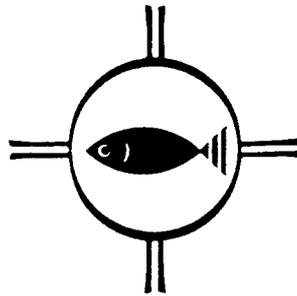


THE LIBERAL CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF STUDIES



CHURCH HISTORY

PART 2  
VOLUME 1

THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES

(325 TO 800 A.D.)

BY  
THE REV. DUDLEY GOWER, M.A.

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THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES  
FROM THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA TO THE CROWNING OF  
CHARLEMAGNE  
(325 - 800 A.D.)

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- 2 GENERAL HISTORICAL BACKGROUND 325 - 800 A.D.
- 3 HISTORY OF THE CHURCH 325 - 800 A. D.

APPENDIX: THE DEFINITION OF CHALCEDON.

The student should use any reasonably priced book on Church History as a text such as:

Walker: *A History of the Christian Church* or *The Pelican History of the Church* (various authors).

Bishop Pigott's: *The Parting of the Ways*, Chapter 4, should be used with this Paper (Available as L.C.I.S. Source material)

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## CHAPTER 1 BOUNDARIES & METHOD OF PRESENTATION

The tapestry of history being of one continuous weaving, no boundaries can be considered as final. Where one alleged period ends and another begins is merely assumed for the sake of convenience.

Our world being ruled by the law of cause and effect, it stands to reason that wherever one places the beginning of a period there are bound-to be the effects of causes set in motion in that which is regarded as the preceding age, and even in ages preceding that, still waiting to be worked out; likewise, wherever one places the end, effects in that era have yet to show themselves in those which are regarded as its successors. It is, then, for convenience only that the commencement of this paper has naturally to be placed where the last paper ceased - the Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D. - whilst its termination is equally arbitrarily set, for reasons to be given in due course, at the Council of Basle which was finally dissolved in 1449.

A.J. Toynbee, in *A Study of History*, has shown that it is impossible to do justice to any country or age if either one or the other is regarded as being in isolation in space or time from the rest of the world. This is again owing to the continually overlapping nature of the law of cause and effect which defies any limitations man attempts to establish.

To try to offset this deficiency, it will be necessary to provide some general background, so, once more as an accommodation, since they are in essence inseparable, a general historical background will be attempted in order to form a matrix in which the particular history of a particular institution may be seen to be imbedded. Attention will then be directed to the events of that institution which, it is anticipated, will consequently appear in their rightful environment and as an integral part of it.

This will be followed by Commentaries from the Ancient Wisdom teaching, which supplies some of the knowledge it is held that the Liberal Catholic Church was founded to bring through to the world at this time as its contribution to what might be called an enlightened Christianity.

## CHAPTER 2 GENERAL HISTORICAL BACKGROUND 325 TO 800 A. D.

Taking up the historical narrative from the Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D., when Constantine the Great was Emperor of the reconstituted Roman Empire, it was the imperial policy to coach his remaining three sons and two sons of a half-brother to take over the burdens of rule at his death. It took thirteen years of power struggle after that event to bring the one survivor, Constantine II, to the throne as sole Emperor.

Constantine, however, was an Arian in his religious sympathies, and as the Catholic section had gained much strength due to the heroic efforts of Athanasius, his attempts to settle the after-effects of the Nicaean decision were, on the whole, a failure. When the time came to appoint his Caesar (heir), his choice fell on his cousin, Julian, who had made a name for himself in the wars against the Germans, in which he succeeded in restoring the Rhine frontier.

Julian is known to history as *the Apostate*, owing to his strong reaction against Christianity. This seems to be partly the result of a youthful liking for a tutor who taught him much about the Greek language, classical literature, and pagan gods and goddesses. Having seen at first hand the crimes of members of the royal family who were supposed to be examples of the Christian life, one cannot wonder at his decision to reject the State religion. Openly declaring himself a pagan, he proceeded to support the pagan cults by giving them grants. He then proclaimed toleration for all religions

and instigated equalitarianism by the cancellation of former Christian privileges. Christians, for example, were forbidden to teach in the schools.

Julian had a peculiar character much biased by his passion for the classics, and did not find it easy to compromise with the explosive situation he had brought about. It was too late to turn back the clock, as Christianity had been for too long in the leading position. He died after only a very short reign (361-363).

His successor was Jovian, another military officer but a devoted Christian, who ruled just long enough (363-364) to reverse his predecessor's policy, thus making Christianity once more the State religion.

Again, the army was instrumental in attaining the throne for one of its members, Valentinian I, who was a good organizer and tolerant towards religious opinions. The Empire was then divided into East and West, Valentinian taking the West and assigning the East to his brother, Valens.

### THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS

The barbarian invasions and their effect on the Roman Empire would fall within the category of what Toynbee would call *challenge and response*<sup>1</sup>. The Eastern Empire produced a response that was sufficient to preserve it for further centuries, but the Western section made so little response that it crumbled away and gave place to another order.

In the Eastern Empire, Valens suffered a severe defeat at Adrianople, and died with his men. His successor, Theodosius I, achieved the title of *The Great*, principally by reason of his strict Christian orthodoxy. After settling some troubles in the Western Empire, and his successful attacks on paganism, the two parts of the Empire were joined for a short while. It was under his rule that German settlers were first allowed to form a federated state within the imperial boundaries.

When he died, the Empire was once more divided, and this time permanently, under his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius.

There are always effects in any period that have had their causes in the preceding age or ages. The causes that now have to be reviewed commenced centuries before and several thousand miles away. The area in question is China, which, after a time of great disorder, was at last united under *the first Universal Emperor*, Shi Hwang-ti in 220 B.C.

A tribe called the Huns (*Hiung-nu*) had occupied Mongolia and carried out devastating raids in Northern China. For a considerable time the Huns had dealt with their surplus population problem by adventuring into a divided China. They were a nomadic people, and therefore the grassy plains of that region where they could graze their flocks were of the utmost importance to their existence. The advent of Shi Hwang-ti, and his ability to unite China, his consolidation and extension of the Great Wall, and his inauguration of a strong government backed by a disciplined army, cut off the Huns from vast areas of pasture. Part of the tribe was eventually absorbed into Chinese civilization, but another quite large part, finding their way of life frustrated, commenced to migrate westwards, thus upsetting the delicate balance of the tribes already settled there.

By 220 A.D., there was a steady drift of nomads to the west, and they appeared on the outskirts of Eastern Europe. Here was a counter-current of the southward and eastward Nordic emigrations. These were the Gothic tribes, subsequently divided into *Ostrogoths* and *Visigoths*.

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<sup>1</sup> *A Study of History*, 2 vol. Ed. vol 1, pp.60-79

All these people appeared to be barbarians from the point of view of the current Hellenic civilization, but they were not complete savages, having developed a culture of their own - a culture in which nature itself was their teacher.

Around 337 A.D., a horde of Huns descended upon the *Alans* between the Volga and the Don, destroyed the *Ostrogoth* Empire and forced the *Visigoths* over the Danube into Roman territory. The *Huns* continued to advance westward, subduing or driving in front of them whatever Teutonic tribes lay in their path. Their leader, Attila, having been defeated by the *Franks*, swung south and invaded northern Italy. After his death, the subjected *Teutons* rebelled, as a consequence of which Attila's horde retreated to the steppe north of the Black Sea and the Mongolian threat disappeared. The Roman Empire of the West then became the prey of the *Visigoths*, who sacked Rome in 410.

When the West Roman Empire collapsed, the East Roman Empire survived, being the only socially sound part of the Empire left. The West Roman government had allowed their great landowners to take the highest posts in the civil service, with the result that these men converted their self-sufficient estates into what amounted to independent principalities. When the barbarian invasions came, the landowners were more interested in saving their property than saving the Empire, so betrayed their country by coming to terms with the invaders. By having kept big landowners out of office, the East Roman Government avoided this danger. Using middle-class professional men in the civil service, they demonstrated that their best interests lay in the preservation of their homeland.

As an illustration of the suicidal policy of the Empire which consisted of enrolling large numbers of the invading tribes in its legions, we have the extraordinary situation when the *Goth*, Alaric, was opposed by Stilicho, a *Vandal* general in Roman employ with *Huns* in his army, while the legions in Gaul were under the command of a *Frank*, and the Emperor at this time, Theodosius I, was *Spanish* with an army of *Goths* supporting him. The frontiers of the Western Empire could only be described as blurred, since numbers of barbarians were settled on both sides of them.

Following the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410, the *Vandals*, under Genseric, in 429 crossed from Spain into North Africa, took over Carthage, became masters of the Western Mediterranean, and, in their turn, also sacked Rome in 455. The *Vandal* invasion is sometimes used as an example of the typical barbarian take-over. There was no actual conquest, but the completion of a social revolution. The Roman civil service had become so corrupt, and extortion so common, that the lower strata of the population felt the invasions to be in the nature of a liberation. In 493, there having been no Roman Emperor for the past seventeen years, Theodoric, a *Goth*, became King of Rome.

#### THE DIVISION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The original Roman Empire was now finally divided into Eastern and Western segments. For some time before the final collapse of the Western segment, Rome had been found to be an unsuitable capital city for purposes of adequately ruling the whole vast spread of territory, and various Emperors had tried out different cities, such as Ravenna, Durazzo, and Nicomedia as imperial centres of government. It was Constantine the Great who made a definite change in the Eastern segment by turning Byzantium into the new capital named after himself, Constantinople. It was in a magnificently commanding position for a Roman emperor, and proof of it is its survival for close to a thousand years even through periods under incompetent rulers and the deterioration of social conditions. Greek was the national language here and after the decline of the Western Empire, it became once more the language of intelligent men who felt an intellectual need for all that the Greek civilization could give, though its centre was no longer in Greece but in Alexandria. By the sixth century A.D. no Roman was recognized except in Rome itself and its immediate environment.

In the east, what became known as the Byzantine Empire followed more along the lines of Alexander the Great, throwing off any remaining Latin influences, while in the west a division was made into separate successor States which provided the foundations of modern Europe, the Latin tongue being gradually modified into the national Romance languages spoken today. The extraordinary fact, however, was that, amidst all this differentiation and decayed grandeur, the aura of the old Roman Empire did not fade, but actually grew stronger. The legend of the *good old days* persisted with the veneration of Roman traditions and the might and glory of the ancient Caesars. To men of that time, and for a long time to come, the impressive *Imperium* of Rome represented the Golden Age of order - one could say divine order - when one law governed all.

By 500 A.D. there was nothing left of the Western Roman Empire, but men there still seem to have thought of the Eastern part as the Empire with its Emperor in Constantinople. In Britain, barbaric pagan races of Teutonic *Angles*, *Saxons*, and *Jutes* had colonized the eastern half of England, having driven the native *Britons* to the west. Nearly the whole of Gaul, all Holland, and the Rhineland formed the Kingdom of the more civilized *Franks*, who had already been converted to Christianity. There was a separate Kingdom of Burgundy in the Rhone valley. The remainder of France and all Spain formed the Kingdom of the *Visigoths*, but the north of what is now Portugal was under the *Suevi*. The *Vandals* had captured the north coast of Africa, including Carthage, the islands of Corsica and Sardinia. Italy, Sicily, and Dalmatia (now Slovenia & Croatia) was an *Ostrogothic* Kingdom.

The year 527 marks a revival of the Eastern Empire, when the Emperor Justinian began his reign. In 534, he invaded and occupied the *Vandal* Kingdom and 555 saw the end of the *Ostrogothic* Kingdom. When he died in 565, part of this Empire was again lost when the *Lombards* emigrated from north of the Danube and settled in the north of Italy.

#### THE RISE OF THE MONASTERIES

The Roman civilization was not dead, but at a very low ebb, a sense of community being lacking. It took a new religion, Christianity, to restore it. The restoration was slow, the populations having to suffer a period of virulent plagues that flourished in the breakdown of hygiene, carrying off great numbers while they raged. The ravages of the now defunct tax collectors were replaced by those of robbers and violent men who built themselves fortified homes and dominated the areas round them. These times have been named the Dark Ages.

It was then that certain people began to withdraw from the miseries and insecurity of the world and retire into the wilds to devote themselves to religious practices. This was particularly noticeable in Egypt. It was the monastic system, as encouraged by Benedict (whose life spanned the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth), which proved the salvation of knowledge and education. It is sufficient to note that one of his monks became Pope Gregory the Great. Nothing could have been more necessary at this time than the Benedictine rule, since it included teaching, study, and the collecting and reproduction of books. Very closely connected with it were the schools that eventually became the universities. In this way were preserved the ancient literary classics of Greece and Rome.

Mention must also be made of Cassiodorus (490-585), a patrician of Syrian parents who were settlers in Italy. The invasion of the *Lombards* deprived him of his employment under the *Gothic* kings, so he founded a monastery on his own estate and governed it in much the same way as Benedict. His monks were taught to preserve and store ancient manuscripts, while he himself wrote a history and some books for school use, thus equalling, if not surpassing, the Benedictines in his efforts to restore some sort of social order in those difficult days.

#### ISLAM

Meanwhile, far away in Mecca, in 570, was born in great poverty one who was to become the

founder of a world religion, Muhammed. He did not become at all prominent until he was about 50, his new religion starting in a very small way amidst the dangers of its discovery in his home town. Just escaping being murdered in his own house by those whose interests lay in preserving the old religion, he fled to Medina in 622 and was welcomed there. After battles and massacres, Mecca also accepted his overlordship, and by 632 his power extended over the whole of Arabia. He died in that year at the age of 62.

Yet, in the opinion of many, the real spirit of the new revelation, Islam, resided in Muhammad's greatest friend and supporter, Abu Bakr, who became Caliph (meaning *successor*). Abu Bakr had enormous faith in Muhammad and with quite small forces of Arabs set himself the task of subduing the whole world for Allah.

The two neighbouring Empires, the Byzantine and the Persian, were mutually exhausted by a long war, and neither leaders nor people had the Arab power of exalted faith behind them. At this critical moment, Islam found itself possessed of magnificent generals, of which Khalid was the most outstanding. Consistently victorious against the armies of Persia and Byzantium, the Arab forces soon drew to themselves the thousands of Arabs who lived in the invaded territories, and Christianised Arabs defected and became devotees of Islam. Wherever the Arabs fought and won, the defeated were faced with only three choices: *You may pay tribute, or acknowledge Allah to be the only true God, or die.*

On the death of Abu Bakr the prophet's brother-in-law, Omar, became Caliph, and under him the Arabs commenced to form their Empire with the conquest of Syria, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. When Jerusalem was captured, the Christians were left in possession of their churches, but became liable to a tax. An immediate result of the Islamic victories was that Ethiopia was now cut off for a thousand years from the remainder of the Christian countries and therefore developed its own type of Christianity.

By 750 the Moslem Empire stretched from Turkestan to Spain. No surprise need be felt at this rapid advance and the absorption of the Roman, Greek, Egyptian, and Persian civilizations in the lands over which the new religion spread. The people who submitted had been systematically robbed and oppressed, and were out of touch with their former government. The masses in many cases welcomed the change.

#### THE KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS

The Byzantine Empire alone held out against the invasion in the east for the time being, while in the west only the hard resistance of the Franks stopped it at the Pyrenees.

It must not be thought that in this part of Europe the fall of the Roman Empire turned the whole land into complete barbaric chaos. The influence of Rome did not suddenly vanish, even though the administration and lines of communication were greatly disorganized. There were still considerable groups of Roman and Romanised families who were keeping up the old traditions. In a time of such upheaval, there were of course bands of thieves terrorizing the countryside, and the legal system had ceased to function, but out of such an apparently hopeless state of insecurity a new civilization eventually grew.

The person who tried to live alone stood little chance of survival, so it was natural for groups to form for self-protection. Strong leaders were eagerly sought, whether old-time Roman official or barbarian chief, or even a militant bishop could serve as a nucleus for defence. Of ambitious and aggressive men, there was no lack and where such a one raised himself above the common herd, people hastened to put their safety in his hands. A regime of protectors and protected at length crystallized out of the era of confusion and this has been called the feudal system, although similar situations are liable to cause and have actually caused a similar response elsewhere. This new

circumstance necessitated new laws, so that some sort of order could be restored, but so many differences between the groups existed that *system* is hardly the correct word.

The Franks composed the first State to solidify out of the wreckage of the Roman Empire in the West, and from it grew the two modern States of France and Germany. The founder of the Kingdom of the Franks was Clovis, who expanded his land to a frontier near the line of the Pyrenees. As was the custom, his death divided the kingdom between his children - a custom that nearly always led to war. A more harmful division was linguistic. The Roman occupation in Gaul had resulted in Latin infiltration, while the Franks in Germany had never been subjected to it, so continued to speak their own unadulterated tongue. This split the Franks into Neustria (now France) and Austrasia (now Germany).

The reigning dynasty, known as the Merovingian, after awhile began to decline. As a consequence, officials with the title of Mayor of the Palace began to assume command. That office subsequently became hereditary, so we have the remarkable situation that, as the royal line grew more feeble, the Mayoral line produced stronger men.

It was Pepin, a mayor of the Palace, who in 687 united the Franks once more. His son, Charles Martel, succeeded to the office and in 732 defeated the Islamic armies so severely that Western Europe was saved a second time from becoming an Asiatic dependency.

Charles was followed by another Pepin. Wishing to found a legal dynasty of his own family, he asked the Pope to judge who should be King of the Franks: *the man who held the power or the man who wore the crown*. At that time the papacy was in difficulties, and consequently it is not surprising that, needing a reliable friend, the judgment was that the man who had the power should be king. A meeting of Frankish nobles was then organized at Soissons, where, by their final decision, Pepin was crowned and declared their ruler in 757.

The next in succession were Charlemagne and his brother, but the brother died in 771, after which Charles the Great reigned alone until his death in 814. A great believer in conversion by the sword, he successfully waged war for that purpose against the pagan peoples to the east of his Empire.

#### CHARLEMAGNE AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

In *The Early Church* paper, mention was made of an unfortunate result of making Christianity the State religion, namely, its increasing dependence on worldly power and wealth. When the western part of the Roman Empire broke up, it was the Roman Church that, in the person of its popes, at length took over the religious leadership of the successor States. As previously noted, the legend of *the good old days* of the Empire survived and from this came the notion that they had never died, but lived on in the revival that took the name of the Holy Roman Empire under the rule of a Holy Roman Emperor guided by the Pope, who had the right to excommunicate him or even depose him should the need arise. The Pope was in constant fear of the *Lombards* who had settled in the north of Italy.

A treaty already existed between the Papal Estates and the Frankish monarchy; so, in 774 Charlemagne was called upon by the Pope to implement it. Charlemagne thereupon invaded Lombardy and subdued it. In 795, Leo III was elected Pope, and it was he who, wishing to be rid of the interference of the Byzantine Emperors in the affairs of the Roman Church, conceived the idea of the West having an Emperor of its own. This would be an act of defiance to the Eastern Emperor, thus to have a strong backing was essential before the breach could be risked. The immediate cause of what ensued was an attack on Leo in the streets of Rome, which necessitated his flight from the city. Charlemagne was again called in to implement the alliance; Leo was reinstated in 800. It was on Christmas Day in that year, in St. Peter's, that a crown was suddenly placed on Charlemagne's head and he was hailed as Caesar and Augustus. It is said that the

ceremony came as a shock to the new Emperor and there is some evidence that this might be true, since Charlemagne was not the type of man to allow the church to set the precedent of crowning an Emperor. The crown and title had now been seen by all as the gift of the Pope. A second disadvantage was the divided nature of the arrangement, since the Emperor and the Pope dwelt far apart in the days when communications were long and tedious. There was a third disadvantage in that, from Charlemagne's point of view, Leo had used the occasion to forward his scheme of creating a breach between Rome and Constantinople, a policy which Charlemagne did not favour, fearing it might bring repercussions on his country.

### CHAPTER 3 HISTORY OF THE CHURCH 325 - 800 AD.

#### THE AFTERMATH OF NICAEA: DONATISM

After the death of Constantine the Great in 337, religious controversy continued uninterrupted. The attempt of Constantine to be impartial in religious disputes did not, unfortunately, extend to his two sons; Constans in the West, and Constantius in the East. Both showed themselves partisans of their beliefs by issuing a joint edict in 346 by which temples just be closed down and sacrifice was forbidden.

The West being under Constans, his territory included North Africa, where the Donatist controversy was in full spate and still spreading. He attacked these people vigorously and succeeded in largely rooting them out, but was unable to exterminate them. What became known as Donatism was a legacy from the persecution of the Christians by the Emperor Diocletian in 303 and 304.

The persecution included the destruction of churches and the confiscation of sacred books. It was the latter that gave rise to the Donatist dispute. Some of the clergy were less courageous than others and surrendered the copies of the Scriptures when ordered to do so, but the braver ones refused to give them up and became martyrs to the cause. The spark that ignited the explosion was the installation in Carthage of a new bishop, Caecilian, a man who, it was discovered had, been ordained by one of the *traitors* who had surrendered the Scriptures during the persecution and was thus, from the strictly orthodox point of view, guilty of mortal sin. The ordination was therefore claimed to be invalid, so a *properly* ordained bishop, Majorinus, was created to supplant him. This split the North African Church into two parties, with Donatus, a very able cleric, leading the orthodox group (On the death of Majorinus, Donatus himself became Bishop of Carthage). A special Synod was held in Arles in 314, under imperial control, to settle the schism, and it was decided, on the question of ordination, that the Donatists were in the wrong; in other words, that ordination was valid even if conducted by an unworthy cleric.

The Donatists obstinately refused to yield, so their churches were closed and their bishops banished. Later, Constantine regretted his edict whereby Christians were persecuting Christians, and ceased using force. The Donatists thereupon began to increase in numbers until, as mentioned above, the attacks of Constans. It took the Moslem invasion ultimately to remove them.

#### THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY (*Continued*)

Under the combined rule of Constans and Constantius, the Arian dispute increased, spreading from its own locality to the whole Empire. Both Emperors agreed to let the exiled bishops return. By the end of 334 it was known that Athanasius was again in Alexandria. The situation was only exacerbated when, in 339, Eusebius received promotion to the Bishopric of Constantinople, thus augmenting his already strong influence in the East. He immediately used that influence to have Athanasius driven out of Alexandria. An Arian bishop was installed in his place. The eviction was performed by the Army, so Athanasius was forced to flee to Rome.

Although the Empire was jointly ruled by the two Emperors, it was in fact divided, and in the West Constantius shrewdly respected the Nicene sympathies of his subjects. The actual division of the Empire then revealed itself by Julian, Bishop of Rome, employing it to welcome the fugitive, knowing he could do this without risk of interference by Constantius. In 340 a Synod was called in Rome and the opponents of Athanasius were summoned to appear, but Eusebius did not come. Athanasius was then judged to have been unjustly deposed. This drew a strong protest from the East where, in retaliation, Constantius supported a move to withdraw the Nicene formula from the creed.

The death of Eusebius at this time removed his powerful leadership from the anti-Nicene cause, as a result of which the two Emperors advised a General Council in 343 to resolve the discord. This meeting was to be recorded as the Council of Sardica (Sofia), but it was unable to be constituted, as the Eastern Bishops, seeing they would be fewer than the Western contingent and that Athanasius would be accompanying them, refused to attend. However, the opportunity was not wasted since the Western Bishops were able to pass some canons to their own advantage. The most important of them was that if an Eastern Bishop was deposed, as Athanasius had been, he might appeal to the Bishop of Rome, who could order a retrial. No other Bishop could succeed the deposed Bishop without Rome's consent. It may be noted how this affected favourably the growing primacy of the Roman bishops.

In 350 Constantius was murdered, so Constantius was now sole Emperor. Here was the great chance to end the Arian controversy and Constantius seized it by deciding that Athanasius was the chief enemy of peace. A Synod was held at Arles in 353 and another at Milan in 355. At both of these Constantius had his way by forcing the Western Bishops to abandon Athanasius in order that communion with the East could be resumed. There was some resistance and three Bishops, including the ancient Hosius of Cordova, were banished. Athanasius was compelled to begin his third exile. He found refuge among the monks in Egypt.

The word *ousia* (substance) was now forbidden to be used in any form because it was unscriptural. At Nice, in 359, Constantius at last secured an agreement in which it was stated: *we call the Son like the Father, as the holy scriptures call Him and teach*. In this manner was the old Nicene formula set aside and the Arians had their moment of victory. It was not to last, however, as Arian extremism offended the middle party of conservatives that had formerly been in disagreement with the Nicene formula, but had supported the Arians on the basis of the teachings of Origen. The conservatives were then in the mood to be persuaded by various hair-splitting compromises to desert the Arians and side with the Nicene party. Out of this fusion emerged slowly what might be called the New-Nicene party.

On the accession of Julian the Apostate, Athanasius was allowed once more to return to his post in the hope that he might cause further dissension among the Christians, thus aiding Julian's policy. On the contrary, Athanasius was so successful in converting people that he incurred imperial displeasure and was exiled for the fourth time.

The short reign of Julian was followed by the even shorter one of Jovian. The latter was a Christian and also did not occupy himself much with religious problems. Under these circumstances Athanasius again returned from exile. Shortly after the accession of Valens to the Eastern Empire in 364, Athanasius had to suffer his fifth and final exile, but he did not depart very far and was able to die in Alexandria in 373 honoured by his faithful followers.

The long, drawn-out struggles brought into being an imperial Church with imperial interference well established. There was to be one orthodox religion and dissension from it would rank as a crime. The Christians were at this time as intolerant as the pagans had been when they were in the

ascendant (see also *Apollinarianism*).

### ARIANISM IN THE GERMAN TRIBES

The German tribes along the Rhine-Danube frontiers were always a danger to the Roman Empire, yet their mutual proximity was the source of increasing intercommunication. Many Germans were enrolled in the Roman legions. It is thought that prisoners taken in various raids into enemy lands may have sown seeds of Christianity among the Visigoths who were north of the Danube.

It was Ulfilas, born of a Christian captive among the Goths around 310, who had the honour of playing a large part in their conversion. Attached to a Gothic embassy to Constantinople, he was consecrated Bishop by the Arian Bishop Eusebius and for seven years worked among the German tribes, spreading the Arian teachings. He is known to have translated at least part of the Scriptures into the Gothic language.

The tribes seem to have accepted Arian Christianity readily and it spread rapidly among those bordering on *Visigoth* country--*Ostrogoths*, *Vandals*, *Burgundians* and *Lombards*. These were in part Christianised even before the great invasions occurred. Such activity appears to point to others whose names have been lost. It is owing to previous conversion that, when the imperial frontiers were breached, large numbers of the invaders were not anti-Christian. This permitted the fall of the Western Empire to be, as it were, softened, so that much of value that it had to bequeath was able to survive.

The *Saxons*, being far removed from Roman civilization, remained obstinately heathen until the pressure applied by Charlemagne's campaigns more or less drove them into the fold. The Franks, however, were Catholic, owing to the conversion of Clovis, their King, by his Christian wife who was at that time one of the few Burgundians who were not Arians.

When the Burgundians became part of the Frankish Kingdom, they had already changed from Arianism to Catholicism. Justinian conquered the areas of the Vandals and Ostrogoths, which abolished Arianism in those regions. The final conversion of the Visigoths and the Lombards ended Arianism altogether.

### MONASTICISM: BENEDICT

The chaotic state of monastic life in the West needed reform. This was taken in hand by Benedict, who left his hermit's cave at Subiaco, near Rome, to rule a neighbouring monastery. The monks there refused to submit to proper discipline, whereupon he determined to found his own group. Around 529 this was accomplished at Monte Cassino. Before his death in 547 he had perfected his monastic Rule, which was to become famous all over the Christian world. Its success was due to his understanding of human nature combined with his splendid organizing ability.

Walker sums up in these words:

*His conception of a monastery was that of a permanent, self-contained and self-supporting garrison of Christ's soldiers. At its head was an abbot, who must be implicitly obeyed, yet who was bound in grave matters of common concern to consult all the brethren, and in minor questions the elder monks. None was to become a monk without having tried the life of a monastery for a year; but, once admitted, his vows were irrevocable... Worship was...the prime duty of a monk. Its daily common observance occupied at least four hours, divided into seven periods. Almost as much emphasis was laid on work. "Idleness is the enemy of the soul." Hence Benedict prescribed manual labour in the fields and reading. Some fixed time must be spent in reading each day, varying with the seasons of the year; and in Lent, books must be assigned with provision to ensure their being read.*

*These injunctions made every Benedictine monastery...a centre of industry, and the possessor of a library...In*

*general, Benedict's Rule was characterized by great moderation and good sense in its requirements as to food, labour, and discipline. It was a strict life, but one not at all impossible for the average earnest man.*

*(A History of the Christian Church, p.127)*

Its highest praise is that during the Middle Ages not only was it supported by the noblest men, but the noblest men were to be found as monks under its discipline.

In Toynbee's list of civilizations there are a few which did not persist, and these he calls abortive. The Celtic civilization was one of them, and thus its mystical asceticism did not succeed against the Roman Church in Britain under Benedictine influence, though the most famous of the British missionaries. Willibrord and Boniface, bore witness to its spirit.

### **AMBROSE AND CHRYSOSTOM**

Ambrose was born in Western Germany. He was educated in Rome, where his talents were recognized in that he gained (around 374) the appointment of governor over a part of Northern Italy, residing in Milan. Here an Arian bishop was in charge, but his death left the vacancy at the mercy of a theological battle between Arians and Niceneans. As was his duty as governor, Ambrose entered into the thick of the strife to maintain the peace. To his surprise, the crowd ceased their dispute at the sight of him and shouted: *Ambrose Bishop!* Before he could protest, he found himself elected Bishop of Milan, though at that time he had not even been baptized. In such mysterious ways is greatness sometimes thrust upon the best man.

Ambrose never looked back and did all he could to fit himself for the responsibilities of high ecclesiastical office. Being staunchly Nicene, he opposed Arianism wherever he found it. The administrative abilities that had made him a successful governor were now applied in the service of the Church. His somewhat domineering nature was indeed necessary in an age when the ancient traditions were collapsing and the Church had to survive. As a theologian, his sympathies lay with the Greek Fathers, but his writings appealed strongly to the many ascetics of that period. He died in 397.

Chrysostom belonged to the Eastern Empire, being born in Antioch about 345. A magnificent orator, he was regarded as the greatest preacher the Eastern Church possessed. His sermons, mostly on social themes and the Christian life, obtained him multitudes of followers, but also highly placed enemies. His fame grew to such an extent that he was practically forced to accept the bishopric of Constantinople in 398. As so often happens to the eminently and deservedly successful, inimical feelings are aroused in envious contemporaries and the unscrupulous Bishop of Alexandria, Theophilus, became a dangerous foe. Theophilus was no lover of discipline and Chrysostom's strictness in his own life was therefore a source of annoyance to him, whilst the clergy of his diocese were known for their laxity.

Like John the Baptist, Chrysostom was a fearless and outspoken critic of sin in high places and seriously offended the Empress Eudoxia by tactless references to sartorial extravagances in women. At length the venom of his powerful enemies found a pretext for attacking him openly and at a synod. Theophilus managed to get him deposed and exiled to the borders of Armenia. Still exerting his immense influence from there by means of correspondence, he was banished further into the wilderness, but died on the way.

### **THE COUNCILS OF EPHESUS AND CHALCEDON**

Although the Council of Nicaea had settled much controversy about the Trinity, the problem of the divine and human constituents of the Christ did not come up at that time, as no one had thought to ask that question. Actually, it was the Eastern Church that worried about it, as the Western Church, through the farsightedness of Tertullian, already had a satisfactory general formula,

namely: *a conception of full deity and full manhood existing in Christ, without confusion and without diminution of the qualities appropriate to each.* This was a clear definition, but it had thorny points of philosophy in it that still had to be worked out.

The Western Church had the advantage of being united on their formula, but the Eastern Church was divided. At Alexandria the idea favoured was that the unity of Christ involved an absorption of the human side into the divine, whereas at Antioch the belief was that the human and the divine were each whole in themselves, and therefore suggested that there were two separate beings in Him. At this stage some deep research was necessary, and it was undertaken by a Syrian bishop, Apollinaris, whose talents were respected by all, even by his opponents. He was, however, so strongly anti-Arian that his teachings went to extremes.

The Rt. Rev. F. W. Pigott, author of *The Parting of the Ways*, has written on the leaders of the movements that were later declared to be heresy:

*APOLLINARIANISM: One of the most zealous... and perhaps the ablest, was a certain Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea, who in his eagerness to combat Arianism was led to deny the existence of a human will or reason (noes) in Christ's human nature, this being replaced by the infallible reason of the Word or Son of God. The orthodox contention was that Christ assumed human nature in its entirety, including the nous or reasonable soul, for only so could He be example and redeemer.*

*(Parting of the Ways, chapter 4)*

This was condemned at the Second General Council held at Constantinople in 381.

It is of common occurrence that when one extreme has been reached, the reaction against it is so violent that the pendulum swings to the other extreme, and this happened later (c.428) when a representative of the school of Antioch, Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, was responsible for a bias towards Arianism.

*NESTORIANISM: The historical rivalry between the two schools of Antioch and Alexandria... added fuel to this very heated controversy. Cyril, that very bitter arch-hunter of heretics, happened at the time to be Archbishop of Alexandria and he, with his usual keen scent for heresies, detected some false teaching in the refusal of Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, to apply the term mother of God (Theotokos) to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The term had come to be used without implying any denial of the perfect manhood of the Lord; its use was strictly in accordance with the generally allowed process of thought and speech by which the terms appropriate to one Person of the Blessed Trinity or to one of the natures in the Person of Christ were transferred to one another. The terms were by general consent interchangeable... But Nestorius, or rather his chaplain Anastasius, forbade its use... The followers of Nestorius claimed that by the use of the term Mother or Bearer of God the human nature of our Lord was denied. Cyril and his followers retorted that by refusing the title the Nestorians taught two Christs, two persons-one Divine and the other human.*

*(F. Pigott in Parting of the Ways, chapter 4)*

The violent nature of the contest having involved the whole Empire, the two Emperors, Theodosius II in the East and Valentinian III in the West, ordered a General Council to be held in Ephesus in 431. This was the Third General Council. One hundred and ninety bishops were present, three legates representing the Pope. Augustine was invited, but his death in Hippo occurred just previously. Nestorius and his followers were condemned for heresy and Mary was proclaimed the Mother of God. The leading offender was banished to upper Egypt.

The rival schools of Antioch and Alexandria were still in strong disagreement, but the Emperors insisted on a compromise. To bring this about, Antioch said it would abandon Nestorius and Cyril

offered some creedal concession: *We therefore acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ... complete God and complete man... a union of the two natures has been made, therefore we confess one Christ... The holy Virgin is Theotokos because God the Word was made flesh and became man, and from her conception united with Himself the temple received from her.* But some of Nestorius' followers refused to desert him and these found refuge in Persia, China and India. Some of their churches still survive in the Perso-Turkish borderlands and in India.

A compromise as forced as this could not last, and Alexandria and Constantinople were unfortunate in that they produced two Patriarchs as hostile to each other as the former prelates. Dioscurus of Alexandria and Flavian of Constantinople continued the fight at the first opportunity. Dioscurus wished to attack all the remaining representatives of the school of Antioch on the grounds of being Nestorian heretics. In this he relied on the support of the monastic party at the head of which was an abbot named Eutyches, an admirer of Cyril and what counted more, a friend of the favourite minister of the Emperor Theodosius II, Chrysaphius.

### EUTYCHIANISM

*Eutyches, determined to uphold the doctrine of Cyril, overbalanced himself... to stress the unity of Person in the Lord-Christ. He admitted that generally Godhead and manhood were entirely distinct but that in the particular Person of the Lord, the manhood was swallowed up or absorbed in the Godhead. The simile usually attributed to him is that the manhood became to the Godhead as a drop of vinegar in the ocean. This again was perhaps not so much a denial of the two natures in the one Person as an opening of the door to the possibility of such a denial.*

(Pigott: *Parting of the Ways*, chapter 4)

The case was referred to Pope Leo I by both parties, and in reply came the famous letter of 449 written to Flavius, whom he supported, and called the *Tome*. In it was set out clearly and forcibly the belief of the Western Church since Tertullian: In Christ were two full and complete natures which, *without detracting from the properties of either nature and substance, came together in one person.*

But Dioscurus was not giving up the struggle; Eutyches must be defended, as his defeat reflected adversely on the Alexandrians. Theodosius consented to another General Council at Ephesus in 449 and here Eutyches was vindicated and Flavius condemned. The Pope's letter was not allowed to be read, and this brought about a severance of long established relations between Alexandria and Rome. Leo denounced the meeting, so it does not feature in the list of accepted Councils, though the Emperor gave it his support. Dioscurus was triumphant. Leo had, however, some influence with Pulcheria, the Emperor's sister and when Theodosius II died the following year and she and her husband, Marcian, ascended the throne, the situation was reversed. A General Council was arranged in 451 at Chalcedon and this is regarded as the Fourth. It was an enormous conclave, about 600 Bishops attending and five papal legates.

Eutyches was condemned and Dioscurus deposed and exiled. A new creed was composed (see Appendix).

It was in this Council that the famous twenty-eighth canon was passed that gave:

*equal privileges to the most holy throne of New Rome, rightly judging that the city which is honoured with the sovereignty and the Senate enjoys equal privileges with the old Imperial Rome and should in ecclesiastical matters also be magnified as she is and rank next after her. In this manner, to the discomfiture of the papacy... Constantinople became for the East what Rome was for the West. The sole and independent leadership of the Eastern Church by the patriarchs of Constantinople was confirmed. The ecclesiastical authority of Rome in the East was thus for the first time limited.*

(Gontard, *The Popes*, p. 140)

## MONOPHYSITISM AND THE FIFTH GENERAL COUNCIL

The creed that emerged from the Council of Chalcedon was now of the utmost importance, since it was made the official creed of the Empire. It had one serious drawback in that it had a Western flavour, so the Eastern Empire felt it was too Nestorian. The school of Alexandria continued to emphasize the divine nature in Christ and this was backed up by Egypt, Syria, Armenia and a large proportion of the monks. It seems true to say that their type of mind was particularly receptive to the teachings of Cyril and Dioscurus because they did special honour to Christ. The creed of Chalcedon appeared to them to give an independent existence to the two natures, thus constituting a threat to the unity. So much stress did they place upon the unity in Christ that they were called Monophysites (one nature). The confusion of natures attributed to Eutyches was anathema to them.

This religious revolt in Egypt and Syria coincided with their desire for independence of Constantinople. This was strengthened by the contest between Zeno and the brother of the widow of the Emperor Leo I, Basiliscus, for the imperial throne. Basiliscus, as a political move to obtain Monophysite support for his claim, distributed in 476 an *Encyclion* severely criticizing the *Tome* letter and all that had proceeded from the Council of Chalcedon. Zeno, perhaps following the suggestion of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Acacius, counter moved with his Henoticon in 482, confirming the Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople and condemning the teachings of Nestorius and Eutyches, but leaving the declarations at Chalcedon deliberately obscure. Rome, insulted by the attitude taken over Chalcedon, excommunicated Acacius and broke off relations with the Eastern Church. The schism lasted until 519, when the Emperor Justin, in an effort to heal the breach, succeeded in soothing the injured feelings of the papacy, but only at the price of increasing the anger of the largely Monophysite rebellious regions.

The conquests of Justinian in Italy and North Africa brought him control of the Church, which was now little more than a state department. Being an excellent statesman and theologian, he set himself the task of interpreting the creed of Chalcedon in such a way as to settle the unrest in the East without re-opening the schism with the West. The solution of his difficulties was aided by the timely revival of the philosophy of Aristotle as applied to the theology of a monk, Leontius of Byzantium. Using Aristotelian terminology, he rid the interpretation of the creed of Chalcedon of its Nestorian two hypostases. The core of his teaching is that the Christ's human nature is real, but its centre is the Logos. This provided a possible basis for winning over the moderate Monophysites who formed the larger section of their group.

In 544 Justinian made a further move by condemning the theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who, a century before, had been head of the school of Antioch and Bishop of that see, and also other writings from that source. The creed of Chalcedon, he insisted, should remain as it was, but its interpretation should be according to Cyril and none other. The edict could not please Pope Vigilius, as the authority of the Council of Chalcedon was in doubt, but that mattered little to Justinian, as he was now in command of Italy and Vigilius feared him. His policy, however, needed official confirmation, so the Fifth General Council was summoned in Constantinople in 553. One hundred and sixty bishops were present but not Pope Vigilius, as he was in flight from the Emperor.

The condemnation of the theological writings of Antioch and their authors, and the formal declaration that Origen's philosophy was heretical, failed to gain the allegiance of the Monophysites, the largest groups of them in Syria and Egypt forming their own national Churches and staying obstinately hostile. The Muhammadan invasions found here ready material for absorption into the Islamic Empire.

## MONOTHELITISM AND THE SIXTH GENERAL COUNCIL

Under the menace of the Moslem invasions, it seemed vital to the Eastern Emperor, Heraclius, to secure unity in the Empire. Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, proved helpful in this, as he conducted negotiations over several years with the dissidents, employing the religious formula that in all that He did Christ acted by *one divine-human energy*. Opposition soon arose and Sergius, afraid of new disturbances, tried to forbid any further discussion on the subject and wrote to Pope Honorius requesting his advice. Honorius thought that the word *energy* was unsuitable as it was unscriptural, casually mentioning that Christ had one will. Thereupon, in 638, Heraclius asked Sergius to compose what he called an *Ekthesis*, by which all argument on one or two energies was to cease since *Christ had one will*. But the controversy had now gained momentum and it was found impossible to stop it.

John IV was now Pope and he declared, in 641, that the doctrine of one will (*Monothelitism*) was heresy. A new Emperor, Constans II, desiring to end what might turn out to be a mischievous dispute, issued in 648 his *Typos* declaring that discussions on Christ's will or wills were to be discontinued. By this time the Pope was Martin I, a man with great ambitions, and he seized the opportunity to spread the Western teaching that Christ's natures were each perfect and entire and at the same time assert the authority of the papacy in the East. The *Ekthesis* and the *Typos* were both condemned and the majesty of the Emperor defied. Constans, however, was not the sort of Monarch to submit to such an affront and Martin was arrested in 653 and brought to Constantinople to justify himself. His character was as strong and unyielding as that of the Emperor, so he was exiled to the Crimea where he died. Such an episode severely strained the relations between Constantinople and Rome.

In 668 Constans was succeeded by Constantine IV. As the forces of Islam were now in occupation of the Monophysite provinces, their pacification was no longer necessary, so Constantine negotiated with Pope Agatho for peace. The Sixth General Council was therefore held in Constantinople during the years 680-681. There were 174 bishops in attendance and three papal legates. The final decision was that Christ had *two natural wills or willings...not contrary to one another... but His human will follows, not as resisting or reluctant, but rather as subject to His divine and omnipotent will*. In the list of those condemned for the Monothelite doctrine appears the name of Pope Honorius.

## JEROME AND AUGUSTINE

At this time Jerome was the greatest scholar in Western Christendom, acquiring a knowledge of Hebrew in Palestine in a monastery in Bethlehem. He was able to be of inestimable value in translating the Scriptures. It was Pope Damasus who requested him to revise the current crude translations. The revision of the New Testament was finished by 388. For the translation of the Old Testament Jerome called on his Jewish friends in Bethlehem to assist him, as he wished to bypass the Septuagint and return to the sources. The Roman Church still uses his Bible, which is called the Vulgate.

His scholarship appears at its best in his Commentaries on the Scriptures and he also employed it in his historical writings. A traditionalist, he ably defended his beliefs against all comers. A typical summing up of present day critics is that he was great in learning but small in spirit, the "St." before his name being more applicable to the learning than to the man himself.

A satisfactory study of such a deep thinker as Augustine cannot be attempted in an outline like this; to obtain a proper perspective of the greatness of his genius it is necessary to read a good modern biography, such as Augustine of Hippo by Peter Brown. Augustine was Bishop of Hippo in Roman Africa from 396 to 430.

*His mind was the crucible in which the religion of the New Testament was most completely fused with the Platonic tradition of Greek philosophy; it was also the means by which the product of this fusion was transmitted to the Christians of mediaeval Roman Catholicism and Renaissance Protestantism.*

Although he went to Milan, where he was influenced by Ambrose, who was then its Bishop, his real training began in his own country where his Episcopal duties brought him first into close contact with the Donatist schism and afterwards with the Pelagian heresy (see next section). There is nothing as creative for the mind and as clarifying to its intellectual conceptions as being compelled to use its powers in a stirring defence of one's deepest convictions.

It is not certain when his masterpiece, *City of God*, was actually begun, but it certainly took physical form when Rome was captured by Alaric and it was finished around 426. Those who suffer from a national calamity on this scale are always ready to lay the blame for it anywhere but on themselves and in this case the reason for it was laid at the door of the exchange of the worship of the old gods for Christianity. Augustine's reply was *two cities have been formed by two loves: the earthly by love of self, even to the contempt of God; the heavenly by the love of God, even to the contempt of self*, (*City of God*, 14:28)

The author concludes that:

*those who make up the City of God are the elect whom God has chosen to salvation... It is, therefore, the visible, hierarchically organized church that is the City of God and must more and more rule the world. This it does, in Augustine's view, by its close relation with the Christian state... Between the church and the ideal state there will exist relations of mutual dependence and reciprocal obligation. Here is foreshadowed the medieval idea of the theocratic state.*

(Walker: *A History of the Christian Church*, p. 167)

One can discover in these two statements the particular assistance needed by both Roman Catholics and Protestants referred to above. To any Pope of more than ordinary ability, such as Gregory VII, here was a ready made foundation on which to build spiritual and temporal aspirations; to the Protestant involved in the problems of Divine Grace and predestination, here was a signpost along the road. In such indications one perceives the immense influence the thought of Augustine exerted in his own day and far beyond.

## THE PELAGIAN CONTROVERSY

It was in combating the *Pelagians* that Augustine's teachings on sin and Grace were clarified. Pelagius was a monk from the British Isles who had come to Rome sometime around 400 with a reputation for learning and high morality. His attitude is summed up in his own statement:

*As often as I have to speak of the principle of virtue and a holy life, I am accustomed first of all to call attention to the capacity and character of human nature and to show what it is able to accomplish; then from this to arouse the feelings of the hearer that he may strive after different kinds of virtue.*

(Ayer: *Source Book*, p. 458)

A staunch upholder of free will, he denied original sin and argued that man has within him the power not to sin. This may be achieved by justification by faith through Christ (One might be listening to St. Paul or Martin Luther). In the Augustinian theology, man is saved by Divine Grace not by his own strength.

When appealed to, Jerome caused Pelagius to be brought before Bishop John of Jerusalem, but the Bishop approved of his teaching and a later synod confirmed his orthodoxy. Augustine thereupon was the means of convoking two synods in North Africa, both of which condemned Pelagius and requested Pope Innocent I to support their findings. This he did, but his death shortly afterwards caused the election of a Greek who was unsympathetic to Augustine. The only thing left for the latter was to appeal to the Emperor Honorius and he condemned Pelagianism. Its final declaration

as a heresy was passed by the Third General Council at Ephesus in 431, as Nestorius was found to have given Pelagius some favourable attention.

### POPE GREGORY VII AND THE MISSIONARIES

The story of the greatest of the Popes is that of the right man in the right place at the right time. A man of his calibre was necessary after Justinian had asserted what might be called the primacy of the Emperor. But after Justinian, the control of the Emperors in Italy decreased and from 568 the threat of the Lombards in North Italy became ever more imminent. To cope with it Gregory had to be both Pope and Emperor in one. His defence of Rome was sufficiently adequate to preserve it. He realised, in company with some of his predecessors, that the Church needed saving equally from the pretensions of the imperial power and it is on the record that his feelings were expressed in the statement: *to all who know the Gospel it is apparent that by the Lord's voice the care of the whole church was committed to the holy Apostle and prince of all the Apostles, Peter (Letters 5:20).*

As mentioned above, Gregory was an admirer of Augustine, and was in a favourable position to apply and enhance Augustine's theology. Where Augustine's belief in purgatory was uncertain, Gregory made it a matter essential to the faith. There are certain remarkable people in history who seem to sum up all that has gone before in their particular field of activity, and from that firm basis direct the growth in that field which lies directly ahead. Gregory was one such person in the ecclesiastical sphere.

In the matter of spreading Christianity he was just as energetic and his name will always be remembered for his part in the conversion of England. Up to that time the heathen Anglo-Saxon invaders had swamped the small beginnings of Christianity in the south and east of that country. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, was ordained Bishop in 432 and laboured for the faith in that land until he died in 461. Columba performed similar service in Scotland, his centre being the island of Iona. Both men developed the monastic type of life. Irish missionaries then began to convert the Anglo-Saxons in Northumbria again choosing an island for a centre, Lindisfarne. Columbanus was also an Irish missionary, but his greatest work was achieved on the Continent, where he and his co-workers introduced the custom of private confession amongst the laity.

Gregory was eager to convert the pagans in the south of England and to that end sent another Augustine, who built his first church at Canterbury (St. Augustine of Canterbury). The plan was already made to send further missions north and to establish a second centre at York. The Anglo-Saxons therefore owed their conversion directly to Rome and repaid it with a devotion to the papacy that was not usually seen in the previously converted countries. They also produced some of the most famous missionaries to the Continent. Of these the best known are Willibrord and Boniface.

Willibrord was from Northumbria and set himself the task of converting the Frisians. Ordained Bishop in 695 by Pope Sergius I, he set up the see of Utrecht, a fact which is of great significance to the Liberal Catholic Church. Other than this, his work was not notable. Winfred, or Boniface, was a Devonshire man. Anglo-Saxon by birth, he was at home amongst the Germans in Hesse and Thuringia and even later, in Frisia. His success was so marked that he was made Bishop. In 744 he collaborated in the founding of the large Benedictine Monastery of Fulda, and eventually became Archbishop of Mainz, which was thus the most important see in Germany.

### ICONOCLASM AND THE FILIOQUE

In the seventh century the Eastern Empire had a relapse, but in 717, a resurgence occurred under the Emperor Leo III. Having a talent for administration as well as for war, he decided to take Justinian as his model and rule the Church as his predecessor did. As a step towards it, he supported a movement aimed at abolishing *superstition* by forbidding the adoration of holy pictures (icons) His philosophy was that the Church's concern was with the abstract, whereas the

Emperor's concern was the material, of which the Empire and its ruler were the embodiment. His theology was extreme Origenism in which the world of pure spirit is the correct field of activity of the Church and to this a picture or an image is an obstacle. So strong was the reaction to the edict that it had to be enforced by military pressure. Pope Gregory III joined the objectors and in 731 excommunicated the iconoclasts. Leo retaliated by the removal of Sicily and the parts of Italy over which he had control from papal jurisdiction. From that moment the papacy rejected all dependency on the Eastern Empire and this was the reason for the increased tendency to look for aid to the Franks.

The split between the Eastern and Western Churches, finally established in 1054, was, however, not due entirely to the icon controversy. There was also a subtle, but more powerful, doctrinal division that had yet again to do with the Creed. The Augustinian theology regarding the Trinity stated: *God the Father alone is He from whom the Word is born, and from whom the Holy Spirit principally proceeds. And therefore I have added the word principally, because we find that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son also.* The last words here form the origin of that fatal *Filioque*, cutting off all possible chances of reconciliation between East and West, even today proving an insurmountable barrier. It was Charlemagne who, when Holy Roman Emperor, supported the insertion of *Filioque* in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed.

APPENDIX  
THE DEFINITION OF THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON  
451 A.D.

*Therefore, following the holy Fathers, we all with one accord teach men to acknowledge one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, at once complete in Godhead and complete in manhood; like us in all respects, apart from sin; as regards his Godhead, begotten of the Father before the ages, but yet as regards his manhood begotten, for us men and for our salvation, of Mary the Virgin, the God-bearer (Theotokos); one and same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, recognized in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, without separation; the distinction of natures being in no way annulled by the union, but rather the characteristics of each nature being preserved and coming together to form one person and subsistence (hypostasis), not as parted or separated or separated into two persons, but one and the same Son and Only begotten God the Word, Lord Jesus Christ; even as the prophets from earliest times spoke of him and our Lord Jesus Christ himself taught us, and the creed of the Fathers has handed down to us.*