St. Augustine</u> (see <u>I:84:5</u>), following in the footsteps of <u>Alexander of Hales</u> and <u>Albertus Magnus</u>, St. Thomas resolved to take what was <u>true</u> from the "unjust possessors", in order to press it into the service of <u>revealed religion</u>. Objections to <u>Aristotle</u> would cease if the <u>true Aristotle</u> were made <u>known</u>; hence his first care was to obtain a new translation of the works of the great <u>philosopher</u>. <u>Aristotle</u> was to be purified; <u>false</u> commentators were to be refuted; the most influential of these was <u>Averroes</u>, hence St. Thomas is continually rejecting his <u>false</u> interpretations.

(2) Theology Systematized

The next step was to press <u>reason</u> into the service of the <u>Faith</u>, by putting <u>Christian doctrine</u> into <u>scientific</u> form. <u>Scholasticism</u> does not consist, as some <u>persons</u> imagine, in useless discussions and subtleties, but in this, that it expresses sound <u>doctrine</u> in language which is accurate, clear, and concise. In the <u>Encyclical</u> "<u>Aeterni Patris</u>" <u>Leo XIII</u>, citing the words of <u>Sixtus V</u> (<u>Bull</u> "Triumphantis", 1588), declares that to the right use of <u>philosophy</u> we are indebted for "those noble endowments which make <u>Scholastic theology</u> so formidable to the enemies of <u>truth</u>", because "that ready coherence of <u>cause</u> and effect, that order and array of a disciplined army in battle, those clear definitions and distinctions, that strength of argument and those keen discussions by which light is distinguished from darkness, the <u>true</u> from the <u>false</u>, expose and lay bare, as it were, the <u>falsehoods</u> of <u>heretics</u> wrapped around by a cloud of subterfuges and fallacies". When the great <u>Scholastics</u> had written, there was light where there had been darkness, there was order where confusion had prevailed. The work of <u>St. Anselm</u> and of <u>Peter Lombard</u> was perfected by the <u>Scholastic theology</u>, although the field of <u>apologetics</u> has been widened, and <u>positive theology</u> has become more important.

Influence of St. Thomas (his doctrine followed)

Within a short <u>time</u> after his death the writings of St. Thomas were universally esteemed. The <u>Dominicans</u> naturally took the lead in following St. Thomas. The <u>general chapter</u> held in <u>Paris</u> in 1279 pronounced severe penalties against all who dared to speak irreverently of him or of his writings. The <u>chapters</u> held in <u>Paris</u> in 1286, at <u>Bordeaux</u> in 1287, and at <u>Lucca</u> in 1288 expressly required the brethren to follow the <u>doctrine</u> of Thomas, who at that <u>time</u> had not been <u>canonized</u> (Const. Ord. Praed., n. 1130). The <u>University of Paris</u>, on the occasion of Thomas's death, sent an official letter of condolence to the <u>general chapter</u> of the <u>Dominicans</u>, declaring that, equally with his brethren, the <u>university</u> experienced sorrow at the loss of one who was their own by many titles (*see* text of letter in Vaughan, op. cit., II, p. 82). In the <u>Encyclical "Aeterni Patris" Leo XIII</u> mentions the <u>Universities</u> of <u>Paris</u>, <u>Salamanca</u>, <u>Alcalá</u>, <u>Douai</u>, <u>Toulouse</u>, <u>Louvain</u>, <u>Padua</u>, <u>Bologna</u>, <u>Naples</u>, <u>Coimbra</u> as "the homes of human wisdom where Thomas reigned supreme, and the <u>minds</u> of all, of teachers as well as of taught, rested in wonderful harmony under the shield and authority of the <u>Angelic Doctor</u>". To the list may be added <u>Lima</u> and <u>Manila</u>, <u>Fribourg</u> and <u>Washington</u>.

<u>Seminaries</u> and <u>colleges</u> followed the lead of the <u>universities</u>. The <u>"Summa"</u> gradually supplanted the "Sentences" as the textbook of <u>theology</u>. <u>Minds</u> were formed in accordance with the principles of St. Thomas; he became the great master, exercising a world-wide influence on the opinions of <u>men</u> and on their writings; for even those who did not adopt all of his conclusions were <u>obliged</u> to give due consideration to his opinions. It has been estimated that 6000 commentaries on St. Thomas's works have been written. Manuals of <u>theology</u> and of <u>philosophy</u>, composed with the <u>intention</u> of imparting his teaching, translations, and studies, or digests (études), of portions of his works have been published in profusion during the last six hundred years and today his name is in <u>honour</u> all over the world (*see* <u>THOMISM</u>).

In every one of the <u>general councils</u> held since his death St. Thomas has been singularly <u>honoured</u>. At the <u>Council of Lyons</u> his book "Contra errores Graecorum" was used with telling effect against the <u>Greeks</u>. In later disputes, before and during the <u>Council of Florence</u>, John of Montenegro, the champion of <u>Latin orthodoxy</u>, found St. Thomas's works a source of irrefragable arguments. The "Decretum pro Armenis" (Instruction for the Armenians), issued by the authority of that <u>council</u>, is taken almost verbatim from his treatise, "De fidei articulis et septem sacramentis" (*see Denzinger-Bannwart*, n. 695). "In the Councils of Lyons, Vienne, Florence, and the <u>Vatican</u>", writes <u>Leo XIII</u> (Encyclical <u>"Aeterni Patris"</u>), "one might almost say that Thomas took part in and presided over the deliberations and <u>decrees</u> of the Fathers contending against the <u>errors</u> of the <u>Greeks</u>, of <u>heretics</u>, and <u>Rationalists</u>, with invincible force and with the happiest results."

But the chief and special <u>glory</u> of Thomas, one which he has shared with none of the <u>Catholic doctors</u>, is that the Fathers of <u>Trent</u> made it part of the order of the <u>conclave</u> to lay upon the <u>altar</u>, together with the code of <u>Sacred Scripture</u> and the <u>decrees</u> of the <u>Supreme Pontiffs</u>, the <u>Summa</u> of Thomas Aquinas, whence to seek counsel, <u>reason</u>, and inspiration. Greater influence than this no <u>man</u> could have.

Before this section is closed mention should be made of two books widely known and highly esteemed, which were inspired by and drawn from the writings of St. Thomas. The <u>Catechism of the Council of Trent</u>, composed by <u>disciples</u> of the <u>Angelic Doctor</u>, is in reality a compendium of his <u>theology</u>, in convenient form for the use of <u>parish priests</u>. <u>Dante's</u> "Divina Commedia" has been called "the <u>Summa</u> of St. Thomas in verse", and commentators trace the great Florentine poet's divisions and descriptions of the <u>virtues</u> and vices to the <u>"Secunda Secundae"</u>.

Influence of St. Thomas (appreciation)

(1) In the Church

The esteem in which he was held during his life has not been diminished, but rather increased, in the course of the six centuries that have elapsed since his death. The position which he occupies in the <u>Church</u> is well explained by that great scholar <u>Leo XIII</u>, in the <u>Encyclical "Aeterni Patris"</u>, recommending the study of <u>Scholastic philosophy</u>: "It is known that nearly all the founders and framers of <u>laws</u> of religious orders commanded their <u>societies</u> to study and religiously adhere to the teachings of St. Thomas. . . To say nothing of the <u>family of St. Dominic</u>, which rightly claims this great teacher for its own glory, the <u>statutes</u> of the <u>Benedictines</u>, the <u>Augustinians</u>, the <u>Society of Jesus</u>, and many others, all testify that they are bound by this <u>law</u>." Amongst the "many others" the <u>Servites</u>, the <u>Passionists</u>, the <u>Barnabites</u>, and the <u>Sulpicians</u> have been devoted in an especial manner to the study of St. Thomas. The principal ancient <u>universities</u> where St. Thomas ruled as the great master have been enumerated above. The <u>Paris doctors</u> called him the morning star, the luminous sun, the light of the whole <u>Church</u>. Stephen, <u>Bishop</u> of <u>Paris</u>, repressing those who dared to attack the <u>doctrine</u> of "that most excellent <u>Doctor</u>, the blessed Thomas", calls him "the great luminary of the <u>Catholic Church</u>, the precious stone of the <u>priesthood</u>, the flower of <u>doctors</u>, and the bright mirror of the <u>University of Paris</u>" (<u>Drane</u>, op. cit., p. 431). In the old <u>Louvain University</u> the <u>doctors</u> were required to uncover and bow their heads when they pronounced the name of Thomas (Goudin, op. cit., p. 21).

"The <u>ecumenical councils</u>, where blossoms the flower of all earthly wisdom, have always been careful to hold Thomas Aquinas in singular <u>honour</u>" (Leo XIII in <u>"Aeterni Patris"</u>). This subject has been sufficiently treated above. The "Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum", published in 1729-39, gives thirty-eight <u>Bulls</u> in which eighteen <u>sovereign pontiffs</u> praised and recommended the <u>doctrine</u> of St. Thomas (*see also* Vaughan, op. cit., II, c. ii; Berthier, op. cit., pp. 7 sqq.). These approbations are recalled and renewed by <u>Leo XIII</u>, who lays special stress on "the crowning testimony of <u>Innocent VI</u>: 'His teaching above that of others, the <u>canons</u> alone excepted, enjoys such an elegance of phraseology, a method of statement, a <u>truth</u> of proposition, that those who hold it are never found swerving from the path of <u>truth</u>, and he who dare assail it will always be suspected of <u>error</u> (ibid.)."" <u>Leo XIII</u> surpassed his predecessors in admiration of St. Thomas, in whose works he declared a remedy can be found for many <u>evils</u> that afflict <u>society</u> (*see* Berthier, op. cit., introd.). The notable <u>Encyclical Letters</u> with which the name of that illustrious <u>pontiff</u> will always be associated show how he had studied the works of the <u>Angelic Doctor</u>. This is very noticeable in the <u>letters</u> on <u>Christian marriage</u>, the <u>Christian</u> constitution of states, the <u>condition of the working classes</u>, and the study of <u>Holy Scripture</u>. Pope Pius X, in several <u>letters</u>, e.g. in the "Pascendi Dominici Gregis" (September, 1907), has insisted on the observance of the recommendations of <u>Leo</u> XIII concerning the study of St. Thomas. An attempt to give names of <u>Catholic</u> writers who have expressed their appreciation of St. Thomas and of his influence would be an impossible undertaking; for the list would include nearly all who have written on <u>philosophy</u> or <u>theology</u> since the thirteenth century, as well as hundreds of writers on other subjects. Commendations and eulogies are found in the introductory chapters of all good commentaries. An incomplete list of authors who have collected these testimonies is given by Father Berthier (op. cit., p. 22). . . .

(2) Outside the Church

(a) Anti-Scholastics -- Some persons have been and are still opposed to everything that comes under the name of Scholasticism, which they hold to be synonymous with subtleties and useless discussions. From the prologue to the <u>"Summa"</u> it is clear that St. Thomas was opposed to all that was superfluous and confusing in <u>Scholastic studies</u>. When people understand what <u>true Scholasticism</u> means, their objections will cease.

(b) Heretics and Schismatics -- "A last triumph was reserved for this incomparable man — namely, to compel the homage, praise, and admiration of even the very enemies of the <u>Catholic</u> name" (Leo XIII, ibid.). St. Thomas's <u>orthodoxy</u> drew upon him the <u>hatred</u> of all <u>Greeks</u> who were opposed to <u>union with Rome</u>. The <u>united</u> <u>Greeks</u>, however, admire St. Thomas and study his works (*see above* Translations of the "Summa"). The leaders of the <u>sixteenth-century revolt honoured</u> St. Thomas by attacking him, <u>Luther</u> being particularly <u>violent</u> in his coarse invectives against the great <u>doctor</u>. Citing <u>Bucer's</u> wild boast, "Take away Thomas and I will destroy the <u>Church</u>", <u>Leo XIII</u> (ibid.) remarks, "The hope was vain, but the testimony has its value".

Calo, Tocco, and other biographers relate that St. Thomas, travelling from <u>Rome</u> to <u>Naples</u>, <u>converted</u> two celebrated <u>Jewish rabbis</u>, whom he met at the country house of Cardinal Richard (Prümmer, op. cit., p. 33; Vaughan, op. cit., I, p. 795). <u>Rabbi Paul of Burgos</u>, in the fifteenth century, was <u>converted</u> by reading the works of St. Thomas. Theobald Thamer, a disciple of <u>Melancthon</u>, <u>abjured</u> his <u>heresy</u> after he had read the <u>"Summa"</u>, which he intended to refute. The <u>Calvinist Duperron</u> was <u>converted</u> in the same way, subsequently becoming <u>Archbishop</u> of <u>Sens</u> and a <u>cardinal</u> (*see* Conway, O.P., op. cit., p. 96).

After the bitterness of the first period of <u>Protestantism</u> had passed away, <u>Protestants</u> saw the <u>necessity</u> of retaining many parts of <u>Catholic philosophy</u> and <u>theology</u>, and those who came to <u>know</u> St. Thomas were compelled to admire him. Überweg says "He brought the <u>Scholastic philosophy</u> to its highest stage of development, by effecting the most perfect accommodation that was possible of the <u>Aristotelian philosophy</u> to <u>ecclesiastical orthodoxy</u>" (op. cit., p. 440). R. Seeberg in the "New Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia" (New York, 1911) devotes ten columns to St. Thomas, and says that "at all points he succeeded in upholding the <u>church doctrine</u> as credible and reasonable" (XI, p. 427).

For many years, especially since the days of <u>Pusey</u> and <u>Newman</u>, St. Thomas has been in high repute at <u>Oxford</u>. Recently the "Summa contra gentiles" was placed on the list of subjects which a candidate may offer in the final honour schools of *Litterae Humaniores* at that university (cf. Walsh, op. cit., c. xvii). For several years Father De Groot, O.P., has been the professor of <u>Scholastic philosophy</u> in the University of <u>Amsterdam</u>, and courses in <u>Scholastic philosophy</u> have been established in some of the leading non-Catholic <u>universities</u> of the <u>United</u> <u>States</u>. <u>Anglicans</u> have a deep admiration for St. Thomas. Alfred Mortimer, in the chapter "The Study of Theology" of his work entitled "Catholic Faith and Practice" (2 vols., New York, 1909), regretting that "the <u>English priest</u> has ordinarily no <u>scientific</u> acquaintance with the Queen of Sciences", and proposing a remedy, says, "The simplest and most perfect sketch of universal <u>theology</u> is to be found in the <u>Summa of St. Thomas</u>" (vol. II, pp. 454, 465).

St. Thomas and modern thought

In the <u>Syllabus</u> of 1864 <u>Pius IX</u> condemned a proposition in which it was stated that the method and principles of the ancient <u>Scholastic doctors</u> were not suited to the needs of our times and the progress of <u>science</u> (<u>Denzinger-Bannwart</u>, n. 1713).

In the Encyclical "Aeterni Patris" Leo XIII points out the benefits to be derived from "a practical reform of philosophy by restoring the renowned teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas". He exhorts the bishops to "restore the golden wisdom of Thomas and to spread it far and wide for the defence and beauty of the Catholic Faith, for the good of society, and for the advantage of all the sciences". In the pages of the Encyclical immediately preceding these words he explains why the teaching of St. Thomas would produce such most desirable results: St. Thomas is the great master to explain and defend the Faith, for his is "the solid doctrine of the Fathers and the Scholastics, who so clearly and forcibly demonstrate the firm foundations of the Faith, its Divine origin, its certain truth, the arguments that sustain it, the benefits it has conferred on the human race, and its perfect accord with reason, in a manner to satisfy completely minds open to persuasion, however unwilling and repugnant". The career of St. Thomas would in itself have justified Leo XIII in assuring men of the nineteenth century that the Catholic Church was not opposed to the right use of reason. The sociological aspects of St. Thomas are also pointed out: "The teachings of Thomas on the true meaning of liberty, which at this time is running into license, on the Divine origin of all authority, on laws and their force, on the paternal and just rule of princes, on obedience to the highest powers, on mutual charity one towards another — on all of these and kindred subjects, have very great and invincible force to overturn those principles of the new order which are well known to be dangerous to the peaceful order of things and to public safety" (ibid.).

The <u>evils</u> affecting modern <u>society</u> had been pointed out by the <u>pope</u> in the <u>Letter</u> "Inscrutabili" of 21 April, 1878, and in the one on <u>Socialism</u>, <u>Communism</u>, and <u>Nihilism</u> ("The Great Encyclicals of Leo XIII", pp. 9 sqq.; 22 sqq.). How the principles of the <u>Angelic Doctor</u> will furnish a remedy for these <u>evils</u> is explained here in a general way, more particularly in the <u>Letters</u> on the <u>Christian</u> constitution of states, human liberty, the chief <u>duties</u> of <u>Christians</u> as citizens, and on the <u>conditions of the working classes</u> (ibid., pp. 107, 135, 180, 208).

It is in relation to the <u>sciences</u> that some <u>persons doubt</u> the reliability of St. Thomas's writings; and the doubters are thinking of the physical and experimental <u>sciences</u>, for in <u>metaphysics</u> the <u>Scholastics</u> are admitted to be masters. Leo XIII calls attention to the following <u>truths</u>: (a) The <u>Scholastics</u> were not opposed to investigation. Holding as a principle in anthropology "that the human <u>intelligence</u> is only led to the <u>knowledge</u> of things without body and <u>matter</u> by things sensible, they well understood that nothing was of greater use to the <u>philosopher</u> than diligently to search into the mysteries of <u>nature</u>, and to be earnest and constant in the study of physical things" (ibid., p. 55). This principle was reduced to practice: St. Thomas, <u>St. Albertus Magnus</u>, <u>Roger</u> <u>Bacon</u>, and others "gave large attention to the <u>knowledge</u> of natural things" (ibid., p. 56). (b) Investigation alone is not sufficient for <u>true science</u>. "When facts have been established, it is <u>necessary</u> to rise and apply ourselves to the study of the <u>nature</u> of corporeal things, to inquire into the <u>laws</u> which govern them and the principles whence their order and varied unity and mutual attraction in diversity arise" (p. 55).

Will the <u>scientists</u> of today pretend to be better <u>reasoners</u> than St. Thomas, or more powerful in synthesis? It is the method and the principles of St. Thomas that <u>Leo XIII</u> recommends: "If anything is taken up with too great subtlety by the <u>Scholastic doctors</u>, or too carelessly stated; if there be anything that ill agrees with the discoveries of a later age or, in a word, is improbable in any way, it does not enter into our <u>mind</u> to propose that for imitation to our age" (p. 56). Just as St. Thomas, in his day, saw a movement towards <u>Aristotle</u> and <u>philosophical</u> studies which could not be checked, but could be guided in the right direction and made to serve the cause of <u>truth</u>, so also, <u>Leo XIII</u>, seeing in the world of his time a spirit of study and investigation which might be productive of <u>evil</u> or of good, had no desire to check it, but resolved to propose a moderator and master who could guide it in the paths of <u>truth</u>.

No better guide could have been chosen than the clear-minded, analytic, synthetic, and sympathetic Thomas Aquinas. His extraordinary patience and fairness in dealing with erring philosophers, his approbation of all that was true in their writings, his gentleness in condemning what was false, his clear-sightedness in pointing out the direction to true knowledge in all its branches, his aptness and accuracy in expressing the truth — these qualities mark him as a great master not only for the thirteenth century, but for all times. If any persons are inclined to consider him too subtle, it is because they do not know how clear, concise, and simple are his definitions and divisions. His two *summae* are masterpieces of pedagogy, and mark him as the greatest of human teachers. Moreover, he dealt with errors similar to many which go under the name of philosophy or science in our days. The Rationalism of Abelard and others called forth St. Thomas's luminous and everlasting principles on the true relations of faith and reason. Ontologism was solidly refuted by St. Thomas nearly six centuries before the days of Malebranche, Gioberti, and Ubaghs (see Summa I:84:5). The true doctrine on first principles and on universals, given by him and by the other great Scholastics, is the best refutation of Kant's criticism of metaphysical ideas (see, e.g., "Post. Analyt.", I, lect. xix; "De ente et essentia", c. iv; Summa I:17:3 corp. and ad 2um; I:79:3; I:84:5; I:84:6 corp and ad 1um; I:85:2 ad 2um; I:85:3 ad 1um, ad 4um; Cf. index to "Summa": "Veritas", "Principium", "Universale"). Modern psychological Pantheism does not differ substantially from the theory of one soul for all men asserted by Averroes (see "De unit. intell." and Summa 1:76:2; 1:79:5). The Modernistic error, which distinguishes the Christ of faith from the Christ of history, had as its forerunner the Averroistic principle that a thing might be true in philosophy and false in religion.

In the Encyclical "Providentissimus Deus" (18 November, 1893) Leo XIII draws from St. Thomas's writings the principles and wise rules which should govern scientific criticism of the Sacred Books. From the same source recent writers have drawn principles which are most helpful in the solution of questions pertaining to Spiritism and Hypnotism. Are we to conclude, then, that St. Thomas's works, as he left them, furnish sufficient instruction for scientists, philosophers, and theologians of our times? By no means. *Vetera novis augere et perficere* — "To strengthen and complete the old by aid of the new" — is the motto of the restoration proposed by Leo XIII. Were St. Thomas living today he would gladly adopt and use all the facts made known by recent scientific and historical investigations, but he would carefully weigh all evidence offered in favour of the facts. Positive theology is more necessary in our days than it was in the thirteenth century. Leo XIII calls attention to its necessity in his Encyclical, and his admonition is renewed by Pius X in his Letter on Modernism. But both pontiffs declare that positive theology must not be extolled to the detriment of Scholastic theology. In the Encyclical "Pascendi", prescribing remedies against Modernism, Pius X, following in this his illustrious predecessor, gives the first place to "Scholastic philosophy, especially as it was taught by Thomas Aquinas"; St. Thomas is still "The Angel of the Schools".