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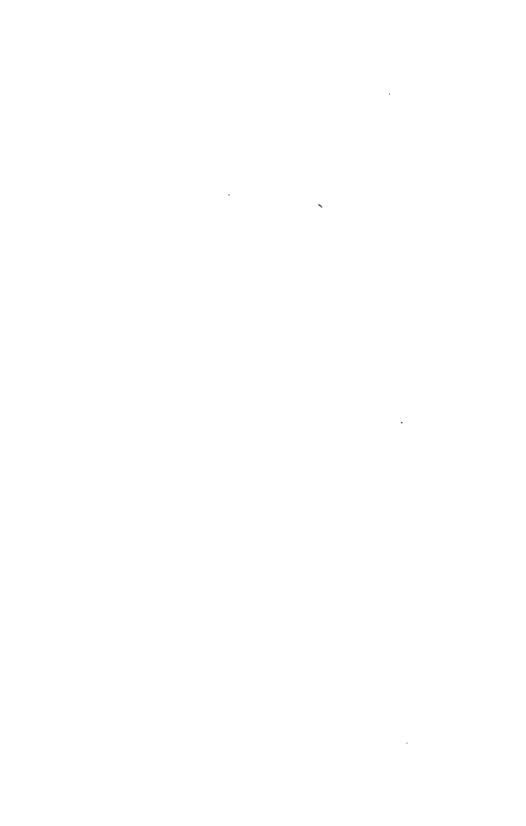
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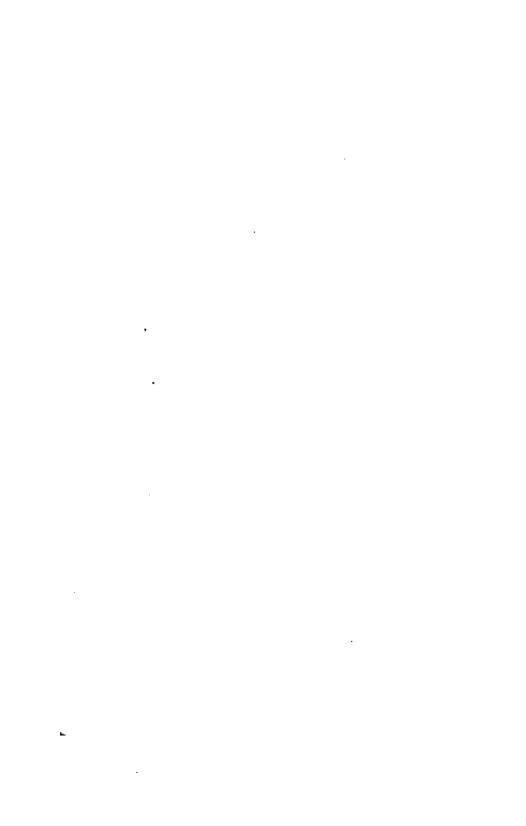






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# ROMAN FORGERIES

AND

# FALSIFICATIONS:

OR,

# AN EXAMINATION

OF

### COUNTERFEIT AND CORRUPTED RECORDS;

WITH

ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO POPERY.

BY THE

REV. RICHARD GIBBINGS, M.A.

------ Σώφρονος δ' ἀπιστίας Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν χρησιμώτερον βροτοῖς. Επειρ

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MDCCCXLIX.



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"Meum propositum est Antiquos legere, probare singula, retinere quæ bona sunt, et à fide Ecclesiæ Catholicæ non recedere." (S. Hieron. Ep. cxix. ad Minerv. & Alexand.)

"Architectus ego sum, sed materiam variè undique conduxi. Nec aranearum sanè textus ideò melior, quia ex se fila gignunt; nec noster vilior, quia ex alienis libamus, ut apes." (Justi Lipsii ad i. lib. *Politic*. Notæ. *Opp*. Tom. iv. p. 121. Antverp. 1637.)

# INTRODUCTION.

In entering upon the arduous task of reviewing the spurious and vitiated records connected with Christian antiquity, some preliminary remarks seem necessary, in order to explain the object of my undertaking. Our controversies with the Church of Rome may perhaps fairly be divided into *Theological* and *Historical(a)*; and it is chiefly the character of the evidence, adduced, in support of their system, by Papal advocates, which the following pages are intended to exhibit. Antiquity has been rightly reckened a note of the Church by Cardinal Bellarmin(b); but of course it will be acknowledged to be "then onely a rule of truth, when the pedegree of it can be fetched from the beginning(c);" for the maxim of Tertullian must ever be allowed: "id verius quod

<sup>(</sup>a) [Care's] Modest Enquiry, whether St. Peter were ever at Rome? p. 2. Lond. 1687.

<sup>(</sup>b) De Nott. Eccles. Cap. v. col. 212. Ingolst. 1601. Conf. Mortoni Apolog. Cathol. pp. 81-347. Lond. 1606.

<sup>(</sup>c) Wotton's Ronne from Rome, p. 86. Lond. 1624.

prius; id prius quod & ab initio(d);" and again: "id esse verum quodcumque primum; id esse adulterum quodcumque posterius(e)." "The main point is," (said our great Archbishop Laud(f)), "to show, succinctly, in what particulars the Church of Rome has most widely receded from the primitive Church, and to confirm the statement by irrefragable arguments;" and it was well observed by King James I., during the Conference at Hampton-court: "For my part, I know not how to answer the objection of the Papists, when they charge vs with Novelties, but truly to tell them that their abuses are New; but the things which they abused wee retaine in their Primitive vse, and forsake onely the Novell corruption(g)." The leading principle of the English Reformation was to approach, "as much as possibly we could, to the Church of the Apostles, and ancient Catholick Bishops and Fathers(h);" and "to depart no further from the Church of Rome than she had departed from the practice of the primitive Church(i)." To the truth

<sup>(</sup>d) Advers. Marcion. Lib. iv. C. v. Opp. p. 415. Lut. Paris. 1675.

<sup>(</sup>e) Adv. Praxeam, C. ii. p. 501.

<sup>(</sup>f) Life, by Le Bas, p. 377, note. Lond. 1836.

<sup>(</sup>g) Barlow's Summe of the Conference, pp. 74-5. Lond. 1625.

<sup>(</sup>h) Jewel's *Apology*, p. 124. Lond. 1685.

<sup>(</sup>i) See Neal's Hist. of Puritans, i. 38. Lond. 1837.

of this fact Grotius thus bears witness: "In Anglia vides quàm bene processerit dogmatum noxiorum repurgatio, hac maxime de causa, quod qui id sanctissimum negotium procurandum suscepere, nihil admiserint novi, nihil sui, sed ad meliora sæcula intentam habuere oculorum aciem(i)." It has ever been the wisdom of the Church of these countries to desire. in the language of Casaubon(k), that "per canalem antiquitatis deduci ad nos dogmata fidei è fonte S.S. derivata." With this statement agree the words of Bishop Bull(l): "norunt omnes, qui in historia nostra plane hospites non sunt, Reformationem nostram ad exemplar veteris Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in omnibus. quatenus fieri id potuit, atque ætas pateretur, conformatam fuisse." But I need not enlarge upon this characteristic of the English Church; whose profession of "greater reverence to antiquity (m)" than that entertained by other communions was the cause of her being styled by Puritans "the Church of the Tradi-

<sup>(</sup>j) Epist. ad Corvinum, ad fin. lib. De verit. Relig. Christ. curâ Clerici, p. 347. Amstel. 1709.

<sup>(</sup>k) Epist. civ. p. 88. Hagæ Com. 1638.

<sup>(1)</sup> Apolog. pro Harmon. Sect. i. Works, iv. 308. Oxford, 1827.

<sup>(</sup>m) De Cressy's Exomologesis, p. 86. A Paris, 1653. Cf. Fitz-Simon Britannomach. Minist. p. 40. Duaci, 1614.

tioners(n):" and we may gladly accept of the description given of our Reformation by the learned Mosheim; viz., that it was "illa quidem veteris religionis correctio, quae Britannos aeque a Pontificiis, atque a reliquis familiis, quae Pontificis dominationi renuntiarunt, seiungit(o)."

Thus far with regard to the general features of our doctrines, the model of our Church polity, and the main design of our Reformers. I have now to speak of the two ways in which Romanists lay claim to a strict adherence to the ancient faith. One is that, in compliance with Bulls of Pope Pius IV.,(p) they pledge themselves never to interpret Scripture, "nisi juxta unanimem consensum Patrum;" and the other is that, for the reception of their peculiar tenets, they boast of the perfect sanction of the primitive Church.

With respect to the first point, the utter extravagance and impiety of an oath(q), which their Church could not for an instant suffer to be kept by

<sup>(</sup>n) Strype's Life of Parker, ii. 284. Oxf. 1821. Compare Ivimey's Life of Milton, p. 44. Lond. 1833.

<sup>(</sup>o) Institutt. Hist. Eccles. sæc. xvi. p. 772. Helmst. 1755.

<sup>(</sup>p) Cherubini Bullar. Tom. ii. p. 97. Romæ, 1638.

<sup>(</sup>q) Featley's Appendix to the Fisher's Net, p. 173. Lond. 1624.

her members, when we oppose them in debate(r), is so manifest as not to require more than an allusion to it. Let us see, by a few extracts, whether our writers appear to be afraid to meet their Romish or any other adversaries on this ground, or not.—Cranmer's belief was that "we ought to interpret the Scriptures in conformity to the sense of the Antients(s)." This feeling was of course produced by his agreement with Ridley that "we have (hygh prayse be geuen to God therfore) moste playnly, euidently, and clearly on oure side, all the Prophetes, all the Apostles, and vndoubtedly all the aunciente Ecclesiasticall writers whiche haue written vntyll of late yeares paste(t)." "The present question is," (says Stillingfleet,) "how far Tradition is to be allowed in giving the sense of Scripture between us. Vincentius saith, we ought to follow it when there is Antiquity, Vniversality, and Consent. This we are willing to be tryed by (u)." Instead of acknowledging that the Church of Rome has "followed in the track of even

<sup>(</sup>r) Take for an example the disputable meaning of S. Matth. xvi. 18; about which verse may be read the Catena Aurea of Aquinas.

<sup>(</sup>s) Collier's Eccles. Hist. ii. 56. Lond. 1714.

<sup>(</sup>t) Letters of Martyrs, foll. 30, 31. Lond. 1564.

<sup>(</sup>u) The Council of Trent examin'd and disprov'd by Catholick Tradition, Part i. p. 23. Lond. 1688.

the earliest Fathers(v);" or, with preposterous flippancy, granting that Popery "might fairly represent itself as a reform upon early Christianity(w)," our Divines have continually rejoiced in the conviction that the Fathers "must be trusted, but yet as men(x):" that "the very doctrine of the Scriptures themselves, as they had been constantly understood and believed by all faithful Christians" (y), "is at this day intirely professed in our Church(z);" which founded "its Reformation on the Prophets and Apostles only, according to the explications and traditions of the ancient Fathers (a)." It is certain "that we reverently receive the unanimous Tradition or Doctrine of the Church in all ages, which determines the meaning of the holy Scripture, and makes it more clear and unquestionable in any point of Faith, wherein we can find it hath declared its sence. For we look upon this Tradition as nothing else but the Scripture

<sup>(</sup>v) Perverted Tradition the bane of the Church. A Sermon, by the Rev. Josiah Pratt, BD., p. 6. Lond. 1839.

<sup>(</sup>w) [Taylor's] Ancient Christianity, 1. 79. Lond. 1839.

<sup>(</sup>x) Calfhill's Arnswere to the Treatise of the Crosse, fol. 120. Lond. 1565.

<sup>(</sup>y) Sanderson's Sermons; ad Clerum v., p. 6. Lond. 1681.

<sup>(</sup>z) Ussher's Sermon preached before his Majestie, p. 27. Lond. 1631.

<sup>(</sup>a) Heylyn's Histor. & Miscell. Tracts, p. 34. Lond. 1681.

unfolded: NOT A NEW THING, WHICH IS NOT IN THE SCRIPTURE; BUT THE SCRIPTURE EXPLAINED, AND MADE MORE EVIDENT(b)." "We believe the concurring judgment of Antiquity to be, tho' not infallible, yet the safest comment upon Scripture(c):" "which rule the Reformers of the Church of England proposed to themselves to follow(d):" "nothing was more remote from their intention than indiscriminately to condemn all Tradition(e):" and "they who refuse to be tried by this rule . . are justly to be suspected; nay, it is evident that they are broaching some novel doctrines which cannot stand this test(f);" inasmuch as "where the question is concerning an obscure place of Scripture, the practice of the Catholic Church is the best commentary (g)." "The principle on which we separated from the Roman Church was, not that we had discovered any new views of Scripture doc-

- (b) [Patrick's] Discourse about Tradition, p. 11. Lond. 1685.
- (c) Waterland's Vindication of Christ's Divinity, p. 458. Cambr. 1719.
  - (d) Chillingworth's Works, p. 285. Lond. 1742.
  - (e) Bp. Kaye's Tertullian, p. 302. Cambr. 1829.
- (f) Leslie's Works, Vol. i. pp. 71-2. Oxford, 1832. Compare The primitive Creed examined and explained, by Bp. Hopkins, (of Vermont,) Pref. p. vii. Burlington, 1834.
- (g) Bp. Taylor's Works, by Heber, vi. 521. Lond. 1828. See his Advice to his Clergy, in Randolph's Enchir. Theol. i. 348. Oxf. 1825.

trines, but that we desired to return to the primitive confession, the views held by the Apostles, and early Fathers of the Church(h)." "If we reject Scripture, we reject the very basis of theological belief: if we reject Antiquity, we reject all historical evidence to soundness of interpretation(i)." To these testimonies I may fitly add the command given to Preachers by the Upper House of Convocation, in the year 1571:—"They shall in the first place be careful not to teach any thing in their Sermons, to be religiously held and believed by the people, except that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old or New Testament, and which has been deduced from the same doctrine by the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops(j)."

Having shown that the defenders of our Church

- (h) Rose's State of the Protestant Religion in Germany, p. 21. Cambridge, 1825. Compare Bretschneider's Apology for the modern Theology of Protestant Germany, p. 46. Lond. 1827; and Mr. Rose's Appendix to his work, pp. 78-81. Lond. 1828.
  - (i) Faber's Prim. Doctrine of Election, p. 13. Lord. 1836.
- (j) Sparrow's Collection, p. 238. Lond. 1671. Vid. Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. P. i. p. 107. Oxford, 1824. Life of Parker, ii. 57. 1b. 1821. Cosin's Hist. of Transubstantiation, p. 7. Lond. 1676. Scriveneri Apolog. pro S. Patt. p. 57. Lond. 1672. Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 238. Lond. 1671. Patrick's Discourse about Tradition, p. 15. Lond. 1685. Waterland's Works, v. 317. Oxf. 1823. Routh Reliquiæ Sacræ, Vol. i. Præfat. p. xiv. Oxon. 1814. Bp. Mant, on the Book of Common Prayer, p. 340. Oxford, 1820.

dread not an appeal to antiquity, for the discovery of the sense of Scripture, we have next to consider whether they be not equally ready to meet their Romish opponents on the ground of the historical test of disputed tenets. To this trial we are told that, if we submit, our "ouerthrow is certaine," and, if we refuse it, our "flight is shamefull(k);" and Bishop Challoner defies us to name a single Pontifician "that ever confessed any one of the orthodox Fathers to be contrary to" their party "in any one article controverted" between us(1). As to the habitual and candid confessions of most of these gentry, the less that is said the better for themselves: but the resolute language of our writers in offering to abide by the judgment of the primitive Christians, and the subterfuges of our adversaries to evade this fair criterion of their doctrines, are matters which need but little demonstration.

That the decision of the Fathers is not to us "precarious and uncertain(m)," and that the peculiarities

<sup>(</sup>k) The Protestants Apology for the Romane Church, p. 72. Anno 1604. This is the first edition of this famous book, the author of which was Brereley, or rather Anderton. See Dodd's Church Hist. of England, ii. 386. Brussels, 1739.

<sup>(</sup>l) The unerring Authority of the Catholic Church, p. 301. Dublin, 1829.

<sup>(</sup>m) Hawarden's Charity and Truth, p. 210. Dubl. 1809.

of Romanism cannot "bee justified by the testimonies of either God or man(n)," may appear from the unquestionable result of the Challenge(o) by him who was called "the worthiest Divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years (p)." This justly celebrated and unanswerable demand of Bishop Jewel for "any one cleere or plaine clause or sentence" from Scripture, Councils, or Fathers, during six centuries, in support of twenty-seven distinctive points of Popery, is sufficient to lead us to conclude "that we may repose ourselves in the antiquity of the Christian Catholic Church of England (q): and, if we really believe our Religion to be "the same with that of the early Christians, Martyrs, and Confessors(r)," we must not decline the terms on one occasion proposed by Cranmer: "I sayde I woulde be judged by the olde Church, and which doctrine could be proued the elder, that I would stand vnto(s)." Our ambition as individuals should be to be able to declare with confidence about each Romanistic innovation: "Nullam

<sup>(</sup>n) Synge's Rejoynder to the Iesuite's Reply, p. 236. Dubl. 1632.

<sup>(</sup>o) Heylyn's Hist. of Reform. Q. Eliz. pp. 129-30. Lond. 1661.

<sup>(</sup>p) Vid. Hooker, ii. vi. 4.

<sup>(</sup>q) Strype's Parker, ii. 218.

<sup>(</sup>r) [Hascard's] Discourse about the charge of Novelty, p. 5. Lond. 1683.

<sup>(</sup>s) Letters of Martyrs, fol. 13. Lond. 1564.

in hoc judicio Antiquitatem refugio; nullum Concilium, nullum Patrem, nullum omnino synceræ Vetustatis monimentum repudio(t);" and it should ever be our desire to retain and deserve the character given by Buddeus of members of the English Church: "apud hosce maxima est Patrum auctoritas (u):" for we may be persuaded that "as long as the Church of Rome is in existence, no Church that differs from her is safe, without the armour of the knowledge of the Fathers(v)." We must not shrink from "the downright meaning and fairnesse(w)" of an appeal to antiquity; but must insist that, if the modern articles of the Papal Creed be examined by this rule, we "shall finde not one of them catholike(x):" for "the doctrines and practices in dispute between us and the Church of Rome were either never taught, or actually condemned by those primitive Fathers(y);" and, though Papists perpetually boast of the "great aduantage" they " haue by the writings of the ancient Fathers; how highly" they "esteeme them; what

- (t) Whitakeri Opp. Tom. i. p. 13. Genev. 1610.
- (u) Isagog. Hist.-Theol. i. 514. Lips. 1730.
- (v) Evans's Biography of the early Church, p. 406. Lond. 1837.
- (w) B[ailey]'s End to Controversie, p. 310. Doway, 1654.
- (x) Fulke's Reioynder to Bristows Replie, p. 74. Lond. 1581.
- (y) [Sherlock's] Discourse conc. a Judge of Controversies, p. 14. Lond. 1686.

confidence" they "place in them;" how they "appeale to them for decision of" their "controuersies; and how small respect, on the other side," we "Hæretiques shew either to their persons or writings(z);" yet, doubtless, by this "their impudencie, more then by any other deuice, they have seduced the world(a)." "To shade their owne shame, they would impose that on vs which we neuer imagined in thought, but themselues have openly practised in deed, in the view of the whole world. And yet glorie vnder pretence of Antiquitie, as if they onely entertained, and we cashiered the Fathers; when, in very deed and truth, themselues abuse them most intollerably, reject them most contemptuously, raile on them most contumeliously, and entertaine them onely as mercenary souldiers, for present necessitie, not to advance them to dignitie, or preserve them in honour(b)." Our opponents "know right well that the Fathers make nothing for them; and therefore they are soone weary of this course of tryall, as often as they are brought to it(c)." "They reduce all to their church, and to

<sup>(</sup>z) [Jennison's] Paire of Spectacles, pp. 404-5. An. 1631.

<sup>(</sup>a) White's Way to the true Church, p. 169. Lond. 1624.

<sup>(</sup>b) Favour's Antiquitie triumphing over Noveltie, pp. 216-17. Lond. 1619. Cf. Rob. Baronii Ad Turnebulli Tetragon. Pseudogr. Apodix. p. 251, sqq. Abredon. 1631.

<sup>(</sup>c) Field, Of the Church, p. 749. Oxford, 1628.

themselues; and neither care for scriptures, nor tradition, nor councels, nor fathers, but as it seemeth good to their church to approoue and like them (d):" whereas "We do not only believe all that is written in the Law and the Prophets, but we worship the God of our Fathers; of the Fathers of the first and purest ages of the Christian Church. We are not only content to make use of their authority in these matters, but we make our appeal to them; and have begged our adversaries, ever since the Reformation, to prove the points in difference between us by the testimony of the first six hundred years: but, from

(d) Abbot's Defence of the Reformed Catholicke, Part i. p. 95. Lond. 1611. According to the old formula of the oath prescribed for Romish Bishops, they were sworn to maintain "Regulas sanctorum Patrum." (Vid. Greg. Decretall. ii. xxiv. iv. Bruckeri Hist. Crit. Philos. iii. 713. Lips. 1766. Burnet's Vindic. of Ordinat., in Gibson's Preservative, i. 276. Lond. 1738. Ant. Augustini De emend. Grat. Dial. p. 184. Paris. 1607.) These words appear in the new and enlarged form also: but, on account of their position having been changed, and the more Papal terms "Regalia sancti Petri" having been put in their first place, [Pontificale Rom. De consec. elect. in Episc. Venet. 1572: Antverp. 1663.] many persons have thought that the adjuration was corrupted, when it was only amplified. See the Conference between Rainoldes and Hart, p. 46. Lond. 1584. Du Moulin's Papal Tyranny, p. 47. Lond. 1674. Mason's Works, by Lindsay, p. 467. Lond. 1734. [Stratford's] Necessity of Reformation, Part ii. p. 15. Lond. 1686. Barrow, Of the Pope's Supremacy, p. 35. Lond. 1680. Cf. Binii Concill. Tom. iii. P. ii. pp. 262, 357. Colon. Agripp. 1618.

that time to this, they are as far from proving any one point as ever they were(e)."

The Jesuit Campian thus begins the seventh article of his Challenge to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge: "Pristinam Ecclesiæ faciem historia prisca retegit. Huc prouoco(f)." He then proceeds to enumerate the chief Ecclesiastical historians, among whom are preeminent: Eusebius, Damasus, Hieronymus, Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomenus, Theodoretus, Marianus, Sigebertus, and Nicephorus. "Quid narrant?" he inquires: "Nostrorum laudes, progressus, vicissitudinem, hostes." Perhaps one of the best modes of displaying the futility of the Romanistic reference to antiquity, and of exemplifying the "Prodiga Jesuitarum Liberalitas in vocibus universalibus(g)," with regard to the Fathers, and other authors, will be to prove that every one of these writers is rejected, without compunction, by those who vaunt of their concurrence with them.

- "Eusebius . . Arianismo semel malè imbutus . . . multa mentitus est(h)."—" Necessariò affirmandum
- (e) Stillingfleet's Sermon on Acts xxiv. 14., p. 45. Lond. 1674.
  - (f) Opuscula, p. 32. Mediol. 1625.
  - (g) Vide librum Jacobi Laurentii, Amstel. 1618.
  - (h) Baronii Præfat. in Tom. i. Annall. Eccles.

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est Eusebium esse mentitum(i)."—"Epiphanius scribit, in omnibus opusculis, potissimum historicis, fuisse Arianum, ac duplicis animi(j)."—"An non etiam absurdum est, ut qui infidelis Ecclesiæ fuerit, ei fidem Ecclesia in rebus Ecclesiasticis habeat(k)?"—"Nec curandum est de opinione et Historia Eusebii(l)."

- "Pontificalis liber, qui Damaso tribuitur, dubiæ in hac re auctoritatis  $\operatorname{est}(m)$ ."—"Quæ fertur nomine Damasi breviter texta series Vitarum Romanorum Pontificum, alterius potiùs quàm ipsius esse opus, alibi diximus, ac sæpiùs inculcavimus(n)."—"Hujus libri Pontificalis Damasus auctor non  $\operatorname{est}(o)$ ."—"Quæ nomine Damasi fertur brevis series Vitarum Romanorum Pontificum, alterius fuit, non hujus Damasi(p)."
- "Nec enim verum est, in libris Canonicis decernendis, Ecclesiæ regulam esse Hieronymum." "At
  - (i) Baron. ad an. 324. §. xlviii.
  - (j) Possevini Biblioth. Select. Lib. i. C. xxv. p. 105. Romæ, 1593.
- (k) Melch. Cani Loc. Theol. Lib. xi. Cap. vi. p. 380. Salmant. 1563.
- (1) A Paramo, De orig. et progress. Off. S. Inquisit. p. 436. Matriti, 1598.
- (m) Bellarmin. De Rom. Pont. L. ii. C. v. col. 735. Ingolst. 1601. Of course it does not now concern us to determine whether he be right, or not.
  - (n) Baron. ad an. 384. §. xxi.
  - (o) Binii Concill. Tom. i. P. i. p. 19. Colon. Agripp. 1618.
  - (p) Possevini Apparat. Sac. T. i. p. 410. Colon. Agr. 1608.

Hieronymus dubitat. Certè, ut dubitasset, non proinde nostram hanc certam indubitatamque fidem ambiguam efficere potuisset(q)."—"Hieronymum . . memoria lapsum(r)."—"Hæc igitur cùm ex Eusebio Hieronymus exscripserit, majorem illi quàm par erat fidem tribuit(s)."—" Ego, ut ingenuè fatear, plus uni summo Pontifici crederem, in his quæ fidei mysteria tangunt, quàm mille Augustinis, *Hieronymis*, Gregoriis(t)."

- "Mera divinatio fuit illa Ruffini, quem sequitur Calvinus(u)."—" Quàm jejunè et haud in omnibus tutâ fide cuncta percurrerit, quæ recensita sunt superiùs facilè monstrant(v)."—" Quòd verò Ruffinus asserit, ex Patrum traditione eos libros [sc. Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom!] à Canone rejiciendos, (pace lectoris dictum sit,) Patrum traditiones ignoravit(w)."
- "Ad testimonium Socratis dico, Socratem hæreticum fuisse Novatianum, neque ejus testimonium in dogmatibus ullius esse momenti(x)."—" Claudicat
  - (q) Cani Loc. Theol. Lib. ii. Cap. xi. pp. 45, 53.
  - (r) Baronius, ad an. 34. §. clxxxi.
  - (s) Baron. ad an. 60. §. lii.
- (t) Corn. Mussi Comment. in Ep. ad Rom. Cap. xiv. p. 606. Venet. 1588.
  - (u) Bellarm. De Rom. Pontif. L. ii. C. xiii. col. 760.
  - (v) Baron. ad an. 395. §. xli.
  - (w) Cani Loc. Theolog. L. ii. C. xi. p. 46.
  - (x) Bellar. De Cultu Sanctt. L. iii. Cap. x. c. 1102.

veritas in Socrate, sectæ Novatianorum addicto, et Sozomeno, eadem tincto fuligine(y)."—" Mihi . . Socratis scholastici minùs historia placet(z)."—
" Tanta hæc Socrati testanti præstanda est fides, quanta ceteris hæreticis de suis dogmatibus tractantibus(a)."

"Neque enim ignoramus Sozomenum in historia multa esse mentitum(b)."—"Sozomenus multa alioqui mentitur(c)."—"Hallucinatur planè Sozomenus(d)."—"Quàm manifestè deliret . . erit perfacile demonstrare(e)."—"Hæc dicta à Sozomeno pluribus vides conferta esse mendaciis(f)."—"Equidem Sozomeni mendacia non excuso(g)."

"Theodoretus ille de aliis quibusdam erroribus in Concilio Ephesino notatus fuit(h)."—"Ex his videas, (quod necessariò dicendum est,) Theodoretum haud feliciter (ejus pace sit dictum) assecutum esse Pauli

- (y) Baronii Præf. in Tom. i. Annall.
- (z) Cani Loc. Theol. Lib. xi. C. vi. p. 381.
- (a) Baronius, ad an. 56. §. xxvi.
- (b) Bellarm. De Pænitent. Lib. iii. Cap. xiv. c. 1395.
- (c) Greg. de Valentia, De Cælibatu, C. vi. p. 237. Opp. Lut. Paris. 1610.
  - (d) Baron. ad an. 384. §. xxix.
  - (e) Bar. ad an. 56. §. xxvii.
  - (f) Baron. ad an. 400. §. lxi.
  - (g) Cani Loc. Theol. xi. vi. 381.
  - (h) De Valentia, De Transubstant. L. ii. C. vii. p. 514.

verborum sensum(i)."—" Illiusmodi errantium patrocinia historiæ elevant et auctoritatem et fidem(j)."

"Fasciculum temporum, et Passionale meritò contemnimus; præsertim cùm Fasciculus ille Marianum Scotum sequutus sit, qui secum ipse(k), et cum veritate apertissimè pugnat(l)." The reason for Marianus being held in such sovereign contempt, for contravening truth, probably is that he is said to have been the "primus princeps et inventor(m)" of the extraordinary narrative of Pope Joan.

"Una solùm superest calumnia Sigeberti." "Quid Gregorius jusserit, longè melius et fidelius refert B. Anselmus, Sigeberto antiquior et sanctior(n)."— "Antequàm autem ulteriùs progrediamur, conveniendus est nobis Sigebertus; atque de re magni momenti ab eo ratio exposcenda. Erit lector, ut cùm audieris, mox illud more tragico exclamare cogaris, O scelus, ô impostura, ô fraus(o)!"

- "Non tam miramur Nicephorum errore lapsum,
- (i) Baronius, ad an. 60. §. xx.
- (j) Canus, Loc. Th. p. 381.
- (k) Vid. Congnard, Traité touchant la Papesse Ieanne, p. 198. A Saumur, 1655.
  - (1) Bellarm. De Rom. Pont. Lib. ii. C. v. col. 733.
- (m) Florimondi Ræmondi Fabula Ioannae, p. 155. Colon. 1614.Cf. Allatii Confut. Fabul. p. 34. Colon. Agripp. 1645.
  - (n) Bellar. De R. Pontif. L. iv. Cap. xiii. c. 1016.
  - (o) Baron. ad an. 774. §. xiv.

quàm apud aliquos fidem invenisse(p)."—" Magis mirum est, inveniri non paucos errores in rebus historicis, ut ex Annalibus Card. Baronii constat(q)."
—" Quantum auctor ille mereatur fidei, ab aliis æstimari malo, quàm à me dici : mihi semper audacior est visus(r)."

Such is a fair sample of the tergiversation of Romanists, when we meet them on the ground of which they speak so arrogantly. There is another matter, in which I am especially interested, but upon which this is not the place to dilate; as a right judgment respecting it can only be formed by attention to particulars, and to disquisitions similar to those in which we are soon to engage. I allude to the momentous fact that "the chiefest aduantage of Romish Aduersaries doth consist in falsifications(s):" that they "are compelled to forge Authours, to impose false expositions vpon the Texts of Fathers, sometimes to abridge, sometimes to inlarge the Tomes of Councells, and to purge and corrade Ecclesiasticall writers,

<sup>(</sup>p) Bar. ad an. 325. §. vi.

<sup>(</sup>q) Bellarm. De Scriptt. Eccles. in Niceph. Call.

<sup>(</sup>r) Maldonati Comment. in Luc. Præfat. col. 831. Lut. Paris. 1651.

<sup>(</sup>s) Morton's Preamble vnto an Incovnter with P. R., p. 128. Lond, 1608.

old and new(t)." It shall be my endeavour to demonstrate that these assertions are not "peeuish and fonde surmises (u);" but that Pontificians are really guilty of what is allowed to be an "abominable" (v)crime; and that their "errours, which overflowed Christendome in darkenes of superstition, haue bene most authorised by forged deedes, and bastard writings, begotten by some varlets, and fathered on the Doctors(w)." We shall see that many an advocate of Popery, "employing his labours lewdly," "counteth it his glory to make counterfeit things(x);" and it will frequently not be very difficult to mention the person, "qui mendacii aut malæ fidei Romanos arguerit(y)." It is evident that "corruptions and abuse of ancient Fathers may be of three sorts: either by foisting into the Editions bastard Treatises, and intitling them to the Fathers; or by falsifying their undoubted Treatises by additions, detractions, or mutations; or lastly, by alledging passages and

<sup>(</sup>t) White's Replie to Iesuit Fishers Answere, p. 125. Lond. 1624.

<sup>(</sup>u) Stapleton's Fortresse of the Faith, p. 177. S. Omers, 1625.

<sup>(</sup>v) [Hawarden's] True Church of Christ, Part i. p. 37. An. 1714.

<sup>(</sup>w) Somme of the Conference between Rainoldes and Hart, p. 196. Cf. Pref. p. 25. Lond. 1584.

<sup>(</sup>x) Wisdom xv. 8, 9.

<sup>(</sup>y) Costeri Enchirid. Controv. p. 133. Colon. Agripp. 1599.

places out of them, which are not extant in their workes: and of all these three kindes(z)" we justly accuse those, who, in dealing with the records of early times, have gained unenviable notoriety by "putting out those things that have made against them, and supplying the same with some commentitiall forgeries of their owne braines(a)."

The utmost caution will of course be requisite in the attempt to decide upon the integrity or illegitimacy of the authorities adduced against us. Any one anxious to investigate spurious, depraved, or doubtful documents, must be prepared to assume "periculosæ plenum opus aleæ;" and his feeling should continually be: "Incedo per ignes suppositos cineri doloso." He must expect to find that obscurity will often overspread his devious and intricate path:

"Quale per incertam lunam, sub luce malignâ, Est iter in sylvis; ubi cœlum Jupiter umbrâ Condidit, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem."

If we were too hastily to denounce and condemn testimonies unfriendly to our cause, we could not reasonably reprove the Socinian Priestley for having thus tried to subvert the credit of witnesses of our

<sup>(</sup>z) Sir H. Lynde's Case for the Spectacles, by Featley, p. 64. Lond. 1638.

<sup>(</sup>a) Coryat's Crudities, ii. 396. Lond. 1776.

Lord's Divinity: "Admitting the pieces ascribed to them to be genuine in the main, they bear evident marks of interpolation in what relates to this subject(b):" and, if we desire a warning as to the necessity for wariness in our procedure, we may obtain it from a modern writer, who, with transcendent valour, has declared: "These books of the Machabees are not canonical, but are complete forgeries; and were composed by Monks, in the dark and leaden ages of the Church(c)." [!]

It will also be absolutely needful for us to aim at perfect candour; and, "Tros Rutulusve fuat," to commend or censure each one with whom we may be concerned, according to his desert: assured that by such conduct alone we can expect upon our employment the blessing of  $\operatorname{Him}$ , who is the "God of  $\operatorname{truth}(d)$ :" and, "whilst we exclaim against the pious frauds of the Roman Church, and make it a part of our Religion to detect and renounce all things of that kind, we must acknowledge it a greater crime in us to favour such practices, than in the Papists we

<sup>(</sup>b) Tracts in controversy with Bp. Horsley, p. 472. Lond. 1815.

<sup>(</sup>c) Third Pamphlet, by the Rev. L. J. Nolan, p. 48. Dublin, 1838.

<sup>(</sup>d) Psalm xxxi. 5.

so much blame on that account; for they act according to their Religion, but we contrary to ours(e)."

Since "it is a foolish thing to make a long prologue, and to be short in the story itself (f)," it becomes me to quicken the end of my exordium: and I beg, in conclusion, to state, as a safeguard against severe criticism, that, in consequence of protracted interruption, the ensuing portion of my task has been completed in a very inadequate space of time: and I cannot look forward to the speedy publication of what is to follow; as, through the kindness of the heads of my College, it is now my lot to undertake the important duties of a Parish, in a remote part of Ireland, and at a great distance from any public Library. The most plausible excuse which I can make for my own deficiencies is this: "Res ardua, vetustis novitatem dare, novis auctoritatem, obsoletis nitorem, obscuris lucem, fastiditis gratiam, dubiis fidem(g):" and, if I be reprehended for contaminating my native tongue, by the troublesome admixture of exotic words and sentences, I have only to say, with Sir Thomas Browne: "I confesse, the quality of the

<sup>(</sup>e) Isaaci Newtoni, Eq. Aur. Opp. curâ Horsley, Tom. v. pp. 495-6. Lond. 1785.

<sup>(</sup>f) 2 Macc. ii. 32.

<sup>(</sup>g) C. Plinii Nat. Hist. Lib. i. p. 6. Paris. 1685.

subject will sometimes carry us into expressions beyond meere English apprehensions (h);" and surely, the idea of a translation of the Latin passages being indispensable to, or even at all expedient for those, to assist whose studies I have written, would not be very complimentary to their attainments.

- (h) Vulgar Errors, To the Reader. Lond. 1646.
- 6, TRIN. COLL. DUBLIN, July, 1842.

## ROMAN

### FORGERIES AND FALSIFICATIONS.

#### D. N. JESUS CHRISTUS.

The Epistle to our Saviour, attributed to Abgarus(a), King of Edessa, in Syria(b), and the supposed Reply of our Lord may be seen in Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. Cap. xiii. pp. 32, 33. Paris. 1659. Vid. etiam Testament. S. Ephræm Syro adscript. Opp. edit. Voss. p. 600. Antverp. 1619. Procopius Cæsariensis, De Bell. Pers. Lib. ii. C. xii., (in whose case I must refer, not to the Latin collection of his works, Basil. f. 1579, in which the whole history of this matter is omitted, but to the Greek, first published by David Hæschelius, p. 64. Aug. Vind. 1607; to the edition by Cl. Maltretus, p. 118. Paris. 1662; or to that by

 <sup>(</sup>a) Vid. Ezech. Spanhemii Dissert. de præst. & usu Numismat.
 p. 86. Amstel. 1671.

<sup>(</sup>b) S. Matth. iv. 24. Conf. Grabii Spicileg. Tom. i. pp. 3, 325.
Oxon. 1714. Fabricii Cod. Apoc. N. Test. T. i. p. 317.\* Hamb.
1703.

Dindorfius, Bonnæ, 1833.)—Nicephorus Callist. *Eccles. Hist.* Lib. ii. Cap. vii. p. 143. & Lib. xvii. C. xvi. p. 759. Lut. Paris. 1630.

These Epistles are spoken of favourably by Grabe(c), Cave(d), and Bp. Montague(e); and are considered genuine, or quoted with approbation, by Baronius(f), Gretser(g), the author of the Golden Legend(h), Petrus de Natalibus(i), A Schelstrate(j), De Tillemont(k), Asseman(l), and others.

- (c) Ut sup. p. 319.
- (d) Hist. Lit. Tom. i. pp. 2, 3, Oxon. 1740.
- (e) Origg. Eccles. Pars post. p. 63. Lond. 1640. Joannes Strauchius, in his Amæn. Jur. Canon., reproves Bp. Montague\* for having adduced, in defence of his opinion, an Epistle of Darius Comes, the 263rd amongst those of St. Augustin, whereas, he informs us, there are but 222 extant; and the same accusation is repeated by Reiskius, who says: "ceteras ignoramus." (De Imaginibus Jesu Christi, p. 32. Jenæ, 1685.) However, the charge is quite unfounded; for this Epistle is numbered 263, inter S. August. Opp. Tom. ii. p. 367. Antverp. 1576. Edit. per Theol. Lovan. It is the 264th in the Supplem. Opp. S. Augustini, ab H. Vignier ed. Tom. i. p. 508. Paris. 1654.; and the 230th, ed. Bened. Tom. i. col. 838. Paris. 1679.
  - (f) Ad an. 31. n. 60. Annall. T. i. p. 84. Lucæ, 1738.
  - (g) De Imagin. Cap. iii. pp. 181-2. Opp. Tom. xv. Ratisb. 1741.
- (h) Jacobi de Voragine Hist. Lombard. De S. Thoma Apost.
  fol. x. Basil. 1490. Conf. Pseudo-Abdiæ Apost. Histor. Lib. ix.
  fol. 102. Paris. 1566. Fabricii Cod. Apoc. N. T. Tom. ii. p. 688.
  Hamb. 1703. Baronii Martyrol. die Julii 3. p. 279. Antv. 1613.
- (i) "Si quando gens aliqua contra eandem civitatem [sc. Edessam] venit, die qua lecta fuerit epistola per puerum super murum,

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;A person of remarkable learning and moderation." (Memoirs of Panzani, publ. by Rev. Jos. Berington, p. 237. Birmingham, 1793)

In the Synod of seventy Bishops, said to have been held at Rome, in the year 496(m), Pope Gelasius is reported to have decreed: "Epistola Jesu ad Abagarum apocrypha. Epistola Abagari ad Jesum apocrypha" (n). With regard to the decision of this

eadem die hostes territi fugiunt, aut pacati recedunt." (Catal. Sanct. Lib. vi. Cap. xliii. fol. cxlvi. Lugd. 1519.)

- (j) Antiq. illustrat. P. ii. pp. 370-72. Antuerp. 1678.
- (k) Mem. pour servir à l'Hist. Eccles. Tom. i. p. 401. A Paris, 1693.
- (1) Biblioth. Orient. Tom. i. p. 554. Romæ, 1719. Conf. Excerpta, ad fin. Cavei Hist. Lit. p. 16. Tom. ii. Append. Oxon. 1743.
- (m) Pagi (Crit. in Annall. Baronii, Tom. ii. p. 446. Colon. Allob. 1705.) has proved that this is the right date, and not 494, as has been almost universally supposed. Ussher says that the latter year was fixed upon by Binius, "absque ullo veterum vel codicum vel authorum testimonio:" (Britann. Eccles. Antiquit. p. 247. Lond. 1687.) nevertheless, it has been chosen by himself, in the "Catalogue of Authors alleaged," both in his Answer to a Challenge, and in his Discourse of the Religion professed by the ancient Irish.
- (n) I copy these words from a MS. of the twelfth century.—The latter clause, viz., "Epistola Abagari ad Jesum apocrypha," is wanted in Ivo's Liber Decret. ii. fol. xlvii. [Basil.] 1499.; nor is it to be found in Gratian's Decretum, (Dist. xv. C. Sancta Rom. Eccles.) printed either separately, or as part of the Corpus Juris Canonici, Lugd. 1509, 1584, & 1671. Paris. 1521, 1587, & 1687. Antverp. 1648.: but the entire passage is in Burchard's Decret. Lib. iii. Cap. ccxxi. fol. 79. Colon. 1548.; in Merlin's Concilia, Tom. i. fol. 202. Paris. 1524.; Concill., per Crabbe, Tom. i. fol. 537. Colon. 1538.; Surii Concill. Tom. ii. p. 321. Colon. Agripp. 1567.; Nicolini Concill. Vol. ii. p. 462. Venet. 1585.; Binii Concill. Tom. ii. P. i. p. 502. Colon. Agripp. 1618.; Concill. Collect. Regia, Tom. x. p. 214. Paris. 1644.; Concill. Labbei et Cossartii, T. iv. col. 1265. Lut. Paris.

perplexing Council, Cave declares: "Decreti istius nemo ante annum 840. meminit." (Hist. Lit. Tom. i. p. 463.) Bishop Pearson(o), in reply to Daillé, who had cited it as the authoritative sentence of one, "summam in Ecclesia dignitatem suo sæculo gerentis" (p), asserts that the earliest mention of it is made in the Chronicon Centulense(q), in which, in the Catalogue of books there given, we read: "Gelasii Papæ de libris recipiendis & non recipiendis." This Inventory was written in the year 831; but in the Opus Caroli Magni, "contra Synodum pro adorandis Imaginibus" (r), composed about the year 790, I find this Decree referred to, and the Epistles in question thus condemned: "Quæ duæ Epistolæ, cùm à sancti Evangelii lectione sint penitus extraneæ, et à beato Gelasio, Romanæ urbis Antestite, vel à cæteris æquè catholicis et orthodoxis viris inter apocryphas scripturas prorsus deputatæ, non sunt in testimonium quodammodò producendæ"(s).

- 1671.; & Concill. Amplies. Collectio, à Mansi, T. viii. col. 152. Florent. 1762.
- (o) Vind. Ignat. apud Cotelerii Patt. Apost. Vol. ii. p. 292. Amstel. 1724. Mosheim's Eccles. Hist., by Murdock and Soames, Vol. i. p. 464. Lond. 1841.
- (p) De Lib. suppos. Dion. Areop. & Ignat. Ant. p. 249. Genevæ, 1666.
  - (q) D'Achery Spicileg. Tom. ii. p. 311. Paris. 1723.
  - (r) Prohib. in Ind. Trident. p. 40. Antverp. 1570.
- (s) Lib. iv. C. x. p. 529. [Paris.] 1549. Ed. à Joanne Tilio, Episc. Meldens.; [whom Harding ignorantly calls "the man in the Moones sonne." (Bp. Jewel's *Defence of Apol.* p. 621. Lond.

Erasmus speaks thus of these Epistles(t):— "Inscriptiones illæ impudentissimæ." (*Præfat. in* Tom. iv. *Opp.* D. Hieron. p. 7. Basil. 1565.)

Melchior Canus also rejects them. (*Loc. Theol.* Lib. xi. C. 6. p. 379. Salmant. 1563.)

Bellarmin says that the Epistle to Abgarus would doubtless have been admitted by the Church among

1609.)] Vid. Dallæus, De usu Patrum, p. 109. Genev. 1656. Dorschei Collat. ad Concil. Francof. p. 90. Argent. 1649. Dallæus, De Imagin. L. iv. p. 386. Lugd. Bat. 1642. Simon, Critique de la Biblioth. par Du Pin, Tome ii. p. 122. A Paris, 1730. Fabricii Bibl. med. et inf. Latin. Lib. iii. pp. 945-6. Hamb. 1734. Fabricii Bibl. Græc., curâ Harles. Vol. xii. pp. 735, 740. Hamburg. 1809. Colomesii Opp. p. 826. Hamb. 1709. Conf. Imper. Decret. de cult. Imag. collecta à Melch. Haiminsfeld. Goldasto, pp. 496-7. Francof. 1608. Reiskii Exercit. de Imag. Christi, p. 45. Jenæ, 1685. Chemnicii Exam. Conc. Trid. p. 701. Genev. 1634.

(t) Sent, in 1506, by Christoph. Scheurlus, (the author of Sacerdotum Defensorium, 4to. [Norimbergæ, Conf. Panzer, vii. 449.7 1511.) from Bononia, to Charit. Pirchamera, at Nuremberg. With them, and other Opuscula, was associated an Epistle of Pilate to Tiberius, which Fabricius (C. Apoc. N. T. Tom. i. p. 300.\*) thought was first printed in 1668. The learned Dr. Thilo (Codex Apocr. Tom. i. pp. cxxxvi-vii. Lips. 1832.) describes two editions of this rare collection by Scheurlus, in his possession; Landshut. s. a. & Nurnberg. 1515. I have got two, different from his:-one work, "impressum necnon completum Lijptzk," 1507; (probably the editio princeps;) and the second, Nurenberg. 1513. From both may be corrected the erroneous reading of "famen," for "tamen," which embarrassed Fabricius. It occurs at the end of this Epistle of Pilate, which is extant in Barthol. Chassanæi Catal, gloriæ Mundi, p. 171. Genevæ, 1649; and in Gronovii Præfat. in Taciti Opera, p. 2. Traject. Bat. 1721. Conf. Thilo, pp. 801-2. ut sup.

the Canonical Scriptures, "si ab ipso Domino scriptam fuisse constaret." (*De Scriptt. Eccles.* an. 34. p. 21. Colon. 1684.)

Costerus informs us that "Eusebius refert Christum dedisse literas ad Abagarum Regem, sed neque illæ propria Christi manu extant, neque unquam ab Ecclesia pro ejusmodi acceptæ sunt." (*Enchirid. Controvers.* p. 43. Colon. Agripp. 1599.)

Natalis Alexander maintains that "Epistolæ Abgari ad Jesum, & Jesu ad Abgarum, supposititiæ sunt, & apocryphæ." (In Hist. Eccles. sæc. i. Dissert. iii. Tom. iii. p. 85. Paris. 1699.)

Du Pin thinks "it is probable that Eusebius credited those Records that were exhibited to him too easily, as also, that these Letters are forged, and that this whole History is fabulous." (*Hist. of Ecclesiast. Writers*, Vol. i. p. 31. Dublin, 1723.)

Ceillier calls these Epistles "pieces fausses & supposées." (*Hist. Generale des Auteurs Sacrés & Eccles.* Tom. i. p. 475. A Paris, 1729.)

Simon says: "I am apt to believe that these Letters were really found in the Archives of the City of Edessa; but we ought not too easily to give credit to the first Originals of Churches: every one strives to advance their Antiquity as much as is possible, and they make no scruple on such occasions to counterfeit Acts, when they have none that are true." (Crit. Hist. of New Test. Part i. p. 20. Lond. 1689. Conf. Sixti Senensis Biblioth. Sanct. Tom. i. p. 149. Venet. 1575. De Beausobre, Hist.

Crit. du Manicheisme, Tom. i. p. 341. A Amsterd. 1734. Basnage's History of the Jews, B. i. C. vii. p. 48. Lond. 1708. Sam. Basnagii Exercit. Histor.-Crit. p. 432. Ultraj. 1692. J. L. Moshemii Inst. Hist. Christ. maj. sæc. i. p. 99. Helmst. 1739. Morton's Cath. Appeale for Protestants, p. 196. Lond. 1610. Wake's Apostol. Fathers, Prelim. Disc. pp. 4-8. Lond. 1833. Gatakeri Præloq. in Marci Antonini de rebus suis Libros. Traj. ad Rhen. 1697.)

An account of the Seal of the Letter to Abgarus may be read in Georg. Cedreni *Histor. Compend.* p. 145. Basil. [f. 1566.] & Pet. Lambecii *Comment. de Biblioth. Vindobon.* Lib. v. p. 9. Vindob. 1672.

Du Pin (ut sup. p. 32.) observes: "But in regard that these Fables are always augmented in process of time, it hath been likewise feigned that Jesus Christ, in writing to Agbarus, sent him his Picture drawn on an Handkerchief" (u).

(u) "Illud tamen a nobis silentio prætereundum neutiquam est, sacratissimam videlicet Imaginem hanc ab Edessenorum ciuitate Constantinopolim, atq; in Vrbem deinde translatam, condigno ad hæc nostra tempora venerationis cultu in D. Siluestri, quæ in Capite nuncupatur, Ecclesia, veluti diuinum quid, ac perenne sacrarum imaginum monimentum, pariter ac propugnaculum aduersus insanos Iconoclastas asseruari, & suspiciendam fidelibus, adorandamque proponi." (Aringhi Roma Subterranea, Tom. ii. p. 454. Romæ, 1651.)—"They pretend to shew us here at Rome, two original impressions of our Saviour's Face, on two different handkerchiefs; the one, sent a present by himself to Agbarus Prince of Edessa, who by letter had desired a picture of him; the other, given by him at the time of his execution, to a Saint, or

The following statement is made, in relation to Abgarus, by Pope Gregory II., (or III., according

holy woman, named Veronica, upon a handkerchief, which she had lent him to wipe his face on that occasion: both which handkerchiefs are still preserved, as they affirm, and now kept with the utmost reverence; the first in St. Silvester's Church; the second in St. Peter's; \* where in honor of this sacred relique, there is a fine altar built by Pope Urban the VIIIth, with the statue of Veronica herself." (Middleton's Letter from Rome, pp. 174-5. Lond. 1742. See A Popish Pagan the Fiction of a Protestant Heathen, pp. 172-4. Lond. 1743.) It appears that Veronica is indebted for her existence to the fact of the name Vera Icon, or, true Image, being given, in the middle ages, to this pretended likeness of the Saviour. Matthew Paris (Hist. Angl. p. 290. Lond. 1640. Ed. Wats.) mentions "effigiem vultus Domini, quæ Veronica dicitur;" and Mabillon says: "Hee Christi imago à recentioribus Veronice dicitur: imaginem ipsam Veronicam veteres appellabant"†. (Iter Italicum, p. 88. Lut. Paris. 1687.) Mr. Butler, therefore, had reason to acknowledge that "some private writers and churches have given the name of St. Veronica to the devout woman, who is

<sup>\*</sup> Aringhus, ut sup. p. 455. Pamelii Adnotat. in Apologet. Tertulliani. Opp. p. 102. Paris. 1635.

<sup>†</sup> The following is the commencement of the Antiphon, "ante faciem Christi Iesu, alias ante Veronicam:"—"Salue sancta facies nostri redemptoris, in qua nitet species diuini splendoris: impressa panniculo niuei candoris, dataque Veronicæ signum ob amoris." (Horæ in laudem Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ, ad usum Romanum, fol. 168. Paris. 1549.) In my copy of the Hore diue Virginis Marie, beautifully printed on vellum by Kerver, 8vo. Paris. 1503, sig. L 8, Veronica is exhibited holding the handkerchief on which the supposed likeness is depicted. Conf. Kortholti Disquisit. Anti-Baron. p. 319. Lips. & Hamb. 1708. Dr. Wiseman says that he has "never met" with the above address. (Letters to John Poynder, Esq., p. 6. Lond. 1836.) It is rather too bad that our adversaries should require to be taught by us the contents of their own books of Offices: but none are so blind as those who don't wish to see.

to Labbé(v):) "Epistolam scripsit ad Christum, qui manu sua responsum, & sacram gloriosamque faciem

said to have presented this linen cloth to our divine Redeemer; but without sufficient warrant." (Lives of the Saints, Vol. i. p. 53. Dublin, 1833.) A picture of the handkerchief, held by an Angel, is in Haeften's Schola Cordis, p. 482. Antverp. 1699.; and it is impossible to avoid admiring the quietness with which Pope Benedict XIV. informs us that "sive Veronica fuerit pia femina. quæ Sudarium faciei Domini admovit, sive Veronica unum & idem sit cum ipso Sudario, certum est, Sudarium insignissimam esse Reliquiam, & multis abhine sæculis cultum in basilica Vaticana obtinuisse." (De Serv. Dei Beat. Opp. Tom. iv. p. 326. Venet. 1788.) There is a Commentarius historicus de S. Veronica in Bollandi et Henschenii Acta Sanctorum, die 4 Feb. Tom. i. pp. 449-57. Antverp. 1658. Conf. Henschenii et Papebrochii Act. Sanctt. Maii, Tom. vii. p. 356. Ib. 1688. Jac. Phil. Bergomensis Supplem. Chronic. Lib. viii. an. 34. p. 140. Brixie, 1485. Rainoldi De Rom. Eccles. Idolol. Lib. ii. p. 486. Ed. an. 1598. Text-Book of Eccles. History, Vol. i. p. 45. Philadelphia, 1836. Auream Legendam. De passione Domini, sig. i 2. Argent. 1492. Stillingfleet's Defence of the Discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome, pp. 657-61. Lond. 1676. Pet. Molinæi Iconomachum, pp. 195-7. Sedani, 1635. Ottii Exam. perpet. in Annales Baronii, Cent. i. p. 109. Tiguri, 1676.

Cornelius Curtius gives copies of several ancient representations of the Saviour, in his book, De Clavis Dominicis, pp. 39-71. Antverp. 1670.—The Benedictines of Vendôme lay claim to the possession of a tear, shed by our Lord at the death of Lazarus. (See Keysler's Travels, Vol. ii. p. 93, note. Lond. 1757.) M. Thiers published a Dissertation against this Relic, 12mo. Paris, 1699; to which Mabillon replied, in 1700; (Hist. Litt. de la Congreg. de S. Maur, [par Tassin,] p. 258. A Bruxelles, 1770.) and, in the same year, an answer to him was composed by M. Thiers, of whose two works I have a reprint, at Amsterdam, in 1750.—They who wish to read of other similar Relics may consult [Dr.

suam ad eum misit" (w).—Pagi(x) assigns the year 730 as the date of this Epistle of Pope Gregory; and this testimony is so modern as not to require much consideration.

About the same period, John Damascen writes thus: "fertur autem et quedam historia quod dominus Abagaro Edesenorum ciuitatis regi, qui pictorem miserat, vt domini similem pingeret imaginem, non valente autem pictore ob resplendentem faciei sue claritatem, ipse vestimentum sue faciei diuine et viuifice applicans,

John Patrick's\*] Devotions of the Roman Church, p. 31, and Appendix, pp. 2, 3. Lond. 1686, second edition; which is superior to the first, Ib. 1674; and the excellence of the volume has earned for it the title of an "infamous libel" from Mr. Manning, in his Answer to Leslie's 'Case stated,' p. 114. Dublin, 1839.—Vid. etiam The Man of Sin, Book 2. pp. 135-7. Lond. 1677. "Reliquiæ sacræ Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ," apud Johannis Glaston. Chronica, ed. Hearn. Vol. ii. p. 447. Oxon. 1726. Bp. Mant's History of the Church of Ireland, Vol. i. pp. 78-80. Lond. 1840. Innocent. P. III. De sac. Altar. myst. Lib. iv. Cap. xxxi. fol. 66. Lips. 1534. [Staveley's] Romish Horseleech, pp. 52, 73, 80. Lond. 1674. Zornii Opusc. sac. Tom. ii. pp. 534-5. Altonav. 1731. Anatomie de la Messe, par P. Du Moulin, p. 221. A Genève, 1640. Aug. Manni Select. Hist. pp. 263-88. Romæ, 1612. Jo. Bapt. Signii Reliquiarium, pp. 3, 4. Bonon. 1610. Hospinianus, De Templis, p. 125. Tiguri, 1603.

- (v) Dissert. De Scriptt. Eccles. Tom. i. p. 396. Paris. 1660. Conf. Fabricii Bibl. Græc. xii. 734. Cavei Hist. Lit. i. 620.
- (w) Ep. i. ad Leon Isaur. apud Baron. ad an. 726. Tom. xii. p. 348. Lucæ, 1742.
- (x) Crit. in Baronii Annall. Tom. iii. p. 207. Colon. Allob. 1705.

in vestimento suiipsius imaginem abstersit, et sic desideranti misisse Abagaro." (De Orthodoxa Fide, Lib. iv. Cap. xvii. fol. 99. Paris. 1507.) We may dispose of this witness, without taking notice of the time in which he lived. In the first place, he seems to speak doubtingly: " $\phi \epsilon \rho \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota \delta \epsilon \kappa \alpha \iota \tau i s i \sigma \tau o \rho \iota a;$ " (fol. 120. Veronæ, 1531.) for, in the words of Casaubon(y), "quis ita loquitur de re certo comperta?" and, secondly, Damascen is known to have been so credulous, that his evidence is not always relied on by Roman Catholic writers(z).

- (y) Exercit. xiii. ad Baronii Annales, p. 258. Genevæ, 1654. Elsewhere Damascen is more positive; for he says: "Sermone superioribus temporibus per manus tradito, qui ad nos usque pervenit, constat, Augarum illum Edesæ Regem," &c. (Adversus Imag. Oppug. Orat. i. foll. 18, 19. Apud Ald. Venet. 1554.)
- (z) Conf. Baronii Annall. ad an. 31. n. lxxv. p. 88. Lucæ, 1738. Bellarmin. De Purgat. Lib. ii. Cap. viii. De Scriptt. Eccles. p. 147. Colon. 1684. With respect to the passage in Baronius, which I have just referred to, Casaubon tells us: "Hic verò conditor Annalium magnam omninò promeritus est laudem, eo judicio, quod super libris Damasceni de Imaginibus fecit. Verè enim pronuntiat, in multis ejus scriptis fidem vacillare, & compluribus ipsum scatere mendaciis." (Exercit. xiii. p. 270. Genev. 1654, & 1663. Conf. Joh. Gerhardi Patrologia, p. 500. Jenæ, 1653.) Cave also, (H. L. i. 624.) Kortholt, (Disquis. Anti-Baron. p. 34. Lips. & Hamb. 1708.) and Gerard John Vossius (De Histor. Græc. Lib. ii. C. xxiv. p. 145. Amstel. 1699.) give the Cardinal credit for his candour. But their panegyric has been originated by their own mistake: for the word "scriptis" is here put instead of "scripti," which is in all the editions that I can meet with; and the expressions are not directed against Damascen, but are opposed to the Historia Chronica

In the fifth Act of the second Council of Nice(a) the story of the Image sent to Abgarus is alleged; and Gretser, anxious to uphold its authenticity, declares: "Gelasius nunquam imaginem ipsam apocryphis deputavit; quidquid tandem sit de Epistolis. Et Concilium II. Nicænum non Epistolis, sed imagine Edessena(b)

of Joannes Malalas,\* from which [pp. 306-8. Oxon. 1691.] Damascen, in his third Oration, "adversus Imaginum Oppugnatores," [foll. 77, 78. Venet. 1554.] had extracted the Petition, presented to King Herod, by the woman of Paneas, (who had been cured of an issue of blood, S. Matth. ix. 20.†) asking for his permission to erect a statue, in honour of the Lord.—After having written this note, I have looked into the Lex Talionis of H. Rosweydus, and see that, for the above misdemeanor, he has assailed the "crassam ignorantiam, vel fraudem potiùs" of Casaubon: (p. 44. Antverp. 1614.) a copy of whose "Exercitations," with his MS. marginal notes, is preserved in Abp. Marsh's Library, Dublin; and in this volume, p. 305. Lond. 1614, the correct reading "scripti" appears: but the author has not removed his error. Conf. Jac. Cappelli Vindic. pro Is. Casaubono, col. 10. Francof. 1619. Ussher's Letters, p. 32. Lond. 1686. Eudæmon-Joannis Refut. Exercit. Is. Casauboni, pp. 114, 139-40. Colon. Agripp. 1617.

- (a) An. 787. Vid. Concill. General. Tom. iii. p. 561. Romæ, 1612.
- (b) Vid. "Constantini Porphyrogennetæ Imperatoris Narratio de divina Christi imagine Edessena ad Augarum missa," apud Combess Origin. Rerumque Constantinop. Manipul. pp. 75-101.

<sup>\*</sup> Not Malala, [Vid. Moshemii Inst. Hist. Eccles. sæc. vi. P. ii. p. 239. Helmst. 1755.] as Bentley has shown in his Epistle to Mill, p. 77, &c. ad fin. Vol. Conf. Wesselingii Præfat. in Herodoti Histor. ed. Schweighaeuser. Tom. i. p. xxxi. Argent. & Paris. 1816.

<sup>†</sup> Conf. Nicodemi Evangelium, Cap. vii. apud Fabric. C. Apoc. N. T. Tom. i. p. 252. Thilo, Tom. i. pp. 560-63. Stillingfleet's Defence of Discourse concern. Idol. in Church of Rome, pp. 521-26. I.ond. 1676.

nititur." (De Imagin. non manufact. Opp. T. xv. p. 192. Ratisb. 1741.) How far we may depend on the authority of this Synod let us discover from the frank confession of the learned Pagi:—"multæ apocryphorum quisquiliæ à septimæ Synodi Patribus probatæ, qui in sacrorum librorum critica rudes erant." (Crit. in Annall. C. Baron. an. 56. p. 47. Lut. Paris. 1689.)

The narrative of the fabled Image of Edessa is brought forward as genuine by Card. Gabr. Palæotus, (De Imag. Sac. & Prof. Lib. i. p. 119. Ingolst. 1594.) Baronius, (Ad an. 31. n. lxi. Conf. Hen. Spondani Epitomen, p. 18. Mogunt. 1618.) Bellarmin, (De Imagin. Sanct. Lib. ii. Cap. x. col. 967. Disputt. Tom. ii. Ingolst. 1601.) Joannes à Chokier, (Apologet. adv. Sam. Maresii librum, "Candela sub modio posita per Clerum Romanum," p. 21. Leodii, 1636.) Robertus Lamberti, (Diva Virgo de Cortenbosch, p. 29. Leod. 1656.) Joannes Baptista Casalius, (De veter. Christian. rit. Cap. iii. p. 18. Romæ, 1645: Cap. ii. p. 17. Ib. 1647.) Joannes Molanus, (De Hist. S. Imag. Lib. i. Cap. vi. p. 64. Lugd. 1619.) Jo. Jac. Chiffletius, (De Lint. sepulch. Christi Crisis Hist. Cap. xxxiii. p. 200. Antverp. 1624.) Matthæus Raderus, (Viridarii Sanctorum Pars i. p. 267. Monach. 1614.) Alphons. Paleotus, (Hist. admir. de Jesu Christi stigmatibus,

Paris. 1664. Gallandii *Biblioth. vet. Patt.* Tom. xiv. pp. 120-132. Venet. 1781. Conf. Haymonis *De Christian. rer. mem.* Lib. ii. Cap. v. sig. A vii. Colon. 1531.

p. 44. Duaci, 1616.) Joan. Giacchettus, (Iconologia Salvatoris, Romæ, 1628.) Pet. Wadingus, (Tract. de Incarnat. Disp. xii. p. 539. Antverp. 1636.) M. Kellison, (Reply to Sotcliffe, fol. 124. Rhemes, 1608.) Gabr. Vazquez, (De cult. adorat. Lib. 2. p. 142. Mogunt. 1614.) [R. Broughton,] (Iudgement of the Apostles, p. 168. Doway, 1632.) Jo. Steph. Durantus, (De ritib. Eccles. Cathol. Lib. i. Cap. v. p. 22. Lugd. 1596.) Tho. à Walden, (Doctrinal. antiq. Fid. Vol. vi. Cap. cl. fol. cccxi. Paris. 1523.)

Evagrius Epiphaniensis(c), who lived at the end of the sixth century, is the earliest author who can be named, in favour of this Image(d); of which, "non modo non in Eusebii Actis Edessenis, sed neque in S. Ephremo, neque in alio aliquo Syrorum scriptorum veteris ævi memoria vel vestigium exstat." (Theoph. Sig. Bayeri Historia Osrhoena et Edessena, Lib. iii. p. 118. Petropoli, 1734.) That the Legend is destitute of all credibility is therefore evident; and as Eusebius "most strangely forgets the picture of Christ"(e), and "maketh no mention of any such Image, though he writ the historie of that matter betwixt our Saviour and Abgarus at large"(f), he is accused of faithlessness by Combe-

- (c) Eccles. Hist. Lib. iv. Cap. xxvii. p. 401. Paris. 1673.
- (d) Cooke's *Pope Ioane*, p. 72. Lond. 1625. Damasceni *Opp.* studio Le Quien, Tom. i. p. 281. n. 2. Paris. 1712.
- (e) Gibbon's Roman Empire, Vol. ix. p. 118. Lond. 1838. Ed. Milman.
- (f) Wotton's Defence of M. Perkins' Reformed Catholike, p. 531. Lond. 1606.

fisius(g); whom Gretser agrees with, by saying: "Est hæc una ex millenis fraudibus & imposturis, quibus Eusebius circa Arium et opinionem Arianam usus est: hostis omnium Christi imaginum." (De Imagin. non manufact. Opp. Tom. xv. p. 190.)

The fidelity of Eusebius, as a historian, has been often investigated(h): and Scultetus(i) will supply us with perhaps a sufficient explanation of the unfriendliness of Romanists towards the Bishop of Cæsarea; who encounters, on the present occasion, a still more relentless enemy in Ludovicus Bourguetus(j), with whose extraordinary assertion I shall conclude this article:—" Mais, dira-t-on, qui est l'auteur de cette fraude pieuse, & quel a été le motif qui l'a poussé à la supposer. Je réponds, que c'est Eusebe lui-même, qui a forgé & les Lettres & la Legende." (Biblioth. Italique, Tom. xiii. p. 121. A Geneve, 1732.)

- (g) Conf. Ittigii *Dissert. de Pseudepig. Christi, Mariæ, et Apost.* p. 98. Lips. 1696. Dallæum, *De vero usu Patrum*, p. 286. Genevæ, 1656.
  - (h) Walchii Biblioth. Patrist. à Danzio, p. 49. Jenæ, 1834.
  - (i) Medull. Theol. Patt. Syntag. pp. 869-71. Francof. 1634.
- (j) "Vir pius et doctus." (Moshemii De reb. Christ. antè Constant. Mag. Comment. p. 72. Helmst. 1753. Vid. Schelhornii Amæn. Hist. Eccles. et Liter. Tom. ii. p. 710. Francof. & Lips. 1738.)

#### B. VIRGO MARIA.

# Epistola ad S. Ignatium.

It is stated by Ussher(a) and Fabricius(b) that this Epistle was first published, at Paris, in the year 1495, at the end of the Quadripartita Historia vitae et mortis Thomæ, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi(c): but Jacobus Faber Stapulensis(d) does not admit it among the Epistles of Ignatius, printed, in the same place, in 1498; and it has, consequently, been excluded from the editions, Argent. 1502, Paris. 1515, Basil. 1520, Argent. 1527. However, Simphorianus Champerius connected it with fifteen Epistles, as-

- (a) Dissert. de Ignat. Epist. Cap. xix. apud Cotelerii Patt. Apostol. Vol. ii. p. 248. Amstel. 1724.
  - (b) Cod. Apocr. N. Test. Tom. ii. p. 839.
- (c) Or, (according to the title of Ussher's own copy,) Vita & processus sancti Thome cantuariensis martyris super libertate ecclesiastica. Litt. Goth. 8vo. sig. M vi.—Of this Life Ceillier (Hist. Gen. des Auteurs Eccles. Tom. i. p. 664. A Paris, 1729.) says that there was a prior edition, at Cologne, in 1478; but, if so, the fact is unnoticed by Panzer, Maittaire, Denis, Laire, Bauer, and Santander. An English metrical translation, [by Laur. Wade,] in 1497, is cited in [Gee's] Primitive Fathers no Papists, p. 48. Lond. 1688. The MS. is in the Library of Bene't College, Cambridge. See Dr. James's Ecloga Oxonio-Cantab. p. 82. n. 171. Lond. 1600; or the Catalogi Libror. MSS. Angliæ et Hibern. Tom. i. Par. iii. p. 137. n. 1448. Oxon. 1697.
- (d) Vid. Greswell's Annals of Parisian Typography, p. 163. Lond. [Manchester,] 1818.

cribed to Ignatius, Colon. 1536; and it is contained in every *Bibliotheca Patrum*, from 1575, to 1677.

The leading testimony to be examined, in this case, is that of the Chronicon(e), put forth under the name of Flavius Lucius Dexter, ad an. 430. p. 448. Lugd. 1627,—the words of which are: "Epistolæ B. Virginis ad S. Ignatium, & eiusdem ad Sanctissimam Virginem, manibus fidelium nunc teruntur." Many authors might be cited against the genuineness of this document: but I shall content myself with four; and others may be found in Vincentius Placcius (f).

- "Sed tamen sentiat quisque vt volet: ego Chronicon illud nec esse Dextri asseuero, neque contentiosè pernego: eius auctoritate non temere nitor, præsertim si alij melioris notæ Scriptores refragentur." (Joan. Bollandi Præfat. in Tom. i. Act. Sanctt.
- (e) Which, being (to use the term on the titlé-page) "vivified" by the Franciscan Joannes Calderon, was by him first published, and denominated Fragmentum Chronici, &c. 4to. Cæsaraug. 1619. Cum licentia, et privilegio. It has many Approbations; and the editor, in his address to the reader, observes: "Laudo Baronium Cardinalem Illustrissimum, sed in hoc, quod in 4. to. dicit de Dextro, non laudo; non enim quia ei eius historia minimè patuit, inde sequitur perijsse."
- (f) Theatrum Anonym. & Pseudon. Par. ii. pp. 226-28. Hamburg. 1708. Conf. Fabricii Biblioth. Ecclesiast. p. 219. Hamb. 1718. Raynaudi Erotemata de malis ac bonis libris, p. 139. Lugd. 1653. Card. de Noris Histor. Pelag. Lib. i. Cap. xxiii. p. 96. Lovan. 1702. Gabr. Pennotti Refut. libel. apologet. pro Dextri Chron. 4to. Venet. 1630. Menckenii De Charlatan. Eruditor. Declam. p. 86. Lips. 1715. Usserii Britann. Eccles. Antiq. p. 403. Lond. 1687.

Jan. p. xxxi. Antverp. 1643. Conf. Henschen. & Papebroch. Act. SS. Maii, Tom. iv. p. 14. Ib. 1685.)

"Nonnulli tamen eruditi, quibus acris est crisis, spurium censent, vel certè aliorum laciniis assutum & vitiatum." (Corn. Corn. à Lapide *Chronotaxis Act. Apostol.* p. 12. Paris. 1631.)

"Dextri Chronicon hominis est imperitissimi ἄτοπον & ἀλλόκοτον κύημα; & omninò ψευδεπί-γραφον, ab Hispano aliquo nebulone confictum." (Dion. Petavii *Epist.* xix. ad Rosweydum, ad calcem Tom. iii. Op. de Doct. Temp. p. 325. Antwerp. 1703.)

To release us from the slightest indecision about this Chronicle, Nicolaus Antonius makes us acquainted with the deviser's name—Hieronymus Romanus de la Higuera, a Jesuit; whom he calls "Logodædalus noster Toletanus, qui Dextrum ceterosque huius fidei chronographos  $\operatorname{finxit}(g)$ ":—"hic enim primus inventor Chronicorum Dextri & Maximi(h)."

Leaving the *sinister* production of this Spaniard, we come to a passage in St. Bernard's seventh Sermon on the Psalm "Qui habitat," which has been frequently esteemed the most valid proof that can be advanced of the correspondence between the Virgin Mary and Ignatius: "Magnus ille ignatius dis-

<sup>(</sup>g) Biblioth. Vet. Hispan. Tom. i. p. 118. Conf. p. 242. Matriti, 1788.

<sup>(</sup>h) Ib. p. 316. Conf. Ittigii Observatt. miscell. in Opp. Clem. Alex. Suppl. p. 188. Lips. 1700. Zornii Opuscula sacra, Tom. i. pp. 495-6. Altonav. 1743.

cipuli quem diligebat iesus auditor: martyr noster: cuius preciosis reliquijs nostra ditata est paupertas: mariam in pluribus quas ad eam scripsit epistolis christiferam consalutat. Egregius plane titulus dignitatis: & commendatio honoris immensi(i)." I take the extract from an old edition, because that Mabillon has completely nullified it by adding, from MSS., the word "QUAMDAM" after "Mariam:" thus removing what may have been a designed corruption of the text; and making the writer refer, not to the blessed Virgin, but to Maria Cassabolita, or Castabolite(i).

Franciscus Bivarius, speaking of these Epistles, in his Commentary on Pseudo-Dexter, says: "Scio apud multos suspectam haberi fidem eiusmodi epistolarum, eo præsertim, quòd Hieronymus, dum in lib. de Script. Eccl. egit de Ignatio, inter cæteras eius epis-

<sup>(</sup>i) Opp. fol. 73. Lugduni, 1530.

<sup>(</sup>j) Vid. Opp. S. Bern. Vol. i. col. 846. Paris. 1719. Cotelerii Patt. Apost. ii. 119. Amstel. 1724. Halloix (Illust. Eccl. Or. Scriptt. Vitæ et Doc. sæc. i. p. 449.) says that Antonius Monachus "citauit locum bene longum" from the (interpolated) Epistle of S. Ignatius to the people of Magnesia; and Ribittus, who translated into Latin the second book of the Melissa, had previously made the same mistake. Vid. Sententt. sive Capp. Theol. præcip., per Anton. & Maxim. collect. p. 107. Tiguri, 1546. The truth is that Antonius abbreviated the passage from the Epistle of Maria Proselyta, which he adduced under the name Ιγνατίου Θιοφος, (Βιβλ. δίντ. Λόγ. ιδ. p. 96. Tig. 1546.) on account of its existence among the writings of this Saint. Conf. Usser. not. apud Cotel. Vol. ii. p. 96. Pauli Colomesii Observatt. sacr. Opp. p. 621. Hamburg. 1709. SS. Polyc. et Ignat. Epistt. Ed. Usser. pp. 128-9. Oxon. 1644.

tolas harum non meminit; sed argumentum negatiuum obesse non potest, cum positiua testimonia nobilium Authorum adsunt." (P. 223.)

Though the Epistle of the Virgin Mary to Ignatius is, in like manner, deemed authentic by the Jesuits Canisius(k) and Costerus(l), yet other Romanists are not so strangely confident; but either only partially recognize these Letters, as Sixtus Senensis(m) and Possevin(n) appear to do, in company with Halloix, who affirms: "nec ita certæ sunt, vt indubitatam fidem apud omnes mereantur; nec ita incertæ, vt omnem perdant(o);"—or discard them as counterfeit(p), after the example of the following authorities.

- "An vero Beata Virgo aliquid scripserit, non con-
- (k) De Maria Deipara Virg. Lib. v. Cap. i. p. 589. Ingolst. 1583.
- (l) De vita et laudibus Deip. Mar. Virg. p. 269. Colon. Agripp. 1600. Conf. Ben. Gononi Chronicon SS. Deiparæ, p. 26. Lugd. 1637.
- (m) Biblioth. Sanct.\* Tom. i. p. 168. Venet. 1575. Moreri seeing in the title-page of this work the words "à F. Sixto Senensi," &c., and thinking that F., meant Francisco, instead of Fratre, calls the author François; and Baillet is guilty of the same misnomer. (Jugemens des Savans, Tome ii. p. 25. A Amsterd. 1725.)
- (n) Apparatus sacer, Tom. i. p. 802. Tom. ii. p. 66. Colon. Agripp. 1608.
- (o) Illust. Eccles. Orient. Scriptor. Vitæ et Docum. Tom. i. p. 467. Duaci, 1633.
- (p) Baillet, Jugem. des Savans, Tome i. p. 92. A Paris, 1722. Conf. Dallæum, De script. quæ sub Dionys. Areop. & Ignat. Antioch. nomin. circumf. p. 239. Genev. 1666.

<sup>\*</sup> Simon's Crit. Hist. of Old Test. B. iii. C. xvii, p. 124. Lond. 1682.

stat. Nam epistola quædam ad Ignatium, quæ nomine eius circumfertur, incertæ authoritatis est: si tamen Ecclesiæ constaret illam, vel aliquam aliam fuisse à Beata Virgine scriptam, nemo (vt existimo) dubitaret quin inter canonicas scripturas esset annumeranda." (Francisc. Suarez Comment. in iii. Partem D. Thomæ, Tom. ii. Q. xxxvii. Art. iv. Disp. xx. p. 338. Madriti, 1598.)

"Fertur ejusdem Dei genitricis epistola ad Ignatium reddita, ejusdemque Ignatii una ad ipsam scripta, duæ vero ad Joannem Evangelistam de eadem ipsa loquentes. Sed Hieronymus, & alii antiquiores, qui ejusdem Ignatii recensuerunt epistolas, eas non noverunt. Traduntur & aliæ ab ipsa ad alias scriptæ civitates: quas cunctas, cum careant Ecclesiæ auctoritate, nonnisi in apocryphorum classem rejiciendas esse, omnes facile judicabunt." (Baronius, ad an. 48. n. xxv. Conf. an. 109. n. xxxiv.)

"Tres aliæ circumferuntur, ad B. Virginem Deiparam una, & ad sanctum Joannem Evangelistam duæ, quibus additur epistola B. Virginis ad Ignatium. Harum primus (quod sciam) meminit S. Bernhardus, serm. 7. in Psalmum Qui habitat: sed neque in codicibus Græcis habentur, neque gravitatem eloquii S. Ignatii omnino redolent." (Bellarminus, De Scriptor. Eccles. p. 32. Colon. 1684.)

"Sed tamen, ne vt certa accipiamus quæ incerta sunt, has epistolas ab antiquiori aliquo, pio, & Virgini dedito confictas fuisse, ex ipsa temporum, rerumq; in eis factarum serie, facile erit colligere." (Christophori de Castro *Historia Deiparæ*, p. 545. Compluti, 1605.)

"Adduntur etiam in quibusdam editionibus, sed Latinè dumtaxat sequentes, quas Baronius, Bellarminus, & alij viri docti communi consensu reiiciunt vt apocryphas & supposititias," &c. (Phil. Labbé *De* Scriptt. Eccles. Dissert. Tom.i. pp.501-2. Paris. 1660.)

"Mariæ Deiparæ epistola ad S. Ignatium supposititia iure censetur à Mestræo(q), præfatione ad S. Ignatij epistolas." (Theoph. Raynaudi *Erotemata*, p. 148. Lugd. 1653.)

"Quod attinet ad duas priores Epistolas S. Ignatij ad Ioannem, & ad duas alias sequentes, alteram Ignatij ad Mariam Deiperam, alteram Mariæ ad Ignatium: tam etsi eas vt germanas vendicari sciamus à pluribus recentioribus, vt D. Bernardo sermo. 7. in psal. 9. [90.] Marcho Michaele Carnotensi [Cortonensi] Presbytero, lib. de Viris Illustribus, Dionysio Carthusiano in comment. ad lib. Areopagitæ de diuinis nominibus. Sixto Senensi lib. 2. Biblioth. in Maria, Petro Canisio, lib. 5. de Maria, cap. 1. & alijs, at cum illarum neg; Eusebius, nec S. Hieronymus, nec Nicephorus, nec vllus veterum, ad D. vsq; Bernardum meminerit, qui alioqui accuratè scripta Ignatij memorauerint, tutius fuerit easdem vel in apocrypharum ordinem redigere, aut saltem, vt non omnino certas, ac genuinas habere."—Such is the censure

<sup>(</sup>q) Vide Notas Martialis Mæstræi in *Epistolas* S. Ignatii, p. 15. Paris. 1608.; vel ad fin. Tom. xiii. *Mag. Biblioth. Patrum*, p. 8. Ib. 1654.

passed upon these Epistles by the Index Expurgatorius(r) of Rome(s), which directs the above observations to be prefixed to them as a scholium; and, in compliance with this command, they are inserted in the third edition of De la Bigne's Bibliotheca Patrum, (Tom. iii. Paris. 1610.) which does not, however, give the least intimation as to the source from which they are derived; and the same reserve is shown in the Magna Bibliotheca, (Tom. i. p. 77. Colon. Agripp. 1618.) which only refers us to the last edition, thus: "Notæ in Epistolas Ignatii, ex postrema edit. Parisiensi;"—and also in the Mag. Bibl. vet. Patt.: (Tom. xi. p. i. Paris. 1654.)—but, at length, the Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum (Tom. ii. p. 75. Lugd. 1677.) exhibits the desirable allusion to

- (r) "A Booke which we may call the Martyrologe of many innocent bookes." (Morton's Grand Imposture of the (now) Church of Rome, p. 92. Lond. s. a.) "No opinion of any Father, or Doctor, or of any vniuersity can be of so much credite and authority as those books; since they are compiled by a commission issuing from the Pope himselfe, who was either authorized or entreated to that office by a generall Councell." (Donne's Pseudo-Martyr, p. 102. Cf. 114. Lond. 1610.) "Their Indices Expurgatorij are Authentick Evidences to convince them of these Unchristian Practises, to conceal truth, and cosen the World into a belief of their pernicious Papal Errors." (Barlow's Brutum Fulmen, p. 80. Lond. 1681.)
- (s) P. 115. Romæ, 1607: pp. 100-1. Bergomi, 1608. I have just obtained a copy of the accurate reprint of the original Roman edition of this work, by Serpilius, at Ratisbon, in 1723. See Mendham's *Literary Policy*, p. 131. Lond. 1830.

the Index, in these words: "Notæ Ioannis Brassichellani(t) in quatuor sequentes Epistolas."

## Epistola ad Messanenses.

After remarking that the interchanged Epistles of the Virgin Mary and Ignatius exist, in suitable

(t) "Eodem anno [1605] Malvendæ Bibliothecam SS. Patrum, librosque omnes in ea novem integris spissisque contentos voluminibus, à Margarino Bigneo collectos, & Parisiis, 1589, in fol. editos, emendandi purgandique onus impositum fuit à sacra Congregatione Indicis; quod quantæ fuerit operæ nemo non videt: id tamen vix unius & alterius mensis quam accuratissime perfecit spatio, librosque omnes in ea congestos sic excussit & recensuit, ut in Indice suo Expurgatorio F. Joannes Maria, sacri Palatii Apostolici Magister,\* integram Malvendæ censuram, nil immutatam, excuderit, hoc titulo: Expurgatio Bibliothecæ SS. PP. editionis secundæ Parisiensis, anni Domini 1589, per Margarinum de la Bigne, Theologum Parisiensem. Sic Index, Romæ, è typog. Cam. Apost. 1607, in 8, à p. 63, ad p. 296. Easque Annotationes in editione Bibliothecæ, Parisiis, 1605, [1610,] inseruerunt. Harum Annotationum ipse auctor meminit in Annalibus Ordinis, ad 1218. Cap. 3. p. 198." [Neapoli, 1627.] (Scriptores Ord. Prædicat., per Quetif et Echard, Tom. ii. p. 455. Lut. Paris. 1721. Conf. Usserii Brit. Eccles. Antiq. Cap. xiii. pp. 425-6. Dubl. 1639. Father Paul Sarpi, Of Ecclesiastical Benefices, p. 179, note. Dublin, 1737. Possevini Append. ad i. Tom. Appar. sac. & Tom. ii. p. 66. Colon. Agripp. 1608. Serarii Prolegom. Bibl. Cap. xviii. pp. 98, 99. Mogunt. 1612.)

<sup>\*</sup> Upon whom devolves the revision of books, "quos summo studio examinat, ne quid peruersæ doctrinæ furtim irrepat." (Theod. Amydeni De Pietate Rom. Libell. p. 200. Romæ, 1625. Conf. Schelhornii Amæn. Hist. Eccles. & Lit. Tom. ii. p. 458. Francof. 1738. Journal of M. de Saint Amour, p. 144. Lond. 1664.)

society, in the Golden Legend(u), we proceed to treat of two other Letters, worthy of similar esteem.

Pseudo-Dexter, in his *Chronicon*, (ad. an. 86. p. 171.) deposes that "Apud Messanenses celebris est memoria B. Virginis Mariæ, missa ipsis ab eadem dulci epistola;" and he afterwards (p. 448.) relates that "eodem tempore [sc. an. 430.] in Tabulario Messanensi reperta est quædam epistola Hebraicè exarata à B. Virgine ad eosdem ciues Messanenses, & maximi ducitur."

Bivarius confirms this intelligence, in his Commentary on the former passage, p. 177: "Nihil apud Illustrissimæ vrbis ciues venerabilius, nihil traditione Christiana æquè receptius, quàm prædecessores suos ab ipsa Beatissima Dei genitrice adhuc in humanis agente litteras accepisse, quandoquidem in memoriam tanti beneficij Ecclesia Metropolitana nuncupata est la Madona de Littrio, hoc est, de la Lettera, seu de epistola, quæ illic asseruari dicitur reuerenter."

Further information is supplied by Mabillon(v): "His adde quod à Roco Pirro memoratur de quodam Græco Antistite, qui ut Messanensium gratiam

<sup>(</sup>u) Hist. Lombard. Leg. xxxvi. sig. f 3. Argent. 1492.—"Quàm indigna est diuis & hominibus Christianis illa sanctorum historia, quæ Legenda aurea nominatur: quam nescio cur auream appellent, quum scripta sit ab homine ferrei oris, plumbei cordis." (Jo. Lodov. Vives, De caus. corrupt. Art. Lib. ii. Opp. Tom. i. p. 371. Basil. 1555. Conf. Hooker's Works, ii. 101. Oxford, 1836.)

<sup>(</sup>v) De Re Diplomat. Lib. i. p. 25. Lut. Paris. 1681.

iniret, spem injecit reperiundi autographi epistolæ beatæ Virginis ad Messanenses hebraïce conscripti. Quod in membrana confictum cùm sublateribus certo in loco abscondisset, viri quidam religiosi tandem ejus detexerunt imposturam."

A singular effort was made, to defend this Epistle, by the Jesuit Melchior Inchofer, in a volume entitled Epistolæ B. Virginis Mariæ ad Messanenses Veritas vindicata. 4to. Messanæ, 1630. Being summoned to Rome, on account of this book, he behaved with such propriety before the Congregation of the Index, that he acquired great credit. "Quare S. Congregatio non solùm permisit eidem dictum opus de nouo edere, mutato tamen iustis de causis titulo, in hunc modum: Coniectatio ad Epistolam Beatissimæ Mariæ Virginis ad Messanenses, & quibusdam magis explicatis, vti reipsa edidit Viterbij, apud Ludouicum Grignanum, 1633. in folio; sed etiam demendi, & addendi si quæ viderentur liberam, & amplam facultatem dedit." (Sotvelli Biblioth. Scriptt. Soc. Jes. p. 608. Romæ, 1676. Conf. Allatii Apes Urbanæ, p. 269. Hamburg. 1711.) We learn from Leo Allatius that the same Epistle, "nutantem postmodum, & Maledicorum garritu iactatam," was rescued from danger by Benedictus Selvagus, in "Apologia pro pietate Messanensi." (Animadvers.in Antiq. Etrusc. Fragm. p. 94. Paris. 1640.)

It has been said that Inchofer's work was printed at Messina, in 1630. Two years afterwards, he was enrolled among authors deserving of correction, and a slight expurgation was prescribed by Cardinal Zapata(w), Inquisitor General of Spain, &c.: whose sentence has been continued by the succeeding Indexes(x); with an important addition(y) in the Indexes(x)

- (w) Nov. Ind. libr. proh. & exp. p. 760. Hispali, 1632.
- (x) A Sotomaior, [an. 1640.] p. 792. ed. 1667. Vidal Marin, Par. ii. p. 67. Matriti, 1707.
- (y) Viz., the interdiction of "La Monarchie des Solipses," which (p. 184.) is described as having been forbidden by the Edict of May 13, 1759. The full title of this French translation is: La Monarchie des Solipses, traduite de l'original Latin de Melchior Inchofer, Jesuite. Avec des Remarques. 12mo. A Amsterd. 1721. We are taught by Bayle's Dictionary (Vol. vi. p. 384. Lond. 1738.) that this famous invective against the Jesuits was printed in Holland, in 1648; and the work is ascribed to Inchofer in the edition of Venice, 1652. The Monarchia Solipsorum is annexed to the quarto impression of the Relatio de Stratagematis Jesuitarum, published by Caspar Scioppius, under the appellation of Alphonsus de Vargas; (Vid. Sandii Nucleus Hist. Eccles. p. 52. Colon. 1676.) and here the latter writer is the reputed author: p. 190. 1665. "Et cependant," (observes Arnauld,) "il est certain que cette Monarchie des Solipses est d'un Jesuite Allemand, nommé le P. Melchior Inchofer." (Morale Pratique des Jesuites, Vol. iii. p. 686. an. 1689.) Bishop Berkeley says that "those who are not acquainted with the subtle Spirit, the refined Politics, and wonderful Oeconomy of that renowned Society, need only read the account given of them by the Jesuit Inchofer, in his book De Monarchia Solipsorum." (Minute Philosopher, Vol. i. Dial. ii. p. 150. Lond. 1732. Conf. Placcium, De Script. Pseudon. p. 199. Hamburg. 1708. Liste des Auteurs déguisés, dans les Jugemens des Savans, par Adrien Baillet, Tom. vi. p. 515. A Paris, 1722.) Georg. Matth. Königius makes out two Inchofers, Melchior and Nicholas, in his Biblioth. Vetus et Nova, p. 427. Altdorf. 1678. Into this error he was led by misunderstanding the following words of Pellerus, in Not. ad Præfat. Politici sceler. impug. :

dice Ultimo, p. 141. Madrid, 1790.—The Decree of

"Monarchiam Solipsorum perhibent scripsisse quempiam Patrem ex Societate, N. Inckhoferum, Germanum." König ought to have been aware that the letter N only signified that such was his name.

The Monarchia Solipsorum was reprinted in London, in 1680; and from it let us now pass to another book by Melchior Inchofer: Tractatus syllepticus, de Solis motu, et Terræ statione. 4to. Romæ, 1633. Superiorum permissu. One of his Scriptural arguments is deduced from the verse, Eccles. i. 4. "Terra in æternum stat." (p. 9.) To the assertion that the doctrine of Copernicus was countenanced by Pope Paul III., (to whom was dedicated the first edition of the De Revolutionibus Orbium Cœlestium Libri vi. 4to. Norimberg. 1543.) Inchofer replies: (p. 88.) "Fuisse approbatam à Paulo III. Copernici opinionem, temerè dicitur;" and although, because of his genius and labours, his works were, in some measure, licensed, "nunquam tamen creditum affirmatumue nihil in eis contra Catholicam sententiam contineri;" and he then cites the cautious animadversion of the Congregation of the Index. That this account of the matter is perfectly correct, the xxi., chapter of the Decrees, appended to the Index of Alexander VII., plainly proves: for it displays an injunction for the erasure of those places "in quibus, non ex hypothesi, sed asserendo, de situ & motu terræ disputat." Dat. Romæ, 1620. Four years previously, the same Congregation denounced "falsam illam doctrinam Pythagoricam, diuinæque Scripturæ omninò aduersantem, de mobilitate Terræ, & immobilitate Solis," held by Copernicus, A Stunica\*, and Foscarini.\* (Cap. xiv. p. 307. Romæ, 1664.) On the 23rd of August,

<sup>\*</sup> There is an Abstract of some passages in the Commentaries of Didacus à Stunica upon Job, (Toledo, 1584.) and an Epistle of the Carmelite Foscarini to Fantoni, in the first Tome of Salusbury's Mathematical Collections and Translations, pp. 468-503. Lond. 1661. Galileo's Systeme of the World is, in this volume, "inglished" from the Italian; but, unfortunately, almost the whole impression of the second Tome, containing his Life, was consumed in the fire of London, in 1666.—Salusbury was "a warm admirer of Galileo." (Whewell's Hist. of Inductive Sciences, Vol. i. p. 391. Lond. 1837.)

the Congregation of the Index, prohibiting the ori-

1634, was condemned the *Dialogo di Galileo Galilei*,\* (Ib. p. 336.) whose treatment for his sentiments, by the Roman Inquisition, is well known. Conf. Liberti Fromondi *Vestam*. Ad lect. Ep. ii. Antverp. 1634.

From what has been said we may judge how innocent was the declaration of a writer in the *Dublin Review*, for July, 1838, p. 101:—"To whatever cause the prosecution of Galileo might have been owing, it could not be attributable to any unworthy dislike of scientific pursuits generally, nor to the conclusion in question, that of the earth's motion in particular."—This one fact should be sufficient to annihilate all the specious reasoning in the article I allude to: namely, that from the time of the Ordinance of the Congregation of the Index, dated March 5, 1616, until Pope Benedict XIV., (whose "prudence" Mosheim commends, *Instit. Hist. Eccles.* pp. 334, 521. Helmst. 1755.) issued his Catalogue of prohibited books, Romæ, 1758, there was inserted in the Indexes the reprobation of "Libri omnes, docentes mobilitatem Terræ, et immobilitatem Solis."

I cannot terminate this wandering note without adverting to the persecution sustained by St. Virgil, an Irishman, Bishop of Saltzburg, in the eighth century, for believing that there were

<sup>\*</sup> My learned friend Mr. Mendham speaks thus of the quiet removal of this author from censure, in the Index of Pope Gregory XVI.: "The name of the persecuted and condemned maintainer of a doctrine now universally received, with that of his Dialogo, kept their place the last, and were only silently withdrawn in the year 1835." (British Magazine, Feb. 1839. p. 164.) In a letter to me, dated Jan. 30, 1840, he suggests that we may probably give credit for this "consummate artifice" to Dr. Wiseman, whose name has of late appeared "in the list of the Consultors of the Congregation of the Index;" and that the desire to efface the above "blot upon science" may have been "one great, or the main motive for publishing" the said prohibitory Catalogue. Compare Mr. M.'s Venal Indulgences and Pardons, p. 93. Lond. 1839; and see, especially, his unanswerable arguments in his account of the Index of Gregory XVI. pp. 10-49. Ib. 1840.

ginal volume(z), and approving of the Coniectatio,

Antipodes. Joannes Aventinus thus accurately records the circumstance :- "Erat Vergilius etiam in disciplinis, quas Mathematicas uocamus, & in Philosophia prophana, magis quàm tum Christiani mores ferebant eruditus. Ex illiusmodi literarum scitis, contra opinionem uulgi, & D. Aurelij Augustini & aliorum, forte docuerat, id quod nostro seculo non argumentis inuestigandum, sed experimentis cognitum est, circumfundi terræ homines undique, & conuersis inter se pedibus stare, unde Antipodas Græca nuncupant uoce. Hoc ita acceptum est, quasi Vergilius alium mundum, alios sub terra homines, alium denique Solem, atque aliam Lunam esse adsereret." (Annall. Boiorum, Lib. iii. p. 297. Ingolstad. 1554.) The instructions concerning St. Virgil, forwarded by Pope Zacharias to St.\* Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, were these:--" De peruersa autem doctrina, quam contra Dominum & animam suam locutus est, quòd scilicet alius mundus, & alij homines sub terra sint, aliusque sol & luna, si conuictus fuerit ita confiteri, hunc, accito Concilio, ab Ecclesia pelle, sacerdotij honore priuatum." (Baronii Annall. Tom. ix. an. 748. §. xii. Vid. Epistt. S. Bonifacii, per Nic. Serarium ed. p. 208. Mogunt. 1629.) "Le Pape Zacharie le censura publiquement pour avoir avancé qu'il y avoit des Antipodes, & déclara même cette opinion hérétique." (Dictionaire de Moreri, edit. 18. Tom. viii. p. 138. A Amsterd. 1740. Conf. Marci Velseri Rer. Boicar. Lib. v. Opp. p. 149. Norimberg. 1682. Sir J. Ware's Writers of Ireland, Book i. p. 50. Dubl. 1746. Works, Vol. ii. Usserii Vet. Epistt. Hibern. Syllog. pp. 131-3. Dubl. 1632. Nicolson's Irish Hist. Library, p. 107. Dublin, 1724. Brenan's Eccles. Hist. of Ireland, Vol. i. p. 182. Dubl. 1840. Gudenii Observatt. miscell. ex Hist. Bonifac. select. p. 12. Helmst. 1720.) A relation "de vita et miraculis

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Ceterum Acta Canonizationis (ut vocant) Bonifacii non extant, nec compertum est Pontificis Romani auctoritate Bonifacii sanctimoniam examinatam, aut solenni decreto publico fidelium cultui commendatam esse." (Gudenii Dissert. inaug. de Bonifac. p. 99. Helmst. 1720.)

plurimis rationibus & verisimilitudinibus locuples, is dated die 19 Martii, 1633(a).

Sancti Virgilii" was published by Hen. Canisius, in Tom. ii. Antiq. Lect. pp. 257-85. Ingolstad. 1602; and this was afterwards revised by him, and introduced amongst the Monumenta Salisburgensia, in Tom. vi. Ant. Lect. pp. 1173-93. Ib. 1604. Jac. Basnage has given a transcript of both, in his Thesaur. Monum. Eccles. & Histor. Tom. iii. Par. ii. pp. 287-97, & 395-407. Conf. ejus Observat. p. 273. Antverp. 1725; & Vid. D'Achery et Mabillon Act. Sanctt. Ord. S. Bened. sæc. iii. P. ii. p. 308, sqq. Lut. Paris. 1672.

(z) The fate of which, for its too great dogmatism, affords an instance of the watchful anxiety of the Church of Rome about things of comparatively trifling moment, while she has frequently "omitted the weightier matters" of God's law. By her silence she has sanctioned, in page 405, the alteration of the hymn "Te Deum laudamus," in honour of the Virgin Mary. The parody begins thus: "Te Mariam laudamus; te Dominam confitemur." (Conf. Speculum Beatæ Virginis, [by Bp. Hickes. See a Catalogue of his writings, by himself, in the Correspondence of Ralph Thoresby, F.R.S. Vol. ii. p. 117. Lond. 1832.] Preface. Lond. 1686.) Another version of the same, commencing—"Te cœli Reginam laudamus, te mundi Dominam honoramus," composed by Dominicus Pruthenus, is adopted by Raynaud, in his Diptycha Mariana, Opp. Tom. vii. p. 239. Lugd. 1665. A third is used by Lamberti, in his Diva Virgo de Cortenbosch, p. 274. Leodii, 1656. He assigns it to St. Bernard; and this form, the first verse of which is-"Te Matrem Dei laudamus, te Mariam Virginem profitemur," is also to be found, with a little variation, in St. Bonaventure's works, where it is headed: "Hymnus instar illius qui ascribitur Ambrosio & Aug."\* (Tom. vi. p. 492. Lugd. 1668.)

<sup>\*</sup> A still more explicit inscription is applied to this perversion in the Horæ Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ: "Canticum sanctorum Ambrosij & Au-

Joannes Baptista Laurus, Apostolic Prothonotary, obtained from Castaneaceus a copy of this spurious

In page 493 is the "Symbolum instar illius Athanasii," thus introduced: "Quicumque vult saluus esse, ante omnia opus est vt teneat de Maria firmam fidem." But what chiefly claims our notice is the memorable Psalterium Beaton Marion Virginia, ascribed to the Seraphic Doctor, and comprised in this sixth volume of his Opera omnia, "Sixti V. Pont. Maximi jussu diligentissime emendata," pp. 478-91. Bishop Barlow calls it "the most Blasphemous and Impious piece of Superstition and Idolatry that ever saw the Sun: For whatever in David's Psalms is spoken of God, or our B. Saviour, is in that Psalter attributed to the Virgin Mary." (Directions for the choice of Books, p. 51. Oxford, 1700.) Du Perron and some others have wished to relieve Bonaventure from responsibility for this performance: (Vid. Nouveauté du Papisme, par P. Du Moulin, p. 530. A Geneve, 1633. Chemnicii Exam. Conc. Trid. p. 594. Genev. 1634. Cas. Oudini Comment. de Scriptor. Eccl. Tom. iii. col. 411. Lips. 1722. Sbaraleæ Supplem. ad Scriptor. Ord. S. Francis. p. 159. Romæ, 1806. Histoire Littéraire de la France, Tom. xix. p. 283. A Paris, 1838. Conf. De Colonia, Hist. Litt. de Lyon, Tom. ii. p. 315. A Lyon, 1730. Fox's Acts and Mon. Vol. iii. pp. 227-30. Lond. 1684. King's Psalter of the blessed Virgin illustrated, pp. 78-85. Dublin, 1840. Francus, De Papist. Indic. p. 31. Lips. 1684. Perkinsi Præpar. ad Demonst. Problem. p. 43. Cantab. 1604.) but the opinion of Possevin, (Appar. sac. verb. Rosarium.) that the Psalter was by him "laudibus Beatiss. Virginis summa pietate accommodatum," is more generally held by our adversaries; and is particularly maintained by Arturus à Monasterio, in his Martyrologium Franciscanum, pp. 288-9. Paris. 1638. Conf. Bellarmini Apol. pro Respons. sua

gustini, transmutatum in laudem gloriosæ virgi. Ma." (fol. 98, b. Paris. 1549.) This may have been borrowed from the *Breviarium Romanum* Quignonii, fol. 252. Lugd. 1543; or it may have come to both works from some other source.

Epistle of the Virgin Mary, and offers it to the no-

ad lib. Jacobi Regis, p. 171. An. 1610. Christoferson's Treatise concerning Antichrist, Part 2. p. 152. 1614.—In the 35th Psaln, according to the reading in Opp. Bonav. Tom. vi., the Virgin Mary is supplicated in these words: "Inclina vultum Dei super nos: coge illum peccatoribus misereri;" "the harshnesse whereof" (observes Ussher, Answer to a Challenge, p. 489. Lond. 1631.) "our Romanists have a little qualified in some of their editions:" for, in the copy of the Psalterium, in his Library, 8vo. Paris. 1596, the sentence was changed to—"Inclina vultum filii tui super nos: coge illum precibus nobis peccatoribus misereri;" and this transformed entreaty appears in one edition which I possess, 12mo. Insulis, 1659; but in another, 8vo. Vlysipone, "cum facultate Supremi Senatus Inquisitionis, & Ordinarij," 1611, the unadulterated expressions are to be seen.

Gother, in his Papist mis-represented and represented, p. 41. Dublin, 1792, affirms that the latter "believes it damnable to think the Virgin Mary more powerful in Heaven than Christ; or that she can in any thing COMMAND HIM:" and the same work, as republished by Bp. Challoner, and cited by Dr. Milner, (End of Controv. Let. xxxiii. p. 257. Dubl. 1826.) as one "of great authority among Catholics," pronounces the following anathema: "Cursed is every Goddess\*-worshipper, that believes the B. Vir-

Nec Dea sum, dixit; nec sacri thuris honore Humanum dignare caput. (Ovid. Metamorph. xiv. 130.)

In a very modern work the blessed Virgin is designated "Empress of the universe," and "Queen of heaven and earth." (Office of the sacred Heart, p. 230. Dubl. 1833.)

<sup>\*</sup> The Virgin Mary was styled "Dea" by Pope Leo X., anno 1514. (Vid. Epist. à Petro Bembo, Lib. 8. Ep. 17. p. 166. Argentor. 1611.) "Inauditum est Catholicis Mariam pro Dea colendam." [!] (Canisius, De Maria Deip. L. iii. C. x. p. 300. Ingolst. 1583.) Conf. Raynaudi Nomenclator Marianus, pp. 98-100. Lugd. 1639. S. Epiphanii Opp. T. i. p. 1065. Paris. 1622. Pet. Wadingi Tract. de Incarnat. Disp. xii. p. 535. Antverp. 1636. Joh. Van Hamerstede Triumph. Eccles. de Babylone, p. 135. Lugd. Bat. 1683. The reply of the Sibyl to Æneas is here apposite:

tice of the readers of his very rare Commentarius

gin Mary to be any more than a creature; that worships her, or puts his trust in her more than in God: that believes her above her Son, or that she can in any thing COMMAND HIM. Amen."-Besides the above specimen of a prayer to the Virgin Mary for the compulsion of our Lord, others may be produced without much difficulty. Cardinal Petrus Damianus speaks of her as "non solum rogans, sed imperans; Domina, non ancilla." (Serm. xliv. i. in Nativ. B. V. Mariæ. Opp. p. 249. Lugd. 1623. See Salvation made easy, p. 36. Dublin, 1841.) Bernardinus de Busti declares that she "imperat filio ratione maternalis jurisditionis, qui fuit subditus illi ut habetur Luc. ii." (Mariale, \* Par. iii. Serm. iii. in excellent. 4. fol. xcv. Lugd. 1502. : Sig. 1 4. Hagenaw, 1513.: fol. xcv. Lugd. 1515.) The Corona B. M. V., amongst the works of Bonaventure, Tom. vi. p. 466., contains this invocation of her: "O igitur Imperatrix & Domina nostra benignissima, iure Matris impera tuo dilectissimo Filio," &c. These last words remind me of what Du Moulin says: "I my selfe haue seene in the great Missalles of Paris, before the late Popes new plastered them ouer, these Sapphicke verses barborously elegant"—'O felix puerpera, Nostra pians scelera, Jure matris impera Redemptori.' (Defence of the Catholicke Faith, p. 166. Lond. 1610. See his Masse in Latin and English, p. 253. Lond. 1641.) Daillé quotes this Prose from the Parisian Missal of 1634; (Adv. Latin. Tradit. de Relig. Cult. object. p. 359. Genev. 1664.) and Natalis Alexander does not deny that "quibusdam Missalibus olim inserta est." (In Hist. Eccles.

<sup>\*</sup> Wharton is wrong in stating (Append. ad Cavei Hist. Lit. p. 196° Oxon. 1743.) that the earliest edition of this book was printed at Milan, in 1494; and Clement and others follow him. (Biblioth. Curieuse, Tom. v. p. 464. A Hannov. 1754.) I have the first part of the Sermonarium, which is named "Perpetuum silentium," 8vo. Mli, [Mediolani,] 1492: more likely to be the editio princeps than that at Strasburg, in the same year; (Panzer, i. p. 47.) inasmuch as the Brief of Pope Sixtus IV., confirming the subjoined Office of the immaculate conception, is addressed "Dilecto filio bernardino de busti de Mediolano."

# de Annulo pronubo Deiparæ Virginis, qui Perusiæ

sæc. v. Dissert. xxv. Tom. v. p. 361. Paris. 1699. Conf. [Dr. Freeman's] Discourse concerning Invocation of Saints, p. 9. Lond. 1684.) The fourth verse of the hymn 'Ave maris stella' seems to convey the same meaning: "Monstra te esse matrem, Sumat per te preces, Qui pro nobis natus, Tulit esse tuus:" (Offic. B. Mariæ Virg. p. 196. Antverp. 1600.: p. 181. By Le Cousturier, 1633. Compare Mendham's Literary Policy of the Church of Rome, p. 280. Lond. 1830.) although a different construction is put upon the passage in Spratt's Novena to the Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, p. 12. Dublin, Coyne, 1824.—Enough, it is hoped, has now been advanced in answer to Bellarmin's demand of Calvin: "Qvinto ibidem dicit, nos rogare virginem, vt filium iubeat facere quod petimus. At quis nostrûm hoc dicit? cur non probat vllo exemplo?" (De Sanct. Beat. Lib. i. Cap. xvi. col. 891. Disputt. Tom. ii. Ingolst. 1601.)

Dr. Whitby, in his Discourse concerning the Idolatry of the Church of Rome, p. 175. Lond. 1674, has adduced from the 'Commune Apostolorum,' in the Roman Breviary, this petition to them: "Nos à peccatis omnibus Solvite Jussu quæsumus." M. de Brueys (Réponse à Mr. de Condom, p. 64. A la Haye, 1681.) has noted that, in the late editions of this Breviary, the terms "Solvite jussu" are metamorphosed into "Solvi jubete"-a change which was meant to render the request less absolute. I have taken the trouble to trace the emendation to its source; and find the original phrase in the Breviarium Romanum, Venet. 1491.; Expositio Hymnorum, cum notabili commento, fol. xliii. Delf, 1496.; Brev. Rom. Lugd. 1508.; Brev. Lausann. Geben. 1509.; Hymni de Tempore & de Sanctis, fol. lxxvii. Argent. 1513.; Breviar. Bruxcellense, Paris. 1516.; Brev. Havelbergense, Lips. 1518.; Hymni et Prosæ Ecclesiasticæ, sig. B 7. Colon. 1536.; Brev. Rom. Quignonii, Lugd. 1543. & Paris. 1548.; Breviar. Dominicanorum, Paris. 1550.; Portiforium Sarisburiense, Rothom. 1556.; Brev. Rom. Pii V. Antverp. 1592.; Brev. Rom. Clem. VIII. Antverp. 1614.; Hymni Ecclesiastici, inter Georgii Cassandri Opera, p. 282. Paris. 1616.; religiosissimè adservatur, p. 198. Romæ, 1622(b). An English translation of it is in page 128 of The Virgin Mary misrepresented by the Roman Church, [by Dr. John Patrick(c),] Lond. 1688; and I believe that we need not dwell any longer upon what has been fancifully designated "Mary's Letter to the women of Messina(d)."

## Epistola ad Florentinos.

THE principal witness, on the behalf of this Epistle, is the Dominican Hieron. Savonarola, who, if "not

Breviar. Carmelitarum, Venet. 1668.; Brev. Parisiense, Paris. 1700.: but the words "Solvi jubete" are perceptible in the Hymni Breviarii Romani, S<sup>mi</sup> D. N. Vrbani VIII. ivssv, ex Sacræ Rituum Congregationis approbatione, emendati & editi, Antverp. 1630.; Brev. Rom. Urbani VIII. Antverp. 1664, & 65.; Colon. Agripp. 1665.; Antuerp. 1724.; Lugd. & Paris. 1834.

- (a) Ind. Alexand. VII. p. 335. Romæ, 1664.
- (b) Editio princeps, unknown to De Bure, who says of the reprint, Colon. 1626: "Petit Ouvrage qu'on recherche uniquement pour sa seule singularité." (Bibliog. Instruct. Histoire. Tom. i. n. 4661. A Paris, 1768. Conf. Bzovii Annall. Eccles. Tom. xviii. ad an. 1480. pp. 193-207. Colon. Agripp. 1627.)
- (c) Auto-Biography of Bp. Patrick, p. 239. Oxf. 1839. To this Prelate the work which I have cited has sometimes been attributed; and also another on the Devotions of the Roman Church. The error concerning the latter I have observed in a very valuable article in the Quarterly Review, March, 1842, p. 502.
- (d) Tract on the Language of Palestine, in the age of Christ, by De Rossi, and Dr. H. F. Pfannkuche. Biblical Cabinet, Vol. ii. p. 49. Edinb. 1833.

an impostor," "must have been an extravagant fanatic(e)." He asserts that he put it forth as he heard it formally uttered by the Virgin herself, "clara et alta uoce in totius cœlestis curiæ aures." (Compendium Revelationum invtilis servi Iesv Christi, Fratris Hieronymi de Ferraria(f), Ordinis Praedicatorum, sig. f 5. 8vo. Florent. 1495(g):—sig. g ij. 8vo. Ulmæ, 1496.)

This Epistle and that to the people of Messina are alleged by Pet. Canisius, to prove the Virgin Mary's solicitude about many who were absent from her; and he appropriately calls them "Marianæ

- (e) Bayle's Gen. Dict. Vol. ix. p. 97. note [M.] Lond. 1739. Conf. De Mornay's Mysterie of Iniquitie, pp. 620-22. Lond. 1612. Naucleri Chronica, p. 1118. Colon. 1579. Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, Vol. ii. pp. 266-72. Liverpool, 1795. Life of Leo X. Vol. i. pp. 278-9. Ib. 1805. Fox's Acts and Mon. Vol. i. pp. 830-31, 881. Lond. 1684. Flacii Illyrici Catal. Test. verit. pp. 988-9. Basil. 1556. O'Conor's Columbanus, No. vii. pp. xliv.-lxix. Buckingham, 1816.
- (f) "Qui est ce qui voyant à la tête de quelques ouvrages Italiens Girolamo da Ferrara, & de quelques Traductions Angloises Jerom of Ferrari, s'imaginera d'abord que ces ouvrages sont du fameux Savonarole, si l'on ne sait qu'il porte aussi le nom d'Hieronymus Ferrariensis?" (Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, Tom. vi. p. 454. A Paris, 1722.)
- (g) Wharton was ignorant of this (the first Latin) edition. He mentions that at Paris, 1496. (Append. ad Cavei H. L. p. 201. Oxon. 1743.) The original work is: Compendio di revelatione dello inutile servo di Jesu Christo frate Hieronimo de Ferrara. In Firenze, 1495. Vid. Laire, Ind. Libror. Par. ii. p. 201. Senon. 1791.

charitatis symbola." (*De Maria Deip. Virg.* Lib. v. Cap. i. p. 593. Ingol. 1583.)

Ferreolus Locrius proclaims them to be "verè genuinas." (Apud Coci *Censuram quor. Scriptt. vet.* p. 12. Lond. 1614.)

"Ego verò non video cur his Epistolis humana fides adhiberi non debeat." (Joan. de Carthagena *Homil. Cathol.* Tom. iii. Lib. xiv. p. 514. Romæ, 1614.)

Ceillier and Scholliner will suffice to confront those who have pleaded for the authenticity of the Letters of the Virgin Mary.—" Mais on convient generalement que ce sont toutes pieces apocryphes & supposées, écrites par quelques devots indiscrets(h),

(h) These words "devots indiscrets" bring to my recollection a Pastoral Letter of Gilbert, Bishop of Tournay, to the faithful of his Diocese, "A l'occasion du Livre des Avis Salutaires de la Bien-heureuse Vierge Marie à ses devots indiscrets," dated June 7, and printed in 8vo. A Lille, 1674. The Monita salutaria, here defended, were prohibited, "donec corrigantur," by a Decree, on the 19th of June, 1674. (Vide Indicem Pii VI. p. 197. Romæ, 1786. Frid. Spanhemii Theol. Opp. Tom. iii. coll. 1075-6. Lugd. Bat. 1703.) Their author was Wiedenfeld. (Placcius, De Anonym. pp. 135-6. Conf. Joh. F. Mayer, De Scriptt. Anon. & Pseud. ad fin. Placcii, De Pseudon. p. 91. Hamb. 1708. The present state of the Controversie between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, p. 27. Lond.

<sup>\*</sup> By Wm. Clagett, D.D. See Wood's Ath. Oxon., by Bliss. Vol. iii. col. 641. Lond. 1817. But both this tract, and the Continuation of the present state of the Controversy, 4to. Lond. 1688, are afterwards (Vol. iv. c. 659. Ib. 1820.) assigned by Wood to Archbishop Wake, who was only the writer of the latter: and the same mistake is in Watt's Biblioth. Britan. Vol. ii.

qui ont cru pouvoir par cette pieuse tromperie abuser de la credulité des lecteurs simples & incapables de discernement(i)."—" Supposititiæ uno quasi ore à Criticis peritissimis judicantur(j)."

When treating of the fictitious writings of the Virgin Mary, we ought not to omit an Epistle feigned by Erasmus to have been directed by her to Glaucoplutus. The beginning of this is: "Quod Lutherum sequutus, strenuè suades supervacaneum esse invocare divos, à me quidem isto nomine bonam magnamque inisti gratiam, scito." (Colloq. Peregrinat. Relig. erg. p. 379. Lugd. Bat. 1636.) It is not extraordinary that this device should have excited the displeasure of Bellarmin, who asks of its author: "Quid, quæso, Erasmus Roterodamus? An non Luciani impietatem longo internallo superauit(k)?"

- 1687.) An English translation has been made: Wholsome Advices from the blessed Virgin to her indiscreet Worshippers. Written by one of the Roman Communion, and done out of the French into English, by a Gentleman of the Church of England, [J. Taylor.] 4to, Lond. 1687.
  - (i) Hist. Gen. des Auteurs Sacrés, Tom. i. p. 494. A Paris, 1729.
  - (j) Hist. Theol. sæc. i. p. 188. Salisburg. 1761.
- (k) Mr. Kenrick says that Erasmus was "a writer not liable to the suspicion of exaggerated piety." (New Month of Mary, p. 121. Dublin, 1841.)

Authors. col. 941. Edinb. 1824.—Dr. Gee is said to have composed The Catalogue of all the Discourses published against Popery, during the reign of King James II. 4to. Lond. 1689.

(Præfat. in Controv. de Eccles. triumph. Disputt. Tom. ii. p. 830. Ingolst. 1601. Conf. Rainoldum, De Rom. Eccles. Idolol. p. 82. An. 1598. Colvenerii Kalendar. sac. Virg. Mariæ, Tom. ii. fol. 204. Duaci, 1638. Phillips's Life of Cardinal Pole, Vol. i. p. 183. Dublin, 1765. Montacutii Analect. Eccles. Exercit. p. 178. Lond. 1622. Theod. Petreii Catalog. Hæretic. p. 57. Colon. 1629. Valer. Andreæ Biblioth. Belgic. p. 231. Lovan. 1623.) In the words of Dr. James, Erasmus, "a Papist vnquestionably, though a professed enemie to the sundrie abuses which had crept into Popery, is now shaken off, and shifted vpon vs for a Protestant; or rather left Neutrall by them, and becom the very reproach & off-scouring of the Iesuites, without indignation and derision not to be named: and why so? Not so much for taxing the abuses of their Monkes and Friars, as for discouering the counterfeit works of the false, and restoring the true workes of the ancient Fathers. This is the true cause of their great splene against him." (Treatise of the corruption of Scripture, Councels, and Fathers, Part 4. p. 66. Lond. 1611.) Cassander, whom Dr. James (Ib. p. 60.) calls "one of the indifferentest writers of the contrary side," concurs with Erasmus, respecting the invocation of Saints, so far as to say: " Alter error est, quod homines etiam non mali certos sibi sanctos tamquam patronos & tutores delegerunt; in eorum meritis atq; intercessione plus quam in Christi merito fiduciam posuerunt; atque adeo, unico illo advocationis Christi officio obscurato, sanctos, atque imprimis Virginem Matrem in illius locum substituerunt." (De artic. Relig. inter Cathol. & Protest. controv. Consultatio, p. 154. Lugd. 1608.) The justness of this honest statement might be easily evinced at large; but it would not be consistent with my present undertaking that I should attempt to establish it at great length.

Anselm, in his Liber de excellentia B. Virg. Mariæ, (Opp. Tom. iii. p.219. Colon. Agripp. 1612.) gives the following reason for our Saviour not taking the Virgin Mary to heaven, at the same time with him: "Fortassis Domine, ne tuæ cælesti curiæ veniret in dubium cui potius occurreret, tibi videlicet Domino suo, cùm post regnum tuum in assumpta carne petenti, an ipsi Dominæ(l) suæ, ipsum regnum iam suum materno iure effectum ascendenti... Prudentiori ergo & digniori consilio vsus, præcedere illam volebas," &c.—The same sentiment is repeated by Sebast. Barradius. (Comment. in Concord. Evangel. Tom. i. Lib. vi. Cap. xi. p. 300. Antverp. 1613.)

The Speculum Exemplorum describes a vision which Frater Leo had of two ladders, reaching from earth to heaven: the one red, at the top of which Christ appeared, "iratus & offensus;" the other white, at the summit of which was the Virgin Mary. They who attempted to ascend by the former fell backwards; but they who climbed the latter "ingrediebantur regnum sine labore." (Distinct. vii. Exemp.

<sup>(1)</sup> De "Liturgia Dominæ nostræ Mariæ," Vid. Jobi Ludolfi Histor. Æthiop. Lib. iii. C. 4. n. 39. Francof. ad Mæn. 1681.

xli. sig. z 8. Argent. 1490. See Liguori's Glories of Mary, p. 177. Dublin, 1841, in which this narration is revived.)

The Carthusian Ludolphus de Saxonia fears not to recommend prayer to the blessed Virgin thus: "velocior est enim nonnunquam salus memorato nomine eius quam inuocato nomine domini iesu vnici filij eius." (Vita Jesu Christi, Par. ii. Cap.lxxxvi(m). sig. k. Parrhis. 1502.)

In the Roman Breviary St. Bernard is cited as saying: "Vehementer quidem nobis, dilectissimi, vir unus & mulier una nocuere: sed gratias Deo, per unum nihilominus virum & mulierem unam omnia restaurantur." (Off. B. Mariæ in Sab. Mense Junio, Lect. iii. ad calc. Par. Æstiv. p. clj. Antuerp. 1724.)

—"A man and a woman having proved our destruction, it was befitting that another man and another woman should unite to save us. No doubt Jesus, the Man-God, alone sufficed to effect our redemption; but it was more convenient that both sexes having concurred to our ruin, both should conspire

(m) This chapter is not in my copy of the book, (sine loco, anno, vel typographi nomine; item car. sig. num. & custod.) which, so far as I can discover, may have been printed previously, or very little subsequently to 1474, the date of the first edition, ([Argent.] & afterwards Colon.,) according to Panzer and Santander. Denis names that at Argent. 1474. So also does Bauer. (Biblioth. Libr. rar. univ. Tom. ii. p. 315. Nurnb. 1771.) Argent., (Eggestein,) 1474, says Laire. (Ind. Libror. Par. i. p. 343. Conf. p. 278. Senon. 1791.) Maittaire considers the earliest impression to have been Norib. 1478; Wharton, Argent. 1483.

to save us." (Liguori's Glories of Mary, p. 127. Dubl. 1841.)

Gabriel Biel avouches that "pater celestis cum habeat iusticiam & misericordiam tanquam potiora regni sui bona, iusticia sibi retenta, misericordiam matri virgini concessit." (Sac. Can. Miss. Exposit. (n) Lect. lxxx. fol. ccxxxiii. Basil. 1510. Conf. Theorem. Theol. de vulneribus Eccles. Rom. necdum curatis, Par. i. à Wolg. Mayero. iii. Vulnus. Basil. 1612. Dounami Papa Antichristus, p. 328. Lond. 1620.) This sentence resembles the transmutation of the first verse of the 93rd Psalm, in Bonaventure's Psalter:—"Devs vltionum Dominus: sed tu Mater Misericordiæ ad miserendum inflectis." (fol. 37. Vlysip. 1611.)

Joannes Heroldt(o), surnamed Discipulus, in explaining the Virgin Mary's title "Mater misericordiæ(p)," actually proposes the query—"An ipsa vel

- (n) It is not generally known that Biel, at the end of this work, ingenuously confesses himself to have been little more than the transcriber of it, "paucis omissis, nonnullis additis, vel mutatis;" the author being Eggelingus de Brunsvig. Biel calls it "Collectorium;" and he himself has been surnamed "Collector." (Whartoni App. in Caveum, ii. 193.) Wharton (Ib. p. 194.) mentions the above fact; and he seems to have copied from Raynaud. (Erotemata, pp. 139-40. Lugd. 1653.) An "Epithoma expositionis" was published in 8vo. Thubing. 1499.
- (o) Vid. Quetif & Echard Scriptt. Ord. Prædicat. Tom. i. p. 762. Lut. Paris. 1719. Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, Vol. iii. pp. xciii-iv. Lond. 1781. Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare, Vol. ii. p. 340. Lond. 1807.
  - (p) The Tractatus de laudibus et inclita corona beate marie has

filius eius sit magis misericors(q)?" and he makes

these words: "Benedicta sis domina, et mater domini nostri iesu christi, mater misericordiarum, et domina tocius consolationis, que consolaris nos in omni tribulatione nostra;" (sig. b 8. Paris. 1506.) which are clearly a perversion of 2 Cor. i. 3, 4.

"Sed si potestatem habet Filius facere Iustitiæ iudicium, Ipsa etiam ex concessione potestatem habet facere iudicium Misericordiæ, quia Mater Dei est." (Biblia Mariæ, ab Alberto Magno: edit. studio Vincentii Justiniani, p. 194, Colon. Agripp. 1625.) In this book (p. 174.) is quoted a passage as if from St. Bernard, in praise of the Virgin Mary; but the editor observes, in a note, that the sentence is not in St. Bernard, but in Idiota; whose "Contemplations," first published by Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, Paris. 1519, are before me; and in the prologue to those on the Virgin Mary (fol. 36.) we read: "sæpe quos iustitia filij potest damnare, matris misericordia liberat."-We shall be rewarded for our pains in inquiring into the character of this unpretending writer. Possevinus (Appar. sac.) says that he flourished "post octingentesimum Do. annum." Coccius cites him as an author of the year 800, to prove the blessed Virgin to have been free from sin,\* original, actual, mortal and venial.† (Thesaur. Cathol.

Also as teaching: "Per te ô superbenedicta Virgo Maria . . . Diabolus vincitur & conteritur; quia de te scribitur: Ipsa conteret caput tuum." (1b. p. 313.) Abraham Coster has given a full account of the depravation of this verse in his Vindex loci S. Scripturæ, Gen. iii. 15. à vitiosa interpretatione de B. Virgine Maria, quæ in Bibliis Ecclesiæ Romanæ jam-diu inveteravit. 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1614. The Benedictine editors of St. Jerome's works (Tom. i. col. 4. n. f. Paris. 1693.) say: "Extat etiam MS. codex perantiquus in bibliotheca sancti Germani à Pratis, ubi prima manu scriptum superest ipse, licet alia recentiori sit additus apex litteræ e, ut esset ipsa, pro ipse. Denique curiosum lectorem non celamus scripsisse olim veteres pronomina, & adverbia terminata in e, per diphthongum ae: ut est illud, ipsae dixit & facta sunt. Et superbae loqueris, stultae egisti, &c. Ex hoc scribendi modo retineri facile potuit ipsa, pro ipse, sive ipsae." Conf. Whitakeri Opera, Tom. i. p. 290. Genev. 1610 .-6 Quam falsationem Colonienses etiam Josepho in publica editione affingere non sunt veriti, abutentes corrupta Ruffini interpretatione, cum Josephus in Græca lingua nihil tale habeat." (Chemnicii Exam. Conc. Trid. p. 56. Genevæ, 1634.)

the Saviour thus assent to her persevering entreaties

Tom. i. p. 266. Colon. 1619.) Aubertus Miræus (Auctar. de Scriptor. Eccl. celxxviii.) does not decide whether he lived in

<sup>†</sup> The caution of the Council of Trent, with regard to including the Virgin Mary in the Decree concerning original sin, deserves observation :- " Declarat tamen hæc ipsa sancta Synodus non esse suæ intentionis comprehendere in hoc decreto, vbi de peccato originali agitur, beatam & immaculatam Virginem Mariam, Dei genitricem;" &c. (Sess. v. §. ult. p. 14. Antverp. 1633.) The Constitutions of different Popes on the subject, with the Declarations of the Cardinals, and the Remissions of Barbosa, are exhibited in this volume; which of all editions of the Tridentine Canons is "the best, and indeed an Authentick Common-place-Book, and a Repertory for all Points of Popery." (Barlow's Directions, p. 33. Oxford, 1700.) Le Plat affords the following interesting information :-- "Tota hæc periodus 'Declarat' &c. usque ad finem decreti abest ab edit. Antv. & Par. 1546. Ven. 1552., nec reperitur in summa conciliorum Caranzæ, qui Tridentino interfuit, ut probant illius editiones, Parisiensis 1550. Antverpiensis 1556. & 1600. Non reperitur etiam in collectione adornata a Petro Crabbe ordinis Franciscanorum, edita Coloniæ 1551. Reperitur tamen in actis concilii Tridentini primo per Melanchtonem editis anno 1546., uti & in antidoto Calvini edito 1547. Prima catholica editio in qua hæc periodus legitur est Mediolanensis 1547., cui concordant editiones Romanæ anni 1564. & omnes aliæ posteriores." (Nota in loc. apud Canones et Decreta Concil. Trid. p. 26. Antverp. 1779.) A copy which I have of the Breviary of Cardinal de Quignonès, Lugd. 1543, has bound up with it a MS. Dissertation by Pere Hippolyte Helyot, in which he states that in the editions of this book published after the author's death, from 1540 to 1596, there is an interpolation in the third lection of the Office of the immaculate conception, in consequence of which Maldonat charged the Cardinal with impudence: for in these impressions St. Thomas and St. Dominic are adduced; the former as saying: "Maria ab omni peccato originali & actuali immunis fuit." This sentence, amongst others, Helyot declares not to be visible in the editions, at Rome, 1535, Paris, 1535, and 1536: but the corruption is a little older than he thought; for I find it in the work, "nunc denuo ab autore suo recognitum diligentius." fol. 491. s. l. 1537. Conf. Simon, Lettres Choisies, Tom. i. p. 245. A. Amsterd. 1730. Hooker's Works, Vol. iii. P. ii. pp. 701, 722. Oxf. 1836.—"Quis ignorat nihil hactenus de hac re ab Ecclesia esse definitum?" (Ind. Expurg. Brasichell. p. 285. Romæ, 1607: p. 249. Bergom. 1608.)-Du Pin's Eccles. Hist. Vol. iii. p. 698. Dubl. 1723. Acta Eruditor. 1711. p. 127. Lips. 1711. Suarez In 1m 2@ D. Thom. Tract. v. Disp. ix. p. 444. Mogunt. 1629. Erasmi Lib. de sarc.

for a sinner: "statutum est in lege diuina quod

790, or 859, as Molanus thought; or in 902, according to Bellarmin; who, in the first place, adduced Idiota as "vetustum auc-

Eccles. concord. sig. F 7. Antverp. 1533: p. 114. Basil. 1537. L'Introduction au Traité de la conformité des Merveilles anciennes auec les modernes, par Henri Estiene, pp. 517-26. L'an. 1566. De gloriosissime imperatricis nostre virginis Marie conceptione Sermo, per Iohannem Zugksseysen, 8vo. Nurmberg. 1503. [Vid. Panzer, vii. 442.] Thilo Cod. Apoc. N. Test. Tom. i. p. 346. Lips. 1832. Botsacci Contradictiones Pontificiæ, pp. 393-401. Wittemb. 1631. Osiandri Papa non Papa, pp. 32-3. Tubing. 1599. Revelat. S. Birgittæ, L. vi. pp. 392-3. Colon. Agripp. 1628. Wall's Hist. of Infant Baptism, Part. i. pp. 312-15. Lond. 1720. Widdringtoni Discuss. Discuss. Decret. mag. Concil. Lateran. pp. 177-87. Augustæ, 1618. Bp. Taylor's Liberty of Prophesying, p. 146. Lond. 1647.

The immediate source of this interpolation was probably the Office of the immaculate conception, drawn up by Leonard Nogaroles, Apostolic Prothonotary;" [Conf. Waddingi Legat. de concept. Virg. Mariæ, Sect. iii. pp. 328-33. Lovan, 1624.] for I see the words in question therein, at fol. ccccxxx., of the Breuiarium Romanum, Lugd. 1508. Another Office of the same kind, composed by Bernardinus de Busti, and authorized by a Brief of Pope Sixtus IV., sig. l. Mediol. 1492, contains two extracts professedly from Aguinas; the first of which is: "Maria purissima fuit quantum ad omnem culpam; quia nec originale, nec mortale, nec veniale peccatum incurrit." This language was so strong that it excited my suspicion; and on referring to the Expositio super salutations Angelica, I discovered that the expressions of the writer were these: "Ipsa. n. purissima fuit & quantum ad culpam, quia ipsa Virgo nec mortale, nec ueniale peccatum incurrit:" (Opp. Tom. xvii. fol. 76. Venet. 1593.) where we perceive the absence of the most important words "omnem" and "nec originale." Conf. Raynaudi Opp. Tom. viii. p. 292. Lugd. 1665.—Salmeron cites the corrupted passage; (In Rom. Disp. li. Commentar. Tom. xiii. p. 475. Colon. Agripp. 1604.) but the Angelic Doctor could scarcely in this place teach the immaculate conception, when he had previously said: (fol. 75.) "Christus excellit Beatam Virginem in hoc, quod sine originali conceptus & natus est, beata autem Virgo IN ORIGINALI EST CONCEPTA, sed non nata."

The other quotation is this: "Puritas intenditur per recessum à contrario; et ideo potest aliquid creatum inveniri quo nihil purius esse potest in rebus creatis, sine ulla contagione peccati. Et talis fuit puritas beatæ Virginis, quæ à peccato originali et actuali fuit immunis. Tamen ista puritas fuit sub Deo, inquantum erat in ea potentia ad peccandum." For the sake of accuracy I shall

<sup>\*</sup> Tertullian having said: "Soli enim Dei filio seruabatur sine delicto per-

filius debet honorare matrem." (Serm. i. de B. Virg.

torem, qui paulò post annum Domini DCCC. floruit;" (De amiss. Grat. Lib. iv. Cap. xv. col. 323. Disputt. Tom. iv. Ingolst. 1601.)

allege this same disputed passage as it is extant in the author's works: "Puritas intenditur per recessum a contrario, & ideo potest aliquid creatum inueniri, quo nihil purius esse potest in rebus creatis, si nulla contagione peccati inquinatum sit; & talis fuit puritas beatæ virginis, quæ peccato originali & actuali immunis fuit: fuit tamen sub Deo, inquantum erat in ea potentia ad peccandum." (In i. Sent. Dist. xliv. Q. i. Art. iii. Opp. Tom. vi. fol. 137. Venet. 1593.) The margin here has the following note: "Dist. 17. q. 2. Art. 4. & oppositum istius 3. pa. sum. q. 27. art. 1."-It is remarkable that in the second Venice edition of the writings of Aquinas, Tom. ix. p. 565. an. 1747, only half of this reference is given; no allusion being made to the "oppositum istius:" and the reader is directed to the "Admonitio prævia" of Bern. Maria de Rubeis, n. iv., where Raynaud is accused of "putidissima mendacia" for stating that the contested words were omitted in the impression at Antwerp, in 1612. Conf. Raynaudi Opp. Tom. viii. p. 291. Lugd. 1665; & Tom. xx. pp. 299-300. Cracov. 1669.—I shall now cite the sentence in Dist. xvii. Q. ii. Art. iv. fol. 57. Opp. T. vi. Ven. 1593.: "Augmentum enim puritatis est secundum recessum a contrario, & quia in beata Virgine fuit depuratio ab omni peccato, ideo peruenit ad summum puritatis, sub Deo tamen in quo non est aliqua potentia deficiendi, quæ est in qualibet creatura quantum in se est." What has been termed the "oppositum" of this must also be brought forward: "beata virgo sanctificata fuit in utero a peccato originali, quantum ad maculam personalem, NON TAMEN FUIT LIBERATA A REATU, quo tota natura tenebatur obnoxia." (In tert. Part. Summ. Q. xxvii. Art. i. Opp. Tom. xii. fol. 101. Venet. 1593. : Tom. xxiv. p. 165. Ib. 1757.) Aguinas had before asserted: (fol. 100.) "solum originale peccatum poterat eam impedire ab introitu regni cœlestis;" but as he, with all both Maculists and Immaculists, (as Dr. Patrick calls them,) held that the blessed Virgin was purified from original sin, before her birth, it does not appear to me necessary to deny that he could have made use of the expressions in the second extract; or to accede to the opinion of Canisius: "Thomas non satis hîc sibi constat, (pace tanti viri dixerim.)" (De Maria Deip. Lib. i. Cap. vi. p. 45. In-

manere," Rigaltius tells us: "Non mirum si nec beatissimam Virginem hic addiderit Christo, qui libro de Carne Christi de ea scripserit minus consentanea sequentium ætatum [!] Theologis." (Not. in Tertull. De Præscript. Hæret. Opp. p. 203. Lut. Paris. 1675.)

### Maria, apud ejusd. Commune Sanctorum, in Sermon.

but, in the review of his works, changed his opinion thus: "Scripsi auctorem, nomine Idiotam, vixisse paulò post annum octingen-

golst. 1583. Conf. Salmeron, ut sup. Disp. l. p. 463. Pozæ Elucidar. Deipara, pp. 1214-15. Lugd. 1627.)

We now come to consider the sentiment ascribed, as I have said, to St. Dominic. It is this: - "Sicut primus Adam fuit ex terra virgine & nunquam maledicta formatus, ita decuit in secundo Adam fieri." The same passage, together with part of the latter one from Aquinas, is quoted in the Determinatio de immaculata conceptione, &c., [by Iohannes de Breitenbach, 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1489. See Panzer, i. 476.] sig. a viii., and is deservedly styled "optimum testimonium." De Busti, when producing it, (Mariale, Par. i. sig. d viii. Mediol. 1492.) says that it is to be found "in tractatu de corpore Christi;" and before examining into the genuineness of this treatise, I have to remark that the language under review seemed to me to resemble a sentence attributed to St. Andrew, whose "Life, written by the Presbyters and Deacons of the Churches of Achaia," contains these words: "Et quomodo de immaculata terra factus fuerat homo primus, qui per lignum præuaricationis mundo mortem intulerat, necessarium fuit ut de immaculata Virgine natus Christus perfectus homo, qui est Dei filius, qui primum hominem fecerat, uitam æternam quam perdiderant omnes repararet," &c. (Aloysii Lipomani Sanctorum Vitæ, Tom. i. fol. 24. Venet. 1551. Surius, De prob. Sanct. Histor. Tom. vi. p. 620. Colon. Agripp. 1575.) This idea was soon fully confirmed; for Petrus Galatinus surmised the same thing; and speaks thus: "Hanc etiam de immaculata uirginis conceptione opinionem & apostoli tenuerunt. Sicuti ex beati Andreæ apostoli dictis aperte liquet. Qui cum Ægeæ Proconsuli mysterium crucis exponeret, ita inter cætera dixit, Et quoniam de immaculata terra factus fuerat homo primus, qui per lignum præuaricationis mundo mortem intulerat, necessario de immaculata uirgine natus est perfectus homo, in quo Dei filius, qui primum fecerat hominem, uitam æternam quam perdiderant per Adam homines repararet." (De Arcan. Cathol. Verit. Lib. vii. Cap. v. p. 500. Basil. 1550. Conf. Scholliner Hist. Theol. Christ. sæc. i. p. 73. Salisb. 1761.) Canisius has evidently copied the passage from Galatinus, whom he mentions immediately afterwards; and got from him the notion that St. Andrew had been followed by Dominic. (De Maria Deip. L. i. C. vii. p. 54.) Suarez alludes to the controverted tract of Dominic, and was probably guided by Canisius, as he cites him just before he names it; and in the previous column he declares: "Andreas Apostolus (vt in eius gestis refert Abdias lib. quarto histor.) dixit, 'sicut primus Adam formatus fuit ex terra antequam esset maledicta, ita secundus Adam formatus est ex terra VirTom. ii. Colon. 1474(r). Vid. Heerbrandi *Disput. de multip. Papat. Idolom.* p. 12. Tubing. 1578.)

tesimum à Natali Domini: id autem scripsi, sequutus fidem aliorum. Sed postea animaduerti ab eo auctore verba sancti Bernardi

ginea nunquam maledicta.'" (In 3. Part. D. Tho. Tom. ii. Q. xxvii. Disp. iii. S. v. p. 43. Madrit. 1598.) As the Pseudo-Abdias, in the third book, (not the fourth, which relates to St. James, the son of Zebedee,) does not bear witness to any such speech having been uttered by the Apostle Andrew, we must suppose that Suarez has given an inaccurate reference. In the seventh book of the Historia Apostolica (fol. 89. Paris. 1566.) St. Matthew is made to teach that our Saviour, "in ligno crucis positus, lignum præuaricationis excussit;" and St. Bartholomew (Lib. viii. fol. 98.) is represented as affirming: "Primus inquam homo Adam dictus est, qui de terra factus est. Terra autem illa de qua factus est, virgo fuit... Par ergo erat, vt dixi, vt qui filium virginis vicerat, à filio virginis vinceretur."—Conf. Joan. Lerii Hist. Navig. in Brasil. p. 52. Genev. 1594. Fabricii Cod. Apoc. N. Test. ii. 677. Hamb. 1703. iii. 587. Ib. 1719.

With regard to the authenticity of the treatise, assumed by some to be St. Dominic's, one testimony will perhaps be deemed conclusive.—"Cum operis istius de Corpore Christi editi à S. Dominico, nec Vincentius Bellouacensis, nec Humbertus, nec Theodericus, nec S. Antoninus, nec alij rerum eius Auctores meminerint, suspicamur alterius potius fuisse scriptoris, forsan nomine Dominici etiam nuncupati. Iacobus Susatus in Chronico Ordinis, Antonius Senensis in Bibliotheca, & Posseuinus in Sacro Apparatu tradunt Fr. Dominicum de Pantaleonibus Florentinum, inter alia ingenij sui monumenta, composuisse tractatum de Corpore Christi: quem in Ordine Prædicatorum claruisse memorant ad annum salutis 1262. nempe annos vnum & quadraginta ab obitu S. P. Dominici. Illius ergo potius quàm S. Dominici præfatum opus de Corpore Christi esse credi potest. Sed vtinam diuini ingenij aliquod certum extaret monumentum; id enim haud secus quàm thesaurum incomparabilem amplecteremur." (Malvendæ Annales Sac. Ord. Prædicat. ad an. 1221. p. 376. Neapoli, 1627.)

One of the motives which influenced the University of Paris not to receive the Breviary of De Quignonès was: "Imprimis, in isto Breviario imminui videtur honor beatæ Virginis Mariæ." (D'Argentré Collect. Judic. de nov. error. Tom. ii. p. 123. Lut. Paris. 1728. Conf. Zaccariæ Biblioth. Ritual. Tom. i. pp. 110-18. Romæ, 1776. Antonii Biblioth. Hispan. Nov. Tom. i. p. 464. Matriti, 1783. Waddingi Scriptt. Ord. Minor. pp. 90, 91. Romæ, 1806. Sbaraleæ Supplem. ad Scriptt. Ord. S. Francis. p. 280. Romæ, 1806. Ughelli Italia Sacra, Tom. i. col. 1191. Venet. 1717.)

## God himself is called by the Prophet Daniel(s)

vsurpari; ex quo colligitur vt vixerit post annum Domini millesimum centesimum quinquagesimum tertium: hoc enim anno S. Bernardus obiit." (Recognit. Libror. pp. 94-5. Ingol. 1608.) Afterward is discerned "sus lota in volutabro luti:" for the Cardinal, in the first edition of his book De Scriptor. Eccles.,\* fixes Idiota at the year 902; but, in a subsequent impression of the same treatise, he recants what he had written, and thinks it most prudent to say: "Quando floruerit ignoramus." (p. 215. Colon.

<sup>\*</sup>Romæ, 1613. ["Quo tempore Cardinalis Bellarminus Romæ viuebat adhuc." (Fuligatti Vita Rob.: Card. Bellar. Lat. redd. à Silv. Petra Sancta, sig. gg 4. Leod. 1626.)] Vid. Niceron, Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. des Hommes illustres, Tom. xxxi. p. 28. A Paris, 1735. Walchii Bibl. Theol. Tom. iii. p. 385. Jenæ, 1762. Considerable confusion has been made about this earliest impression. Cave (In Hist. Lit. Prolegom. §. viii. p. xlii. Oxon. 1740.) mentions an edition, Colon. 1612; but he is certainly in error: and the imprimatur of the Master of the sacred Palace, in the reprint, Colon. 1684, might alone lead us to suspect that the work had originally proceeded from Rome. Joannes Fabricius (Hist. Bibl. Fabric. Par. v. p. 448. Wolfenbutt. 1722.) and Reimmann (Catal. Bibl. Theol. P. i. p. 111. Hildes. 1731.) say that the editio princeps was that of Paris, in 1616: but, unhappily for these writers, Casaubon, whose Exercitt. ad Annall. Baronii were printed at London, in 1614, speaks of Bellarmin's treatise; (Exerc. xvi. pp. 591, 598, 667. Genev. 1654.) and cites him thus, in the last place: "Bellarminus ipse in nupero de Ecclesiasticis scriptoribus libro;" which he declares, in the next page, had "nouissime ab eo profectus." Bayle tells us that, "if we believe Father Labbé, the first Edition of that Book of Bellarmin is of the Year 1617;" and again: "we may therefore affirm that Father Labbé is mistaken in placing the first Edition of it in the Year 1617." (Hist. & Crit. Dict. Vol. i. p. 567. n. R. Lond. 1710.) It is probable, however, that Labbé (Præfat. in Dissert. de Scriptt. Eccles. Paris. 1660.) only meant to signify the first Paris edition, which, according to Niceron, (ut sup.) "est une des plus correctes, ayant été faite par les soins & sous les yeux du P. Sirmond." Bellarmin's work was republished at Cologne and Lyons, in 1613; and on the titlepage of the latter impression we read: "Editio recognita, & ab Autore ipso auctior facta."-Since this note was written I have arrived at complete satisfaction respecting the matter, by having procured a copy of the first edition, (a duplicate from the British Museum,) 8vo. Romæ, ex typog. Barthol. Zannetti, 1613. Superiorum permissu.

"the Ancient of days;" but this does not deter the

1684.) The Magna Bibliotheca Patrum, Tom. x. pp. 27-30. Col. Agripp. 1618, contains the Contemplationes de Virgine Maria, by Idiota; (or "S. Idiot," as Dr. James terms him, ut sup. p. 78;) and in the "Series Authorum," prefixed to this tome, he is noted to have lived, conformably to Bellarmin, in the year 902: and we cannot gain any additional knowledge concerning him from the expurgatory Index of the Master of the sacred Palace, p. 184. Romæ, 1607: 161. Bergom. 1608.—They who are not already aware of the circumstance will doubtless be surprised to learn that this mysterious individual, who had long been respected for his antiquity,\* was only a Regular Canon of the Augustinian Order, named Raymundus Jordani, who existed in 1381! About him we must refer to Raynaud, who, in 1630, composed his De Raymundo Jordano, Canonico Regulari, qui hactenus Idiotæ nomen prætulit, Cogitationes priores; and, after twenty years, formed his Posteriores de Idiota et ejus Operibus Cogitationes: both of which are in Tom. xi., of his works, pp. 41-46. Lugd. 1665. Conf. Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, vi. 265. A Paris, 1722. St. Alphonsus Liguori cites "The blessed Raymond Jourdan, who, through humility, called himself the Idiot." (Glories of Mary, p. 143. Dublin, 1841.)

Raynaud accuses heretics of having detruncated from Idiota his Contemplationes de Deipara; and it is true that they are not to be found in Heroldi Orthodoxographa, pp. 1145-98. Basil. 1555.; and are also omitted by Grynæus, in his Monumenta S. Patrum Orthodoxographa, Basil. [1569.] De la Bigne thus takes credit to himself for having restored them: "Hanc sustulerant Hæretici in editione Germanica; sed tibi ô Lector postliminio ex Parisiensi Editione ann. 1538. restituimus." (S. Biblioth. S. Patt. Tom. iii.

<sup>• &</sup>quot;Quidam antiquus Pater (qui ob humilitatem idiotæ nomen sibi imposuit, & ante octingentos annos scripsit librum de contemplatione Virginis.)" (Suarez, In tert. Part. D. Thomæ, Tom. ii. Q. xxvii. Disp. iii. Sect. v. p. 41. Madriti, 1598.)

Jesuit Maximil. Sandæus from styling the Virgin Mary "Antiqua dierum." (*Maria Luna-mystica*, p. 52. Colon. Agripp. 1634.)

It is scarcely possible to exceed the blasphemy of another Jesuit, Ferd. Quir. de Salazar, who has declared the blessed Virgin to be "the completion of the whole Trinity!"—"Nam, vt tradit Hesychius, in

coll. 877-8. Paris. 1575.) There is an absurd mistake, affecting Raynaud, in the Additio to Bellarmin's last account of Idiota; where we are told that the discoverer of Jordani was "Pater Theophilus, Winand Jesuita, sæculi decimi septimi egregius scriptor." (Opp. Bellarm. Tom. vii. p. 468. Venet. 1728.) In this volume are incorporated the Dissertatio Historica of Labbé, and the Supplementum of Casimir Oudin, who is not named, in consequence of his having changed sides,\* but in the "Lectori Monitum" gets the title of "Præmonstratensis quidam."

- (q) Conf. Fowns' Trisagion, Book i. p. 91. Lond. 1618.—"Our Lady, like our Lord, is full of mercy. The Mother, like the Son, refuses not her pity to those who invoke her." (Liguori's Glories of Mary, p. 160. Dubl. 1841.) "If you do not wish to hear my prayer, say in whom else I can place more confidence, or to whom should I go to find more mercy." (Ib. p. 62.)
- (r) I have fortunately obtained this edition, which is the princeps, and is not known to most Bibliographers. M. de la Serna Santander (*Dict. Bibliog.* Tom. iii. pp. 6, 7. A Bruxelles, 1807.) was acquainted with it; and Dr. Kloss had a copy. (*Catalogue*, p. 251. Lond. 1835.)
  - (s) Chap. vii. 9, 13, 22.

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Epitheta honorifica & omnia in laudem hæreticorum deleantur." (Ind. Libror. prohib. Clementis P. VIII. De correct. Libr. §. ij. p. 41. Romæ & Bonon. 1596.)—" Invenies ibi nullam minimam maximam laudem tributam nostris, quæ ab his egregijs Censoribus non deleatur & expungatur." (Mer. Casauboni Pietas, p. 105. Lond. 1621.)

serm. de laudibus Mariæ, Virgo Maria totius Trinitatis complementum fuit." (*Exposit. in Proverb. Salom.* Tom. i. p. 261. n. 300. Lugd. 1636.) But as the blame seems here to rest chiefly on Hesychius, I must now do justice to this writer, who merely said, when comparing Noah's ark with the Virgin Mary(t): "illa duas & tres contignationes & man-

(t) "Tertia figura fuit in archa noe quæ preseruata extitit ab aquis diluuij. & ferebatur super aquas vt habetur. gen. 7°. c. per quod dabatur intelligi quod Beata Maria archa dei preseruata fuit a diluuio originalis peccati." (Bern. de Busti Marial. Par. i. sig. e. Mediol. 1492. Conf. Kenrick's Month of Mary, p. 181. Dubl. 1841.)

St. Peter (1. iii. 20, 21.) seems to imply that the ark was a figure of the Church. Compare St. Augustin, De Civ. Dei, xv. 26. St. Chrysostom, De Pænit. Hom. viii. p. 340: item p. 478. Opp. Tom. ii. & Tom. i. p. 783. ed. De Montfaucon. Paris. 1718. S. Bernardi Opp. Vol. ii. col. 705. ed. Mabillon. Paris. 1719. S. Cyprian. De Unit. Eccles. Opp. p. 109. Oxon. 1682. S. Hieron. Advers. Lucifer. Opp. Tom. iv. P. ii. col. 302. Paris. 1706. S. Fulgent. De fide ad Pet. Capp. xxxvii, xliii. Opp. Paris. 1639: vel Capp. 80, 86. Opp. S. August. T. vi. col. 512. Antwerp. 1701. Middendorpii Hist. Monast. p. 6. Colon. Agripp. 1603. Casauboni Exercit. xiii. ad Annall. Baron. p. 296. Lond. 1614. Apology, pp. 65-6. Lond. 1685. Office for public Baptism, ad init. Laurence's Bampton Lectures, p. 71. Oxford, 1838. Pearson, On the Creed, Art. ix. p. 344. Lond. 1676; and the Extravagant Unam sanctam of Pope Boniface VIII., together with the Gloss. (De major. & obed. Cap. i. ad fin. Lib. sext. Decretal.\* coll. 204-5.

(Poetical Works, Vol. iii. p. 89. Lond. 1806.) His editor, Mr. George Chalmers,

<sup>\*</sup> Sir David Lyndsay thus speaks of the Pope:

<sup>&</sup>quot;His style at lenth gif thow wald knaw,
Thow moste ga luke the cannon law:
Baith in the Sext and Clementene,
His staitlie style thair may be sene."

siones habebat, hæc autem vniuersum Trinitatis complementum;" that is, of course, that she had, not was

Paris. 1585.) This is the famous Constitution in which the Pontiff maintains that he must be a Manichæan who could believe in both a temporal and a spiritual sovereignty; and that there can be but one head, unless the Church be a monster; and one beginning, "quia testante Moyse, non in principiis, sed in principio cælum Deus creauit & terram." See Du Moulin's Defence of the Catholicke Faith, p. 60. Lond. 1610. The following passages are somewhat similar: "Since God is one, and hath no partner, therefore the vicegerent over the land of the Lord (the Almighty and the Holy) must be one only."-"If there were two Gods in the heavens and in the earth, the order of the universe would end in horror and confusion." (Timour's Institutes, by Major Davy, and Joseph White, B. D. p. 89. Oxford, 1783.)] The same Ordinance of Boniface concludes with this assertion: "Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ [al. 'omnem humanam creaturam.' fol. xi. Paris. 1532.] declaramus, dicimus, diffinimus, & pronuntiamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis." Conf. [Hotomanni] Brutum Fulmen Papæ Sixti V. pp. 52, 87, 201. [" Petulantissimus Liber." (Natal. Alexand. Hist. Eccles. viii. 66. Paris. 1699.)] Fox's Acts and Mon. Vol. i. pp. 887, 895. Lond. 1684. Bp. Morton's Grand Imposture of the (now) Church of Rome, p. 153. Lond. s. a. Bp. Barlow's Genuine Remains, p. 381. Lond. 1693. Donne's Pseudo-Martyr, p. 316. Lond. 1610. The reception of this Decree is fastened for ever upon Romanists by the

subjoins a note, which displays consummate erudition: "The allusion is to the works of Pomponius Sextus, the great jurist of the third century." But Pomponius lived in the second century; and, at all events, he could hardly have been so astonishingly prudens à parte antê as to have been able to describe the Pope's temporal power, "before Christianity was established in the Roman Empire." (Irving's Introduction to the Civil Law, pp. 241-2. Lond. 1837.) "It is perhaps to be regretted that the learned editor had not bestowed more pains in elucidating his author." (Sir Walter Scott's Notes to Marmion, p. lxvii. Edinb. 1808.)

the fulness(u) of the Trinity: and this is perfectly evident from the words which follow:—" quandoquidem & Spiritus sanctus adueniebat atque hospitabatur, & Pater obumbrabat, & Filius vtero gestatus inhabitabat." (Mag. Bibl. vet. Patt. Tom. vii. p. 134. Colon. Agripp. 1618. Conf. Raynaudi Nomenclator Marianus, pp. 103-11. Lugd. 1639.)

Though it is the constant boast of our opponents that "the Church, true guardian of faith and morals, is ever watchful that no abuse, no excess should insinuate itself into her bosom through the garb of piety: if among individuals any excess be discerned, she immediately condemns it(v);" "yet for all this,

last General Council of Lateran, in which Pope Leo X., affirmed: "constitutionem ipsam, sacro præsenti Concilio approbante, innouamus & approbamus:" (Sess. xi. p. 176. apud Concill. Gen. Tom. iv. Romæ, 1612.) for the words of the Creed of Pope Pius IV., cannot be evaded: "Cetera item omnia à sacris Canonibus & œcumenicis Conciliis, ac præcipuè à sacrosancta Tridentina Synodo tradita, definita, & declarata, indubitanter recipio atque profiteor," &c. (Bulla Pii IV. sup. form. juram. prof. fid.—Concil. Trident. Sess. xxiv. p. 452. Antverp. 1633. Vide Bp. Barlow's Brutum Fulmen, pp. 21, 22. Lond. 1681. [Bp. Lloyd's] Seasonable Discourse, pp. 10, 11. Lond. 1673.)

- (u) The original term πλήςωμω is that used in Ephes. i. 23. iii. 19. Conf. Col. i. 19. ii. 10. S. John, i. 16. In the first verse referred to it is translated "complement" in the Dublin MS., of Hooker's *Eccles. Pol.* Book viii. fol. 49. Compare Mr. Keble's edition, Vol. iii. P. i. p. 462. Oxford, 1836.
- (v) Official Memoirs of the Juridical Examination into the Authenticity of the Miraculous Events which happened at Rome in the Years 1796-7, &c. Translated from the French, Compared with

the Popes and Church of Rome (who pretend they cannot erre) have been so far from purging out in their *Indices Expurgatorii*, or suppressing in their *Indices librorum Prohibitorum* these their transcendent blasphemous exorbitant Devotions, that they still approve, defend, justifie, reprint, confirme, practise them, both in publick and private(w)."

the original Italian of Sig. Gio. Marchetti, by the Rev. B. Rayment, p. 43, note. Lond. 1801.—" If the reader wish to understand the fidelity of the Roman school in translating and 'comparing,' he may consult the Italian original, in the fourteenth section of the Preliminary Discourse, where, after the mention of two previous miracles, similar to those recorded in the body of the work, the first at Brescia, 1524, the other at Pistoia, 1666, the benefit, which, by the original author, is represented as derived to the church simply, by the Council of Trent, in 'the effectual reform of (alas!) her too corrupt practices,' is, in the translation, parried and neutralized by the gratuitous introduction of the names Luther and Calvin. Other similar instances occur in the same section." (Mendham's Lit. Pol. of the Church of Rome, p. 279.) This conduct is rendered more disgraceful by the circumstance that the French editors, in their "Remarks," p. xxii., had declared that they had not any doubt of the author's concurrence in the "alterations, additions, and suppressions," which they "judged necessary in three or four paragraphs;" while Mr. Rayment informs us, in a note upon this place, that "The English Translator, not presuming on this leave, has made a point of translating from the original." His exertions have been rather infelicitous, if he could not have attained to a closer interpretation of "troppo ahime! corotti costumi" than-"the then upstart sects of Luther and Calvin." [!] Compare Mendham's Venal Indulgences and Pardons, Pref. p. xxxii. Lond. 1839.

(w) Prynne's Chronol. Vindic. of our Kings' Supream Eccles. Jurisd. Tome ii. p. 49. Lond. 1665.

Let it not be thought by any one that Papal superstition, with respect to the blessed Virgin and departed Saints, has become greatly mitigated in modern The English version of Marchetti's Official Memoirs, to which I have referred, was patronised by fifteen Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops; and the work exhibits a most extravagant account of the opening and closing of the eyes of numerous pictures of the Madonna(x); whose countenance St. Alphonsus Liguori deposed that, during a Sermon, "he, together with the assembled audience," saw, "resembling that of a girl of fourteen or fifteen years of age, who turned from side to side, as was witnessed by every one present(y)." Of another individual, who was canonized on the same day with Liguori, namely St. John Joseph of the Cross, it is reported that "his frequent ravishments from the earth and suspension in the air was a well-known

<sup>(</sup>x) "Septem vulgò traduntur Imagines Dei Genitricis à Beato Luca pictæ fuisse, quarum quatuor Romæ esse firma est opinio." (Basilicæ S. Mariæ Major. Descript. Auctore Paulo de Angelis, p. 240. Romæ, 1621. Conf. Bellarm. De Imagg. L. ii. C. x. col. 967. Disputt. T. ii. Ingolst. 1601. Du Saussay, De mystic. Galliæ Scriptor. p. 150. Paris. 1639. [Broughton's] Iudgement of the Apostles, p. 179. Doway, 1632.)—"La Madona a fait parler plusieurs de ses images; elle les a rendües capables de raisonnement & de mouvement; & voilà ce qui l'a rendüe Auguste & Vénérable." (Les Avantures de la Madona, par M. Renoult, p. 58. A Amsterd. 1701. [Conf. Bayle's Dict. Vol. x. p. 439. Lond. 1741.])

<sup>(</sup>y) Lives of Saints, whose Canonization took place on Trinity Sunday, May 26, 1839, p. 12. Lond. Dolman, 1839.

occurrence;" "nor was that singular prerogative denied him, which God's saints have sometimes possessed, of appearing in two places at once(z)." A third, the Jesuit St. Francis di Girolamo, was accustomed to say "that one could hardly be saved who felt no devotion towards the Mother of God(a):" "quam qui non amant & colunt similes sunt bestiis insipientibus(b)."

Indisputable evidence of the idolatrous worship permitted by the Church of Rome, in the present day, to be offered to the blessed Virgin, may be adduced from The Glories of Mary, "translated from the Italian of St. Alphonsus Liguori, and carefully revised by a Catholic Priest." Fourth edition, Dub-That the Papal Church is really responlin. 1841. sible for the expressions which I am about to quote is apparent from the author's Life, pp. 25, 26, where we are told that "The Sacred Congregation of Rites having made the most rigorous examination of the writings of the Saint, to the number of a hundred or more, pronounced that there was nothing in them deserving of censure; and this sentence was approved by Pius VII., in 1803. His successor, Leo XII., accompanied his brief to the editor of the works of the blessed Liguori by a golden medal," Feb. 19, 1825.

<sup>(</sup>z) Lives of Saints, whose Canonization took place on Trinity Sunday, 1839, p. 150.

<sup>(</sup>a) Ib. p. 101.

<sup>(</sup>b) Isidori de Isolanis Summa de Donis sancti Ioseph, Par. iv. fol. 95. Papiæ, 1522.

We are instructed by this book (Introd. p. xvii. Comp. pp. 123, 152.) to hold the opinion "that the salvation of all depends on preaching devotion to Mary, and confidence in her intercession;" and it is said (Int. p. xix.) that blessed is the man who is bound to "these two anchors of salvation, Jesus and Mary." In page 46 we read: "'Yes,' says St. Bonaventure, 'Mary has so loved us that she has given us her only Son." -- "The King of heaven" (we are told, p. 87.) . . " has given us his Mother for our Mother, and in her hands resigned (if we might say so) his omnipotence in the sphere of grace; that we might place in her the hope of our salvation, and all the help necessary to attain it." "'Yes,' says Richard of St. Laurence, 'Mary is omnipotent: for, according to all laws, the Queen enjoys the same privileges as the King; and that power may be equal between the Son and the Mother." (p. 138.) Again: (p. 90.) "If my Saviour drive me off because of my sins, I shall go and cast myself at the feet of his Mother:" "if the Judge" (p. 168.) "wishes to condemn me, the sentence must pass through this clement Queen, and she well knows how to prevent its execution."—" In taking flesh in your chaste womb, a God has been pleased to become your debtor, in order to place afterwards at your disposal all the treasures of his unbounded mercy." (p. 143.)—So Romanists learn to address the Virgin: and let us reflect upon the dreadful impression likely to be made upon the mind

of an unenlightened reader by such a passage as the following: (p. 129.) "The Saint well knew that when Mary comes, she always brings Jesus with her; so that it sufficed her to thank the Mother, without naming the Son."

In truth the design of the Church of Rome seems to be to convey to her people, both by pictorial representations, and otherwise, the idea of our Saviour being "the divine Infant;" (Liguori, p. 105.) ever in a state of tutelage; and to insist on "the superiority and authority which he was pleased to give" the blessed Virgin over him, "in consequence of her being his Mother." (Ib. p. 203.) Moreover, elsewhere the Virgin is invoked as the "Lady and Mistress of the world, to whom all power has been given both in heaven and earth;" (Office of the sacred Heart, p. 164. Dubl. 1833.) and she is solicited by a sinner to usurp a prerogative of God: "Pardon my past offences and indignities; pardon those of mankind." (Ib. p. 182.) Another quite modern book has these words, relative to the mission of the Angel Gabriel: "On the assent of the Virgin to the proposition made her hung the destinies of the human race."... "What would have been our condition. if Mary had not yielded this ready compliance with God's will? We have every reason to conclude that man would not have been redeemed." [!] (Kenrick's New Month of Mary, p. 62. Dublin, 1841.) "Yes, holy Mother, if we owe all to Jesus Christ who has redeemed us, to thee we owe Jesus himself." (Ib. p. 66.) "Rule thou over us; and thy Son." (Ib. p. 174.) "Be our Mother, and then Jesus, satisfied, will incline his ear, and will commend his soul in peace to the hands of his Father: he will say, All is consummated." (Salvation made easy, 2nd edit. p. 34. Dublin, 1841.) "The charity of Mary for us had reached its most sublime degree, since she had loved us so far as to give us her dearest treasure, even to consent to the bloody immolation of Jesus." (Ib. pp. 33-4.) "The salvation of our relatives, and our friends, and of ourselves is in her hands." (Ib. pp. 36-7.) "What nobler object of our love, In earth below, or heav'n above?" (Ib. p. 46.)

Bossuet, in the first edition of his Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique, had taught that the honour which his Church gives to the Virgin Mary and the Saints "is religious," and that "it ought to be blamed if it were not religious;" but afterward, from a belief that these words might afford advantage to our objections, in succeeding impressions he thus materially modified his language(c): "If the honour which she rendereth to the blessed Virgin and to the Saints(d) may in some sense be

<sup>(</sup>c) "Il seroit aisé de marquer une infinité d'autres changemens." (Basnage, *Hist. de la Relig. des Eglises Reform.* Tom. i. 4<sup>me</sup> Periode, C. i. p. 5. A Rotterd. 1725. Conf. Wendleri *De libris* à *Pontificiis*, &c., suppress. & corrupt. Schediasma, pp. 34-5. Jenæ, 1714.)

<sup>(</sup>d) It is truly painful to think that any member of the Church of England can find it to be "a very difficult and trying task to

called religious(e), it is for its necessary relation to God(f)."

offer to the Blessed Saints that veneration which is their due, without encroaching on the worship we owe to God alone." (British Critic, Oct. 1841, p. 355.) The primitive Christians knew not any thing of these perplexities: but such a sentiment is quite consistent with the belief expressed in the same number of this Review, (p. 403.) that deciding upon what were called miracles, said to have been wrought by a thorn, "must always be a difficult question;" and it is worthy of the (happily few) writers among us, who, after having been at Jerusalem, appear to be determined to see Rome also; and who, having forgotten that Church which was the guide of their youth, seem to have surrendered their hearts to "the Primate of Christendom." (Ib. p. 431.)

- (e) "Voudroit-il bien avouër la mesme chose de l'honneur qu'on fait à un Saint sur la terre, quand on le prie de prier Dieu pour nous?" (Preservatif contre le changement de Religion, p. 112. A la Haye, [1682. By Jurieu. Vid. Reimmann. Biblioth. Catal. Par. i. p. 532. Hildes. 1731. Mylii Bibl. Anon. & Pseudon. P. i. p. 633. Hamburg. 1740.])
- (f) See the collection of corrected passages, prefixed to [Abp. Wake's] Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, pp. xxii-iii. 3rd edit. Lond. 1687. The imprimatur of this book is dated "March 1, 1685." Wake very commonly gets much more credit for comparing the first and second editions of Bossuet's work than I am disposed to allow him: since the result of the collation had been previously published (I think in 1672, at Quevilly,) in the preface to a Réponse to the Bishop of Condom, (of which I have before me an English translation by Jos. Walker, 12mo. Dublin, 1676.) by a concealed writer, whom Bossuet, in his "Avertissement" to later impressions, terms "l'Anonyme;" but who was discovered by Bayle to be M. De la Bastide. Vid. Bælii Epist. ad fin. Deckherri De Scriptt. Adesp. Conject. p. 398. Amstel. 1686. Placcii Theatrum Anon. p. 84. Hamb. 1708. The "Avertissement" or "Monitum" is placed before the Latin version of

Notwithstanding the usual exaggeration of the Virgin Mary's power and privileges, there is a class of human beings by whom she is confessedly surpassed.—" Gabriel Biel super Canonem Missæ, & Discipulus Serm. iii. ex Catholicorum omnium Doctorum communi consensu, statuit Sacerdotem sanctissimâ & immaculatâ Virgine matre maiorem atque digniorem: quia illa semel tantùm filium sacro meruit in vtero portare: iste verò quotidie, imò in casibus à iure expressis, in Gloss. c. Consuluit, De celebr. Miss. & à Soto in 4. dist. 13. q. 2. Nauar. in c. 25. n. 87. & alij, bis, & in die Natiuitatis ter poterit consecrare." (Jos. Geldolph. à Ryckel Justa Funebr. animab. fidel. defunct. persolv. p. 404. Lovan. 1634. Conf. Fox's Acts and Mon. Vol. iii. p. 34. Lond. 1684. Anatomie de la Messe, par P. Du Moulin, p. 92. A Genève, 1640.)

this celebrated treatise, "ex interpretatione Claudii Fleury, Presbyteri Parisiensis, ab ejusdem Expositionis Auctore recognita." 12mo. Antverp. 1680. Conf. Frid. Spanhemii *Theol. Opp.* Tom. iii. P. ii. col. 1074. Lugd. Bat. 1703.

#### CANONES APOSTOLORUM.

"The especial circumstance which recommends these Canons to our notice is this; that they contain what there is reason to consider a fair portrait of the customs and opinions of the ante-Nicene Church." ([Newman's] Church of the Fathers, p. 331. Lond. 1840.)—"Disciplinam & iura, saeculo secundo & tertio inter Christianos usitata, sine controversia exhibent." (J. L. Moshemii Inst. Hist. Christ. maj. sæc. i. p. 217. Helmst. 1739.)

The Canons anciently called "Ecclesiastical," were, in the fourth and fifth ages, styled "Apostolical(g);" and it has been supposed by some that they were first named "Apostolicorum," and afterward "Apostolicorum" Canones(h). With regard to their precise number there is not any certain(i) account, until

- (g) Bevereg. Cod. Can. vind. pp. 51, 113, 179. Lond. 1678. De la Roque\* most strangely denies this; (Observ. in Annott. Beveregii, p. 53. Rothom. 1674.) and Oudin, with his usual confidence, affirms: "plane diversa sunt, & commune nihil habent." (Comment. de Scriptt. Eccl. Vol. i. col. 35. Lips. 1722.)
- (h) Vid. Hincmari Remensis Opp. Tom. ii. p. 473. Lut. Paris. 1645. Albaspinæi Observatt. Lib. i. C. xiii. p. 28. ad fin. S. Optati Opp. Paris. 1679. Thomæ Brunonis Judicium, apud Cotelerii

<sup>\*</sup> Vid. Placcii Theatrum Anon. p. 149. Jac. Basnage Epist. post D. Chrysost Ep. ad Casar. pp. 107-8. Traj. ad Rhen. 1687. Bp. Bull's Works, by Burton, Vol. v. p. 57. Oxford, 1827. Zornii Opusc. sacr. Tom. i. p. 541. Altonav. 1743. Fabricii Bibl. Grac. vii. 23.

about the year 500, when Dionysius Exiguus translated from Greek into Latin the  $Codex\ Canonum$  of the eastern(j) Church(k); and to this prefixed his

SS. Patr. Apost. Vol. ii. p. 185. Amstel. 1724. Beveregii Annotatt. p. 4. §. xiii.

- (i) I say "certain," because a spurious Epistle of S. Zephyrinus, who was elected Pope in the year 197, has these words: "Septuaginta enim Apostoli sententias præfixerunt." (Binii Concill. Tom. i. P. i. p. 81.) In addition to the whole Epistle being false, "sexaginta" and "quinquaginta" are various readings for "septuaginta." Conf. Binii not. margin. Bevereg. Pandectt. Canon.\* Tom. ii. Præfat. in Annott. p. 1. Oxon. 1672. Gratiani Decret. i. Par. Dist. xvi. Cap. ii. Van-Espen Jus Eccles. Univ. Tom. vi. p. 327. Venet. 1789.
- (j) Not the Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Universæ, as Bp. Barlow (Genuine Remains, p. 210. Lond. 1693. Conf. Thorndicii Origg. Eccles. p. 415. Lond. 1674.) imagined: and he consequently considered that Dionysius having included the Apostolic Canons was one of the proofs of his having "most impiously corrupted" the Code. Even if these Remains be not altogether so genuine as they profess to be, Offley's edition of Barlow's Directions for the choice of Books evinces the same confusion. (p. 28. Oxford, 1700. Vid. Pet. Coustant Dissert. de antiq. Canon. Collect. apud Gallandii De vetust. Canon. Collection. Dissert. Syllog. pp. 26, 27. Venet. 1778.)
  - (k) Bevereg. Pand. Can. Tom. ii. Præf. in Annott. p. 1. Fa-

<sup>\*</sup> A collation of this great Synodicum with three MSS., appears in Wolfii Anecdota Græca, Tom. iv. Hamburg. 1724. Conf. Dowling Notit. script. SS. Patrum, p. 33. Oxon. 1839. Cotelerius has gone very far when he asks: "Qui porrò finis purgando Augiæ verè stabulo, Synodico Oxoniensi?" (Eccles. Græc. Monument. Tom. iii. coll. 669-70. Lut. Paris. 1686.)—It is to be hoped that but few will tolerate the pertness of Dr. Jortin's observation, that "what sort of opinion Beverege had concerning the authority of these" [the Apostolic] "Canons" "is not very material to know." (Remarks on Eccles. Hist. i. 181. Lond. 1805.)

Latin version of the first fifty of the Apostolic Canons; having possibly met with an imperfect copy(l) of the collection of these primitive Rules, of which eighty-five were then doubtless extant.

Dionysius, who was a Roman Monk(m), and Abbot(n), [Fleury states, without evidence, that he was a Presbyter(o),] undertook this task at the request of Stephen, Bishop of Salona, in Dalmatia(p),

bricii Bibl. Græc. xii. 225. ed. Harles. Bibl. med. & inf. Latin. Lib. iv. p. 105. Hamburg. 1734. Ballerin. De ant. Coll. Can. Par. iii. Cap. i. §. ii. apud Gallandii Syllog. pp. 189, 190. Berardi Dissert. de var. Can. Coll. ante Gratian. Ib. p. 280.

- (l) Bever. Cod. Can. vind. pp. 12, 65. Cotelerii Judicium, i. 429. Ballerin. De ant. Collect. Can. P. i. C. i. §. iv. apud Galland. p. 98. & C. ii. §. vii. p. 102.
- (m) Cassiodorus, De Div. Lect. Cap. xxiii. Opp. fol. 241. Paris. 1588.
- (n) Beda, De Temp. rat. Cap. xlv. Opp. Tom. ii. p. 88. Colon. Agripp. 1612. Sigebertus Gemblac. De Scriptt. Eccles. Cap. 27.
- (o) Hist. Eccles. L. xxxii. §. xxxviii. Tom. vii. p. 346. A Paris, 1727. Compare Bingham's Antiquities, Vol. ii. p. 291. Lond. 1840.
- (p) Not Bishop of Rome, as Haloander (D. Clementis Opp. fol. 131. Paris. 1568.) and Sixtus Senensis (Biblioth. Sanct. Lib. ii. p. 59. Francof. 1575.) inform us. [Vid. Chr. Justelli Præfat. in Cod. Canon. Eccl. Univ. sig. e iij. Paris. 1610. Natalis Alexandri Hist. Eccles. Tom. iii. p. 196. Paris. 1699.] These writers seem to have agreed with Pope Boniface VIII., that the Roman Pontiff "iura omnia in scrinio pectoris sui censetur habere."\* (Sext. De-

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Habet quidem omnia iura in scrinio pectoris Pontifex, id est, fingitur habere propter vtilitatem: sed Gregorius fortè cùm illa scribebat, multa bona iura habebat in scrinio pectoris sui, id est, ventris sui, vt accidit bonis patribus, cum bene pransi sunt." (Duarenus, in Tit. xlvii. Lib. ii. Cod. Ubi et apud quem cognit. Opp. p. 158. Lugd. 1584. Conf. Olearii Scrin. Antiquar. pag. post Præfat. Jenæ, 1698.)

and Laurentius, who was probably also an Ascetic (q).

We are told by Dionysius, in his Epistle to Stephen(r), that to the Canons, "qui dicuntur Apostolorum," "plurimi consensum non præbuere faci-

cretal. Lib. i. De Constit. Tit. ii. Cap. i. col. 11. Paris. 1585. Conf. Dounami Papa Antichristus, Lib. 4. Cap. 2. pp. 251-2. Lond. 1620. Christoferson's Treatise concerning Antichrist, Part 2. p. 293. 1614. Halleri Sentent. Decret. Patrum, fol. 36, b. Tiguri, 1572. Moresini Papatus, Lectori. Edinb. 1594. Bp. Jewel's Apology, pp. 39, 81, 110. Lond. 1685.) I must leave it to those whom it may concern to reconcile with these words the following Gloss occurring elsewhere in the Canon Law: "Non ergo papa habet omnia iura in pectore suo." (Gratiani Decret. Dist. xxiii. C. Preterea, fol. xxv, b. Parrhis. 1518.) It is manifest "Non debere plus esse in rubro quàm in nigro; id est, summarium & glossam non debere à textu discrepare : Sed huiusmodi alia longè plura observari colligique in hoc jure possunt." (Rittershusius, De diff. Jur. Civ. et Can. p. 13. Argent. 1618.) Inquirers into the reality of the boasted unity of the Church of Rome may consult Pappus, (Contradict. Doctor. Rom. Eccles. Argent. 1597.) Osiander, (Papa non Papa, Tubingæ, 1599.) Bishop Hall, (The Peace of Rome, Lond. 1609.) Botsaccus, (Contradictiones Pontificiæ, Wittemb. 1631.) and Willet. (Synopsis Papismi, pp. 1325-52. Lond. 1634.)

- (q) Ant. Pagi and Nat. Alexander represent him as a Presbyter, and Doujat makes him to have been a Deacon of the Church of Rome. Fabricius (Bibl. Græc. xii. 141.) and De Marca (De concord. Sacerd. & Imper.\* Lib. iii. Cap. iii. §. vii. p. 137. Paris. 1669.) also call him a Presbyter: but without any authority. Vid. Caroli Blasci Comment. de Coll. Canon. Isid. Mercator. apud Gallandium, ut sup. p. 357.
- (r) Codex Canon. vetus Eccles. Rom. p. 676. Lut. Paris. 1609.8vo. [Edited by Franc. Pithœus. See Le Peletier's edition, Lectori.

<sup>\*</sup> Vid. Buddei Isagog. ad Theol. pp. 727-8. Lips. 1730.

lem(s):" but as soon as his version of the Codex was made, it was received "vsu celeberrimo(t)" by the Church of Rome(u); which, for many ages

Fol. Paris. 1687. Fabricius, (Bibl. Græc. xii. 226.\*) Routh. (Scriptt. Eccles. Opusc. Tom. i. p. 370. Oxon. 1840.)]

- (s) Conf. Van-Espen Dissert. v. de Cod. Dion. Exig. Jus Eccl. Univ. Tom. vi. p. 299. Venet. 1789.
  - (t) Cassiodori Opp. fol. 241. Paris. 1588.
- (u) De Marca (De concord. Sac. & Imp. Lib. iii. Cap. iv. §. ii.) maintains that it was immediately adopted in France: but he is opposed by Chr. Justellus, (Præf. in Cod. Can. Eccl. Univ. sig. o iij. Paris. 1610.) Sirmondus, (Præf. ad lect. in Concill. Galliæ, Tom. i. Lut. Paris. 1629.) Fr. Florens, (Dissert. Jur. Canon. p. 167. Paris. 1632.) Quesnel, (Dissert. xvi. de Cod. ant. Eccles. Gall. in Append. ad S. Leonis Mag. Opera, pp. 752-68. Lut. Paris. 1675.†) and Doujat; (Prænott. Canon. p. 446. Paris. 1697.) who are of opinion that it did not prevail until the time of Pope Adrian I., and Charlemagne. Conf. Van-Espen Dissert. vii. de prist. Cod. Eccl. Gall. Jus Eccles. Univ. Tom. vi. pp. 307-12.

The authority of the Codex of Dionysius was from his time acknowledged not only in France, but also in Spain, Africa, and Greece. Van-Espen, vi. 302. De Marca, iii. iv. 140. Ant. Pagi Crit. in Annall. Baronii, ii. 534. Colon. Allob. 1705. Gallandii Syllog. p. 352.

Bruno (Judic. de Can. Apost. apud Coteler. ii. 178.) conjectures that Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, after having been consecrated at Rome, brought to England the Apostolic Canons, in

<sup>\*</sup> Fabricius here wrongly ascribes both impressions, 1609 and 1687, to François Pithou, who died in 1621. He was brother of Pierre Pithou, "a French Protestant, who having escaped almost miraculously from the massacre of St. Bartholomew at Paris, in 1572, secured his future safety by turning Papist." (Monk's Life of Bentley, p. 519, note. Lond. 1830.)

<sup>†</sup> Conf. Schoenemann Biblioth. Patt. Latin. Tom. ii. pp. 922, 947. Lips. 1794.

from this period, recognized as genuine only fifty of the Apostolic Canons.

the year 670. In 673,\* the Synod of Hertford was held by Theodore; who produced before the Clergy "Librum Canonum," from which he selected ten Capitula, five of which Bruno traces to the Canons of the Apostles. The first explicit notice taken of these Canons, amongst the English, this writer states that he finds in the "Excerptiones" of Ecgbert, who was Archbishop of York, from The xliv., Excerption is headed "Canon Apostolorum;" (Wilkins Concill. i. 104. Lond. 1737.) and is verbatim the same as the xxx., Apostolic Canon, according to the version of Dionysius; whose Codex is thus proved to have been at this time used in Britain.—I may here remark that these Excerptions are inaccurately ascribed to Ecgbert by Spelman, Bruno, and many others:† for they are really the work of Hucarius Levita, who epitomised the treatise of Ecgbert De Sacerdotali Jure. Conf. Ballerin. De ant. Coll. Can. apud Galland. Syllog. p. 237. Waræi Annott. in S. Patricii Opusc. p. 118. Lond. 1656. Balei Scriptt. Brytan. Catal. Par. i. Cent. 2. p. 109. Basil. 1557. Tillesley's Animadvers. upon Selden's Hist. of Tythes, p. 105. ad fin. lib. Lond. 1621.

The early reception of the Dionysian Code in Ireland can be demonstrated from the ancient collection of Canons made in this country, about the year 790; and published first by D'Achery; (Spicileg. Tom. i. pp. 491-507. Paris. 1723.) and to which addi-

<sup>\*</sup> Not 672, as Baronius and Wharton suppose. See Stevenson's note in his edition of Bede's Hist. Eccles. Gent. Anglor. p. 258. Lond. 1838. Ch. Justellus also mistakes the date, and says that the Council was held at Hereford. (Præf. in Cod. Can. Eccl. Univ. sig. i 4. Par. 1610.) This error was caused by his misunderstanding the word "Herutford," or "Herudford," in Bede. (H. E. Lib. iv. Cap. v. Conf. Soames's Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 80. Lond. 1838.) Hofmann gives the right date, but confounds the places. (Lexicon, i. 759. Basil. 1677.) Oudin likewise says Hereford; (i. 1659-60.) and so does Harless. (Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xii. 239.)

<sup>†</sup> See Tracts for the Times, Vol. v. No. 84. p. 8.

This is the number recorded in the Breviarium Canonicum(v) of Cresconius Afer(w). The same,

tions were afterward made by Martene and Durand. (*Thesaur. Nov. Anecdot.* Tom. iv. pp. 1-6. Lut. Paris. 1717.) In the xliii., Book, Cap. ii., the x., Canon of the Council of Gangra is transcribed exactly in accordance with the interpretation of Dionysius Exiguus.

- (v) Baronius confounds the Breviarium Canonicum of Cresconius with the Breviatio Canonum of Fulgentius Ferrandus.\* He says (Annall. ad an. 419. Tom. v. p. 470. Antverp. 1658.) that the latter "trecentis distinxit capitibus" his Breviarium seu Concordantiam Canonum. This statement is true, if made with regard to Cresconius: but the work of Ferrandus consists of 232 Capitula. In another place (Tom. vii. an. 527. p. 145.) we read that it was the Concordia Canonum of Cresconius which was "digesta sub capitibus trecentis;" and Baronius asserts that Cresconius added to his collection that which, "eodem fermè tempore," was made by Ferrandus, who preceded Cresconius by about 160 years!
- (w) Cod. Can. vet. pp. 646-52. Lut. Paris. 1609. With respect to the Capitula ex Orientalium Synodis collectat by Martinus Bracarensis, about the year 560, Cave (Hist. Lit. i. 531.) ob-

<sup>\*</sup>I may not have a better opportunity than the present of pointing out a glaring corruption of the text, in the sixth section of this work: viz. "Vt vnus Episcopus Episcopum non ordinet, excepta Ecclesia Romana. Concil. Zellen. ex epistola Papæ Sirici." (Voelli et Justelli Biblioth. i. 448.) Cotelerius ingenuously avows that "duo prima Decreta Epistolæ 4. Siricii perperam commiscentur; & sedes Apostolica Primatis seu Metropolitana mutatur in sedem Apostolicam Romanam: non culpâ (suspicor) Ferrandi, sed ignorantiâ vel fraude cujusdam recentioris." (Not. in Constitt. Apost. Lib. iii. Cap. xx. Patt. Apostol. i. 293. Conf. Bingham's Works, Vol. i. pp. 157-8. Lond. 1840.)

<sup>†</sup> Vid. Garsiæ Loaisæ Collect. Concill. Hispan. p. 173. Madriti, 1593. Franc. Ant. Conzalez Collect. Can. Eccles. Hisp. col. 613. Matriti, 1808.

<sup>†</sup> Nic. Antonii Biblioth. Hispan. Vet. Tom. i. Lib. iv. Cap. iii. §. 66. p. 288. Matriti, 1788. Fabricii Bibl. med. et inf. Latin. Lib. xii. p. 117.

(though contracted into forty-five (x),) are to be found in the Epitome (y) of the Canons which were

serves: "In hac collectione notatu non indignum est canones apostolicos a Martino non citari." Fabricius also (Bibl. Græc. xii. 230.) affirms that "in Martini capitulis nihil adfertur ex canonibus apostolicis;" and adds in a note: "In editione Harduini, tom. 3. pag. 394. ad canonem Martini xxvi. citatur canon Apost. xviii. sed vitiose, nam legendum Antiochen. xx. vt recte habet Labbei editio."—A strange oversight is here apparent: for, instead of Hardouin's reference, "Apost. 18," at the xxvi., Canon, Labbé and Cossart (v. 909.) have "Apostol. can. 18.;" and do not attempt to propose an emendation. This error of Fabricius probably arose from his carelessly looking at an observation of Loaisa; (apud Labb. Tom. v., [not 6, as he says.] col. 902.) who mentions

Hamb. 1736. Loaisa, in a few lines, (p. 173.) three times calls Martinus Bracarensis "Græcus;" but Gregorius Turonensis expressly says: "hic Pannoniæ ortus fuit." (Hist. Francor. Lib. v. C. 37. p. 221. Paris. 1610.) Gratian occasionally cites his Capitula with this inscription: "Ex Concilio Martini Papæ." (Ant. Augustini De emendat. Gratian.\* Lib. i. Dial. x. p. 80. Paris. 1607.) A Gloss thus explains the circumstance: "antiquitus. n. episcopi Papæ dicebantur." (In Dist. xviii. Cap. xv. col. 91. Venet. 1604. Conf. Morton's Grand Imposture, p. 219. Lond. s. a. Duareni De sac. Eccl. minist. ac benef. Lib. i. Cap. x. Opp. p. 1545. Lugd. 1584. Scholliner Dissert. de jure innoc. Rom. Pontif. in elarg. honor. titul. pp. 10-17. Ratisb. 1759. Bingham's Works, Vol. i. pp. 72-4. Lond. 1840.)

<sup>\*</sup> Baluzius republished this work, in 1672; and he was censured by the Congregation of the Index, in June, 1674. The following condemnation of him occurs in the Index of Pope Innocent XI.: (p. 72. Romæ, 1704.) "Ex Dialogis Antonij Augustini, Archiepiscopi Tarraconensis, de emendatione Gratiani, deleatur Stephani Balutij Tutellensis præfatio ad Lectorem; deleantur pariter notæ omnes, & nouæ emendationes ad Gratianum adiectæ ab eodem Balutio: quæ notæ, & additiones, cum prædicta præfatione, omninò prohibentur:" and Gallandius allows that this sentence was passed "merito ac jure." (Præfat. in Dissert. Syllog. p. xv.) Gerardus Von Mastricht issued another reprint of the book, in 1677; and it was proscribed Decr. 7. Feb. 1718.

presented, probably an. 774, by Pope Adrian I., to Charlemagne(z); and were said by Pope Leo IV., about the year 850, to be used "in omnibus Ecclesiasticis Judiciis(a);"—which were styled Codex

the fact that the chapter Propter Ecclesiasticas (Gratiani Decret. Dist. xviii.) is taken "ex concil. Antioch. c. 20."—Mansi (Concill. amplies. Collect. Tom. ix. col. 853. Florent. 1763.) continues the reference "Apost. 18.:" and I think that any one, who examines the matter, will discover a remarkable parallel between the xxvi. and xxvii., Canons of Martinus Bracarensis, and the xviii., and xxv., of the Apostolic Canons. In the latter instance, Doujat, having quoted Can. Apost. xxvi., seems to me to have drawn an inaccurate comparison. Vid. Voelli et Hen. Justelli Biblioth. Jur. Can. vet. Tom. i. Append. p. xx. Lut. Paris. 1661.—It is not surprising that the resemblance supposed by Doujat to exist between Capitula lxv., lxxiv., lxxv., and decisions assigned to the Councils of Carthage and Braga should be particularly strong; inasmuch as the allegations, imagined to proceed from the latter sources, " nihil aliud sunt nisi ipsa horum Martini capitulorum verba, quæ in nullo Chartaginiensi, aut Bracarensi Concilio reperire licebit."! (Ballerin. De ant. Collect. Can. apud Galland. Syllog. p. 228.)

- (x) Conf. Ittigii Dissert. de Pseudepig. Christi, Mariæ, et Apost. Cap. xi. p. 162. Lips. 1696. & Hist. Eccles. sec. prim. p. 46. Ib. 1709.
- (y) First published by Hen. Canisius. (Antiq. Lect. Tom. vi. pp. 413-17. Ingolst. 1604. Vid. Concill. Labbei et Cossartii, Tom. vi. coll. 1800-3. Lut. Paris. 1671. Harduini Act. Concill. Tom. iii. coll. 2033-36. Paris. 1714.)
- (z) "Carolo constat oblatam fuisse non Epitomem, sed integram Collectionem tum canonum, ex quibus Epitome illa deinceps conflata est, tum decretorum etiam Pontificum, à Siritio ad Gregorium iuniorem." (Sirmondi Concill. ant. Galliæ, Tom. ii. p. 117. Lut. Paris. 1629. Conf. Ballerin. De ant. Coll. Can. P. iii. Cap. ii. apud Gallandii Syllog. pp. 191-4.)
  - (a) Gratiani Decret. Dist. xx. Cap. De libellis.

Canonum by Pope Nicholas I., in the year 865(b); and were first edited by Wendelstinus, under the title Canones Apostolorum: Veterum Conciliorum Constitutiones: Decreta Pontificum antiquiora. Mogunt. 1525.

Pope Stephen IV., in the Synod of Lateran, held in the year 769, decreed: "Non amplius suscipiantur apostolorum canonum prolata per sanctum Clementem, nisi quinquaginta capita, quæ suscipit sancta Dei catholica Romana ecclesia(c);" and Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in his Preface to the second Nicene Council, addressed to Pope John VIII., perhaps in 877, thus refers to this Ordinance: "Et certe de Apostolorum canonibus liquido nouimus, quoniam his quidam facile non præbuere consensum. Sed & Prædecessor vester beatissimus Papa Stephanus non ex his plusquam quinquaginta recipiendos Synodice promulgauit(d)."

Another witness is Cardinal Humbert; who, in the year 1054, declared: "Clementis liber, id est, itinerarium Petri Apostoli, & Canones Apostolorum numerantur inter apocrypha, exceptis capitulis quin-

<sup>(</sup>b) Corp. Jur. Canon. Dist. xix. C. Si Romanorum. Tom. i. pp. 23-4. ed. Pithœorum, Paris. 1687. Conf. Pet. Coustant Dissert. de ant. Can. Collect. §. viii. cxxxi. apud Galland. Syll. p. 48. Franc. Pagi Brev. gest. Pontiff. Rom. Tom. i. p. 331. Lucæ, 1729. Fabricii Bibl. Eccles. in Sigeb. Gemblac. Cap. 27.

<sup>(</sup>c) Holstenii Collect. Rom. vet. Hist. Eccles. Monum. P. i. p. 263. Romæ, 1662. Harduini Concill. iii. 2015.

<sup>(</sup>d) Goncill. General. Tom. iii. p. 367. Romæ, 1612.

quaginta, quæ decreuerunt [Patres] regulis orthodoxis adiungenda(e)." Some of these are alleged as the words of Pope Leo IX., by the Centuriators of Magdeburg(f); who, "ne in Pontificem insolentius isti insultent," are assailed by Turrian(g); who seems to have forgotten that they were in this case only following the bad example of Gratian(h).

An Epistle of Pope Urban II., written probably in 1089(i), makes this correct statement: "Sciendum verò quòd Canones Apostolorum, quorum autoritate Orientalis, & ex parte [viz., the authority of the first fifty] Romana utitur Ecclesia(j)," &c.

Finally, Burchard(k), Ivo(l), and Gratian(m) do not acknowledge more than fifty of the Apostolic Canons. These were contained in the collection of Isidorus Mercator(n), and accordingly published by

- (e) Canisii Antiq. Lect. Tom. vi. p. 181. Ingolst. 1604. Baronii Annall. Tom. xi. Append. p. 712. Antverp. 1642.
  - (f) Eccles. Hist. Cent. i. Lib. ii. Cap. vii. col. 545. Basil. 1560.
- (g) Pro Canon. Apostol. Lib. i. pp. 55-6. Florent. 1572. Binius asserts that this is "luculentum librum." (Concill. Tom. i. P. i. p. 5, marg. Colon. Agripp. 1618.)
  - (h) Decret. Dist. xvi. Cap. iii.
- (i) Vid. Corp. Jur. Can. Decret. ii. Par. Caus. i. Quæst. iii. Cap. Salvator. p. 143. Paris. 1687.
- (j) Dist. xxxii. Cap. Præter. Conf. M. De Vulson, Des libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane, p. 150. A Geneve, 1635.
  - (k) Decretor. Lib. xx. Colon. 1548.
  - (l) Liber Decrett. Basil. 1499.
  - (m) Distinct. xvi. Præfat.
- (n) "Hic enim, licet insignis alioqui impostor, & fœcundus apocryphorum parens, non est ausus suæ Collectioni plures quam

Merlin(o): (Concilia, Tom. i. foll. ii-iii. Paris. 1524. Concill. Tom. i. foll. ii-iii. Ib. 1535.) but the remainder were added by Crabbe; (Concill. Tom. i. foll. iiii-xii. Colon. 1538.) and, after him, by Du Tillet, (Apost. et sanct. Concill. Decret. foll. 1-6. Paris. 1540.) and succeeding editors of the Councils. The entire of them are also frequently appended to Gratian's Decree, in the Body of the Canon Law. Lugd. 1584. Paris. 1587. Venet. 1604. Lugd. 1671. Paris. 1687, and 1695.

- 50. Canones Apostolorum inserere." (Natal. Alexand. Hist. Eccl. iii. 197.) Gratian (Dist. xvi. Cap. i.) cites Isidorus, who says that the Apostolic Canons are to be deemed apocryphal; and soon after (Ib. Cap. iv.) Isidorus confesses their authority. The Roman Correctors, in their note on the first passage, plainly had reason to observe that "contrarium potiùs videtur dici" in the latter place; and they prudently add: "si modò idem est Isidorus." We may remove the difficulty by understanding that the first of this name is S. Isidorus Hispalensis, and the second Isidorus Mercator. Vid. Ant. August. De emend. Grat. Lib. i. Dial. vi. pp. 47-8. Paris. 1607. cl. Usser. apud Coteler. ii. 234. C. Justelli Præf. in Cod. Can. Eccl. Un. sig. i ij. Par. 1610. Conf. Ballerin. De ant. Coll. Can. apud Galland. pp. 201-2.—Bishop Beverege does not distinguish between the two. (Annott. in Can. Apost. p. 3. §. vii.)
- (o) Compare Roman Forgeries, pp. 44, 64. Lond. 1673. [By Thomas Traherne, BD. (Wood's Ath. Oxon. iii. 1016.)] On account of the similarity of the title of this work to that of one written by Dean Comber, Lond. 1689-95., I have elsewhere inadvertently been guilty of an error. (Preface to Brasichellen's Index, pp. xxvi, xxxiv. Dubl. 1837.) The same mistake has been committed in the British Museum's Catalogue, Lond. 1814., and in every other one in which I have seen the book attributed to any author.

We have now seen abundant proof that the Church of Rome, for about a thousand years, received but fifty of these Canons as authentic. Let us next direct our attention to the judgment of the Greek Church.

A most important testimony to the very ancient existence of more than fifty of the Apostolic Canons may be derived from the Provincial Council of Constantinople, in the year 394. A Decree was there passed, "non licere imposterum, nec a tribus quidem, nedum a duobus, eum qui reus examinatur deponi: sed majoris synodi & provinciæ episcoporum sententia, sicut apostolici definiere canones(p);" and this definition is to be found in the lxxiv., Canon of the Apostles(q).

Joannes(r), surnamed Scholasticus(s), a Presby-

- (p) Mansi Concill. amplies. Collect. Tom. iii. col. 854. Florent. 1759. Bevereg. Pandectt. i. 679. Ussher supposed that the last 35 Canons were added, in the sixth century, by the interpolator of the Epistles of St. Ignatius. (Coteler. ii. 211. Ittig. Hist. Eccl. sec. i. p. 49. Lips. 1709.)
- (q) Beveregii Cod. Canon. vind. Lib. i. Cap. vi. §. v. Ballerin. De ant. Collect. Can. apud Galland. p. 98. Johnson's Clergyman's Vade-mecum, Vol. ii. pp. 213-16. Lond. 1714.
- (r) Turrian (Pro Can. Apost. Lib. i. pp. 84, 120-1.) calls him Constantinus; and by him Ussher has been misled. (Letters, by Parr, p. 19. Lond. 1686.) Ussher is more signally astray when he tells us that this Scholasticus "maketh his Collection of Ecclesiastical Constitutions only out of the Canons of the Apostles, and the ten great Synods," "without mention of that of Sardica:" for this Council is distinctly named; and in the enumeration made by the Primate, as if from John of Antioch, the word Carthaginensi should have been Sardicensi.

ter of Antioch, and afterward Patriarch of Constantinople, from 565(t) to 577(u), composed a *Collectio Canonum*; (which was first published in the *Bibliotheca* of Voellus and H. Justellus(v);) and in it (Ib. p. 501.) he numbers eighty-five Apostolic Canons.

In the second Canon of the Trullan Synod(w), held in the year 692(x), eighty-five Canons, under

- (s) "Erat enim hic Joannes in numero Scholasticorum, quo nomine tunc temporis appellabantur Advocati." (Berardi Dissert. de var. Can. Coll. ante Grat. apud Galland. p. 274. Conf. James's Treatise of Corruption, Part 2. pp. 81-2. Lond. 1611. Sheldon's Motives, p. 89. Lond. 1612. Benedict. XIV. De Sacrific. Missæ, Tom. i. p. 255. Lovan. 1762. Scholliner Hist. Theol. Christ. sæc. prim. pp. 8-10. Salisburg. 1761. Clarkson's Discourse concerning Liturgies, p. 83. Lond. 1689.)
- (t) Not 574, as Berardus (l. c.) has it. Vid. Evagrii Eccles. Hist. Lib. iv. Cap. xxxviii. p. 414. & Valesii Annott. p. 111. Paris. 1673. Nicephori Callist. Eccl. Hist. L. xvii. C. xxix. p. 552. Paris. 1562.
- (u) Vid. Pagi Crit. in Annall. Baronii, Tom. ii. pp. 631, 659. Oudin (i. 1435.) erroneously says that Joannes was elected Patriarch in 554. Cave, (i. 534.) Fabricius, (Bibl. Gr. xii. 146.) and Doujat (pp. 418-19.) make him to have continued in power from 564 to 578.
  - (v) Tom. ii. pp. 499-602. Lut. Paris. 1661.
- (w) Bevereg. Pandectt. i. 158.—"Trullanos Canones.. certum est non recipi ab Ecclesia," [sc. Romana.] (Ind. libr. expurg. p. 230. Romæ, 1607.: p. 201. Berg. 1608.)
- (x) Strange errors are prevalent relative to the date of this Quinisext Council. Fabricius (Bibl. Gr. xii. 146.) fixes on the year 680. Bishop Beverege (Annott. p. 2. §. v.) and Bruno (apud Coteler. ii. 177.) say 681. Johnson sets down 683. (Vade-mecum, ii. 264.) It is very extraordinary that such men as Fabricius and Beverege should have confounded the period of the celebration of

the name of the Apostles, are confirmed as genuine. Upon which Decree Balsamo, Patriarch of Antioch, has put this admonitory scholium (y): "Hujus præsentis Canonis perpetud recordare. Per ipsum enim os eis occludes, qui dicunt à sanctis Apostolis non fuisse editos lxxxv. Canones:" evidently, (as Ussher observes (z),) "Latinos hic perstringens, quibus quinquaginta tantum Canones erant in usu."

Photius, who was made Patriarch of Constantinople in the year 858, admits the eighty-five Apostolic Canons into his Nomocanon(a); and with

this Synod with that of the third Constantinopolitan (the sixth Œcumenical) Council, which also assembled "in Trullo." Vid. Cavei Hist. Lit. i. 605. Assemani Biblioth. Jur. Orient. Can. et Civ. Lib. i. Cap. v. p. 105. Romæ, 1762. Christiani Lupi Dissert. de Synodo Trullan. Opp. Tom. iii. p. 171. Venet. 1724. Doujat Prænott. Canon. pp. 193, 409. Fabricii Bibl. Græc. xii. 715. Gallandii Syllog. pp. 273, 352. Husenbeth's Reply to Faber's Supplement, p. 98. Lond. 1829.—Inaccuracy as to the time of the meeting of this Synod has afforded ground to Allatius to argue thus against its authority: "Quidquid tamen sit de hoc annorum computo, sanè in eo præscribendo Scriptorum dissidium rem nobis incertam, nulloque firmo fultam fundamento, notat." (De Eccles. Occid. et Orient. perp. Consens. Lib. i. Cap. xxvii. col. 466. Colon. Agripp. 1648.)

- (y) Apud Bever. Pand. i. 159.
- (z) Dissert. de Ignat. Epistt. Cap. vi. apud Coteler. ii. 212.
- (a) Voelli et H. Justelli Bibl. Jur. Can. vet. Tom. ii. p. 793. The introductory part, to which I have referred, was published for the first time in this collection, an. 1661. It was wanted in the edition of the Nomocanon which Christoph. Justellus put forth in Greek, and to which he annexed the Latin version by Agylæus, 4to. Lut. Paris. 1615.

him the later Greeks upon this point unanimously concur. It may be well to mention the names of the principal authorities:—Stephanus Ephesius(b); Joannes Zonaras(c); Alexius Aristenus(d); Symeon,

- (b) I have followed Fabricius (B. Gr. xii. 146. Conf. pp. 183-4.) in placing this writer after Photius; but we both have failed in an attempt to become intimate either with him, or his performance. His Κανονική Σύνοψις begins with the words: 'Αποςόλων Karóres estrir dydonxorra meres: \* so that we have not any reason to accuse him of delay, or of deficient explicitness as to the information which we desire. In the MS., of the work in the Heidelberg Library, the author is styled "Ephesinus Episcopus;" (Vid. Possevini Appar. Sac. Tom. ii. Append. p. 74. Colon. Agripp. 1608.) and this circumstance has perhaps induced Cave (Dissert. de Scriptt. incert. ætat. p. 18. Oxon. 1743.) to suggest that he may possibly have been the Stephen, Bishop of Ephesus, who was present at the Council of Chalcedon, in 451, (not 351, as Cave says.) The Catalogue of the Bishops of Ephesus [Le Quien Oriens Christ. Tom. i.] notes another Stephen, who subscribed the Trullan Canons; and Le Quien tells us that to him the Canonica Synopsis is attributed. However it seems safer to consider such Synopses the productions of a later age. Vid. Ballerin. De ant. Collect. Can. apud Galland. p. 99. Assemani Bibl. Jur. Orient. Lib. iii. Cap. xi. pp. 347-49.
- (c) Videantur ejus In Canones SS. Apostolorum, & sacrorum Conciliorum Commentarii, pp. 1-45. Lut. Paris. 1618.
- (d) Bishop Beverege (Prolegom. in *Pandectt.* p. xvii.) has plainly shown that the *Synopsis Canonum* published, (without the *Scholia* which he afterward edited,) by Voellus and Justellus, (Tom. ii. pp. 673-709.) under the name of Aristenus, should rather be ascribed to a more ancient author. There is a simple proof that if

<sup>\*</sup> Pet. Lambecii Commentt. de Biblioth. Cæsar. Vindob. Lib. iii. p. 66. Vindobonæ, 1670.

## Magister et Logotheta(e); Theodorus Balsamo(f);

Aristenus wrote the *Synopsis*, he could not also have written the illustrative *Scholia*: for, in the explanation of the lxxv., Apostolic Canon, (Bever. i. 49.) the scholiast says: "Qui Synopsin præsentis Canonis fecit, non bene eum intellexit;" and a man would scarcely have spoken thus of himself. Conf. Fabricii *Bibl. Græc.* xi. 280. xii. 202. Cavei *Hist. Lit.* ii. 238.—Oudin (ii. 1300.) wishes to make it appear that Aristenus composed the *Synopsis*, and not the *Scholia*: but he occasionally takes pleasure in trying to differ from others.

(e) His whole title is: "Symeon Junior, Magister et Logotheta, et Metaphrastes;" and that it is not particularly easy to ascertain the time when he lived may be learned from the singular fact that almost every independent writer has marked out a special date for him, at variance with other accounts: and the disagreement has such wide limits that while Villegas, Ribadeneira, and Surius make him to have flourished about the year 620; (Vid. Leonis Allatii De Symeon. Script. Diatr. p. 40. Paris. 1664.) and Garetius in 670; (De Ver. Præsent. in Euchar. fol. 172. Antverp. 1561.) he is brought down by Hospinian to nearly A. D. 1400.

<sup>\*</sup> Allatius adds: (ut sup. p. 41.) "Minus consideratè locutus est Ioannes Molanus, ad 13. Maij, in Martyrologio Vsuardi, adnotans ex Tomo 6. Lipomani, Metaphrastem excerpsisse Historiam vitæ sancti Epiphanij, Constantiæ Cypri Episcopi, ex voce & relatu Ioannis eius discipuli, qui Metaphraste (etiam ipso Heraclio) antiquior est, vixitque circa annum Christi 430. vel paulò infrà."—This passage exhibits shameful negligence. First, the day should be "12. Maij:" secondly, Molanus does not refer to Lipoman, but to Surius: and thirdly, he does not say that Metaphrastes took the history of S. Epiphanius from John; but that "apud Metaphrastem quidam" did so. (Annott. in Vsvardi Martyrol. fol. 82. Lovan. 1573.) The Life of S. Epiphanius is said by Surius to be "excerpta ex voce Iohannis, vnius ex eius discipulis. Habetur autem in Simeone Metaphraste." (De probat. Sanctt. Histor. Tom. iii. p. 181. Colon. Agripp. 1572.)

<sup>†</sup> Gesner, in the first edition of his Bibliotheca Vniuersalis, fol. 605. Tiguri, 1545, says that Metaphrastes lived "circiter annos ab hinc ducentos."

## Arsenius Monachus(g); Matthæus Blastares(h); and

(Ger. Joan. Vossius, De Hist. Græc. Lib. ii. Cap. xxv. p. 148. Amstel. 1699.) Allatius derides those heretics, "qui, vt Metaphrastæ fidem eleuent, eum recentissimum faciunt;" (Diatrib. p. 37.) and he takes credit to himself in these words: "Metaphrastæ ætatem, ignotam hactenus, & suspicionibus, iisque leuissimis nixam, certam atque indubiam ipse primus signaui." (Ib. p. 68.) In consequence of Bishop Godwin (De Præsull. Angliæ, p. 4. Cantab. 1743.) having placed Metaphrastes at about the year 900, he is thus commended by Allatius: "Nullus interim, vt id quoque notam, inter Hæreticos cautius locutus est, & rem acu tetigit, vt prouerbio fertur, quam Franciscus Goduuinus." (Ib. pp. 71-2.) Cave speaks of three Symeons: "Simeon, Metaphrastes," an. 901; "Simeon, Magister & Logotheta," circa annum 967; and "Symeon, Magister & Logotheta," circa annum 1170. Oudin therefore (ii. 1373.) calls him "ferax ille Simeonum adasses;" and by an excellent Dissertation (coll. 1300-1383.) atones for a great mistake which he himself had previously committed, (Supplem. de Scriptt. Eccles. p. 592. Paris. 1686.) in reducing Metaphrastes to the commencement of the fourteenth century; when, following the example of Ger. Von Mastricht, (Hist. Jur. Eccles. et Pontif. p. 322. Duisburg. 1676.) he should have left him in the middle of the twelfth.—Concerning Symeon, (thus I spell his name; for Cave's distinction between i and y in this appellative does not seem to be well-founded;) Conf. Bollandi Act. Sanctt. Præfat. gener. pp. xvi-xviii. Antverp. 1643. Le Moyne Varia Sacra, Tom. ii. p. 1081. Lugd. Bat. 1694. De Montfaucon Palceograph. Græc. Lib. iv. pp. 269, 273. Paris. 1708. Pagi Critic. in Annall. Baronii, iii. 784. iv. 20, 36. Aub. Miræi Auctar. de Scriptt. Eccl. n. cccii. Labbé Dissert. de Scr. Eccles. ii. 354. Paris. 1660.

Oudin, (ii. 1312.) having partly misinterpreted Vossius, contradicts Allatius with regard to Gesner; and censures Simler for fixing Metaphrastes "circa annum 1374;" whereas the words of this epitomiser are: "Claruit circa annum 1200." (p. 641. Tiguri, 1574.)

Constantinus Harmenopulus(i). To these I will

Raynaudi Erotemata, pp. 148-9. Lugd. 1653. Dallæi De lib. suppos. Dion. & Ignat. Lib. ii. p. 379. Genevæ, 1666. Lambecii Commentt. de Biblioth. Cæsar. L. v. p. 365. Vindob. 1672. Doujat Prænott. Canon. Lib. ii. Cap. lxii. §. ii. Barrett Prolegom. in Evang. sec. Matthæum, ex Cod. rescript. pp. 3, 4. Dubl. 1801.

With regard to the *Epitome Canonum*, (apud Voelli et Justelli *Biblioth*. ii. 710-748.) with which Symeon Magister has been associated, Beverege (Proleg. p. xvii.) esteems it to be older than his time, as well as than that of Aristenus: and, as the two *Synopses* are very much alike, it is probable that Symeon also edited *Scholia*, which are now not extant. However this be, we are quite secure in judging it to be an error, in the best edition of Cave, (pp. 104, 241.) that the *Epitome* is named in connexion both with the Simeon of 967, and with the Symeon of 1170. It is also tolerably certain that Fabricius could not have been absolutely correct in at one time placing the author or scholiast of the *Synopsis Canonum* "circa a. 890;" (*Bibl. Gr.* xi. 297-8.) and at another "circa a. C. 1166." (*B. G.* x. 184.)

(f) The Scholia of Balsamo upon the ancient Canons were never completely printed until Beverege took them from a MS., in the Bodleian Library, and inserted them in his Synodicum. Natalis Alexander (Hist. Eccles. Tom. vi. p. 517. Paris. 1699.) reproves those learned men who think that Balsamo borrowed matter from Zonaras; who, as he supposes, lived after the former: but this question is at once decided by our finding that "integ-Φυίτατος ἐκεῖνος Ζωναρᾶς" is alleged by Balsamo. (Bever. Pandectt. ii. 37. Conf. Fabricii Bibl. Gr. x. 375. Allatius, De Eccl. Occ. et Or. perp. Consens. col. 175.) "Plaustra conviciorum" are heaped upon Balsamo by Romanists, as a recompense for the freedom of his language with reference to their concerns. As examples of their censures, let us quote some of the warnings against him, appointed by the Master of the sacred Palace to be introduced into the Bibliotheca Patrum by De la Bigne: "Memineris lector, Theodorum Balsamonem Græcum esse, schismaticum, Ecclesiæ

1

subjoin Josephus Ægyptius(j); and Ebediesus, the Metropolitan of Soba and Armenia(k).

Romanæ hostem, erroribus non paucis defædatum."—" Non te lateat Lector hunc Theodorum Balsamonem Græcum esse, ac schismaticum, Ecclesiæq; Romanæ manifestum hostem: ob id neq; ei fidendum, quin & scripta eius cum iudicio legenda."--- "Semper præ oculis habeto lector, Theodorum Balsamonem esse Græcum hominem, ac schismaticum, Romanæ Ecclesiæ infensum: ob id scripta eius & fide & auctoritate carere, esseq; cum delectu legenda."-" Notum est Theodorum Balsamonem fuisse schismaticum, & hostem Romanæ Ecclesiæ: vnde parum fidendum eius scriptis; & quæ disserit ex vsu Græcanico, vt subsistant, vel exigenda sunt ad normam Romanæ Ecclesiæ, vel reponenda inter ea quæ tolerantur potius quam probantur ab Apostolica Sede, in ritibus Græcorum." (Ind. lib. expurgand. pp. 95, 117, 123, 229. Romæ, 1607.: pp. 83, 102, 108, 200. Bergom. 1608. Conf. Allatii De perpet. Consens. Lib. ii. Cap. xiii. §. iv. Labbé Dissert. de Scriptt. Eccl. ii. 396-9. Bellarmin. De Scr. Eccles. p. 199. Romæ, 1613. Olearii Biblioth. Scriptt. Eccl. Tom. ii. pp. 191-2. Jenæ, 1710. Berardi Dissert. de Can. Collect. ante Gratian. apud Gallandii Syllog. pp. 274-5.) Joannes Fabricius has added more than two centuries to the life of Balsamo, by prolonging it till the year 1403; (Hist. Biblioth. Fabric. ii. 338. Wolfenbutt. 1718.) and Gabriel Severus, not having distinguished between Theodore and Michael Balsamo, has modernized the former to A.D. 1430. (Apud Nic. Comneni Proenott. mystag. p. 178. Cit. Fabric. in Bibl. Gr. xii. 207.)

- (g) Vid. ejus Divinorum Canonum Synopsis, in Voelli et Justelli Biblioth. Tom. ii. pp. 749-784.
- (h) Vid. Præfat. in ejus Syntagma Alphabeticum, sig. a 2. in Tom. ii. Pandectt. Beveregii, Par. ii. Conf. Fabricii Bibl. Græc. xi. 588. Joan. Fabricii Hist. Bibl. Fabr. ii. 337.
- (i) The Epitome divinorum sacrorumque Canonum, by Const. Harmenopulus, is given, Græcè et Latinè, in Leunclavii Jus Græco-Rom. Tom. i. pp. 1-71. Francof. 1596.; and Freherus, the edi-

The Greeks not only confess the credibility of eighty-five Canons, but also commonly conceive that they were really delivered by the Apostles, and compiled by Clement(l): "neque facile erit reperire

tor, in his Chronologia, prefixed to this legal work, sig. c iij., places Harmenopulus at the year 1143. Doujat (Prænott. Can. Lib. iii. Cap. xi. §. v.) has adopted the same date. Cave, (H. L. ii. 226.) Ittigius, (De Hæresiarch. Dissert. Præfat. p. 18. Lips. 1690.) Labbé, (Biblioth. Chronolog. p. 143. Paris. 1659.) Oudin, (Suppl. de Scriptt. Eccles. p. 415. Paris. 1686.) and others likewise deposite him in the middle of the twelfth century. Selden also had done so in his Uxor Ebraica; (Lib. iii. Cap. xxix. p. 427. Francof. ad Oder. 1673.) but he afterward corrected himself, and advanced this writer two centuries later. (De Synedr. Lib. ii. Cap. x. pp. 213-14. Amstel. 1679.) Lambecius at first determined upon the earlier era for Harmenopulus; (Commentt. de Biblioth. Cæsar. Lib. v. pp. 319, 365, 373, 381. Vindob. 1672.) but subsequently he rightly directed that "qui floruit circa annum Christi 1150" should be altered into "qui floruit circa annum Christi 1345." (Lib. vi. p. 40. Ib. 1674. Conf. Oudini Commentt. de Scriptt. Eccles. iii. 924. Fabricii Bibl. Græc. xi. 260, sqq. xii. 205.)

- (j) "Hic Josephus, Sacerdos Ægyptiacus, omnes propemodum canones, ab Ecclesiâ Græcâ receptos, Arabico idiomate παραφρασικώς interpretatus est; idque in magno satis volumine MS. quod ex oriente allatum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana repositum habemus." (Beveregii Prolegom. in *Pandectt. Can.* p. xxi. §. xxxii.)
- (k) See his *Epitome Canonum Apostolicorum*, published by Cardinal Mai. (Scriptt. vet. nova Collect. Tom. x. pp. 8-17. Romæ, 1838.)
- (1) The Centuriators, (Cent. i. Lib. ii. Cap. vii. col. 544.) having used the words "qui à Clemente Romano uersi dicuntur," are deservedly reproved by Turrian; who declares (Pro Can. Apost. Lib. i. Cap. i. p. 1.) that he does not understand their meaning; and asks: "quis vnquàm dixit a Clemente versos præter Magdeburgenses?" To this I reply that Gratian (Præfat. in

Græcorum aliquem, qui Canones hosce Apostolis non adscripserit, post habitam Synodum Trullanam(m)."

Daillé affirms that the Canons claim for themselves an Apostolic origin(n). De la Roque is of the same opinion(o); and Gibert reasons in a similar manner(p): but Bishop Beverege has demonstrated that in each of the four instances which may be adduced interpolation has taken place(q). In the xxix., Canon, (according to Beverege(r),) we find " $v\pi$ '  $\epsilon\mu\sigma\bar{v}$   $\Pi\epsilon\tau\rho\sigma v$ ," "à me Petro;" whereas the version by Dionysius Exiguus(s), and, after him, the Excerptions from Ecgbert(t) only contain "à Petro(u)". Again,

Dist. xvi. Conf. A Castro Advers. Hæres. Lib. i. Cap. 5. fol. 7. Paris. 1564.) said that these Canons were thought to have been "translati" by Clement: but the Roman Correctors recommend the term "prolati" as a substitute for this expression. Conf. Ant. Augustini De emend. Grat. Lib. i. Dial. vi. pp. 56-7. Paris. 1607. Daillé (De Pseudep. Apostol. p. 682.) says that the Canons do not any where allude to Clement as their editor. How did he happen not to see "di ipi Kanpertos" in the last of them?

- (m) Van-Espen Dissert. in Can. Apost. §. ii. Jus Eccl. Univ.
   vi. 329. Conf. Bever. C. C. vind. L. i. C. viii. §. viii. pp. 71-2.
  - (n) De Pseudepig. Apost. Lib. iii. pp. 680-82.
  - (o) Observatt. in Annott. Bevereg. pp. 49, 50.
  - (p) Corp. Jur. Canon. Proleg. Tom. i. p. 38. Lugd. 1737.
  - (q) Cod. Can. vind. pp. 176-7.
  - (r) Ib. p. 442.
- (s) Binii Concill. Tom. i. P. i. p. 8. Conf. Card. Contareni Concill. magis illust. Summa, fol. 15. Venet. 1562.
  - (t) Wilkins Concill. Vol. i. p. 104.
- (u) Beveregii Annotatt. p. 26. Usserii Dissert. de Ignat. Epistt. Cap. vi. apud Coteler. ii. 212. Turrian explains the matter thus:

in Canon l., Dionysius has "non enim dixit nobis Dominus(v):" but this important word either is spurious, or rather has arisen from reading " $\mathring{\eta}\mu\mathring{\nu}$ " for " $\mathring{\eta}\mu\mathring{\omega}\nu$ "(w). Moreover, in Canons lxxxii., and lxxxv., the pronouns " $\mathring{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma$ s" and " $\mathring{\eta}\mu\mathring{\omega}\nu$ " have been introduced by some unknown falsifier.

We are informed by Sixtus Senensis that "Tertullianus aduersus Praxeam dicit hos Canones Apostolorum esse per manus  $\operatorname{traditos}(x)$ ." Possevin(y), Bellarmin(z), and Doujat(a) bear uniform testimony to what is not by any means true: for Tertullian has not, in any of his writings, made mention of the Apostolic Canons(b). Sixtus, the Dominican, adds that "Athanasius inter agiographa eos enumerat;" and in this statement coincide the three others whom I have just named as having before agreed with him: Doujat merely inserting as a parenthesis, respecting

- (v) Coteler. i. 449. Conf. Gratiani *Decret*. De Consec. Dist. iv. C. Si quis Presbyter.
- (w) Bevereg. Annott. p. 30. C. C. vind. p. 177. Usser. apud Cotel. ii. 212-13.
  - (x) Biblioth. Sanct. Lib. ii. p. 59. Francof. 1575.
  - (y) Appar. Sac. Tom. i. p. 369. Colon. Agripp. 1608.
  - (z) De Scriptt. Eccl. p. 34. Romæ, 1613.
  - (a) Prænott. Canon. Lib. iii. C. ii. p. 395. Paris. 1697.
- (b) Usser. apud Coteler. ii. 211. Nat. Alexand. Hist. Eccles. iii. 201. Joan. Fabricii Hist. Bibl. Fabric. v. 449. The nearest passage to that brought forward which I have remarked is this: "id esse ab Apostolis traditum, quod apud Ecclesias Apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum." (Advers. Marcion. Lib. iv. C. v.)

<sup>&</sup>quot;scribit Clemens μιμητικώς, id est, per imitationem siue repræsentationem personæ." (Pro Canon. Apost. Lib. i. p. 35.)

the Synopsis, among the works of S. Athanasius, in which the thing is said to be taught: "si quidem ea verè Athanasii est." De Montfaucon places this treatise in the rank of "Dubia," though he does not consider it to be "Athanasio indignum(c)." Du Perron and other Romanists deny it to be genuine(d); and truly have not much inducement to admire it: but, at all events, it is so far from too highly elevating the Apostolic Canons, that it never speaks of them; except we suppose them to be included under "Clementina;" and then they, as well as the "Doctrina Apostolorum(e)," are pronounced to be apocryphal(f)!

Among the books of Scripture Damascen records "Canones sanctorum Apostolorum per Clementem(g);" and Alphonsus à Castro thus gives a mild

- (c) Præfat. in Tom. ii. Opp. S. Athanasii, p. vij. Paris. 1698. [Vid. Hist. Litt. de la Cong. de S. Maur, par Tassin, pp. 592-3. A Bruxelles, 1770.]
- (d) Vid. Cosin's Scholast. Hist. of Canon of Script. p. 48. Lond. 1672.
- (e) This is condemned also in the Epistola Festalis of S. Athanasius. (Opp. Tom. i. P. ii. p. 963. Conf. Grabe's Essay upon the Doctrine of the Apostles, p. 27. Oxford, 1711.) Peresius Aiala says that this Epistle "Apostolorum regulas inter Hagiographa numerat:" (De Divin. Apost. atque Eccles. Traditt. Par. iii. f. 172. Paris. 1550.) but he is as much mistaken as the rest.
  - (f) S. Athan. Opp. ii. 202.
- (g) Orthodox. Fid. Lib. iv. Cap. xviii. fol. 173. Paris. 1519. Clichtoveus, in his commentary on this place, says of the Canons: 'Nunc tamen temporum iniuria & malignitate illis caremus." [!] (fol. 175.)

account of this circumstance: "Damascenus tantum illis tribuit, vt.. videatur eos in numerum canonicorum librorum referre(h)."

- "Apostolorum Canones certò Apostolici" says Lindanus. (Chronol. præf. ad *Panopl. Evangel*. Colon. Agripp. 1560.)
- "Nam & hos vere equidem ab Apostolis constitutos, à beatoq; Clemente conscriptos esse, multis & certis adducor argumentis vt credam." (Lamberti Gruteri Præfat. in *Clementina*, sig. \* \* . Colon. Agripp. 1570.)

Turrian(i), Panvinius(j), Salmeron(k), Lorinus(l), and A Castrovillare(m) have conjectured that these Canons were made in the Council of Jerusalem; Acts xv.

- "Sint sanè ab Apostolis viua voce traditi, & à Clemente tanquam amanuensi collecti in vnum, atque conscripti: neque enim id negauerimus, quod ita esse non contemnendi quidam authores astruunt." (Joan. Lenseus, De verb. Dei non script. Lib. ii.
  - (h) Advers. Hæres. Lib. i. Cap. 5. fol. 7. Paris. 1564.
  - (i) Pro Can. Apost. Lib. i. Cap. 25. p. 112. Florent. 1572.
- (j) Catal. præf. ad *Hist*. Platinæ de vitis Pontiff. Rom. Colon. 1574.
- (k) Commentt. Tom. xii. Tract. xliv. p. 301. Colon. Agripp. 1604.
  - (1) In Act. Apostol. Cap. xv. p. 608. Colon. Agripp. 1617.
- (m) Dissert. Hist. Chronol. & Dogmat. de Can. Apostol. Romæ, 1697. Vid. Ittigii Dissert. de Patt. Apost. p. 213. Lips. 1699. Conf. Zornii Opusc. sac. i. 537. Fabricii Bibl. Græc. vii. 23. xii. 142. Ittigii Hist. Eccles. sec. i. p. 47. Lips. 1709.

pp. 113-14. Antverp. 1591. Conf. Pighii *Hierarch*. *Eccles*. Lib. ii. Cap. x. p. 137. Colon. Agripp. 1572. [Broughton's] *Iudgement of the Apostles*, p. 115. Doway, 1632.)

It is prescribed by the  $Indices\ Expurgatorii$  of Mascaregnas(n), Zapata(o), A Sotomaior(p), and Marin(q), with regard to the table of contents to a work by Joseph Scaliger: "Dele sequentia.—Ca-nones nomine Apostolorum supposititij.—Canones nomine Clementis commentitij." They who acquiesce in the rectitude of this command must necessarily look with dissatisfaction upon the following decretal sentence, purporting to have emanated from Pope Gelasius(r), in the year 496: "Liber Canonum Apostolorum apocryphus(s)." I have before had occasion to speak of this remarkable De-

- (n) P. 840. Vlyssip. 1624. (o) P. 636. Hispali, 1632.
- (p) P. 666. ed. an. 1667. (q) Par. i. p. 685. Matriti, 1707.
- (r) A Schelstrate says with great composure: "Non ignoramus à Gelasio plura inter apocrypha recenseri, quæ de facto Catholici non reiiciunt." (Antiquit. illust. Par. ii. p. 369. Antuerp. 1678.)
- (s) Gratiani Decret. i. Par. Dist. xv. Cap. Sancta Romana Ecclesia. Vid. etiam Binii Concill. Tom. ii. P. i. pp. 500-2. Cocquelines Bullar. Tom. i. pp. 71-3. Romæ, 1739. Luitprandi Opp. pp. 233-35. Antverp. 1640. Attonis Episc. Capitulare, Cap. c. apud D'Achery Spicileg. Tom. i. pp. 412-14. Paris. 1723. Antonini Summæ Summar. Tom. iii. Tit. xviii. Cap. vi. Lugd. 1542. The books interdicted by Gelasius are enumerated at the end of the Cathalogus librorum haereticorum, put forth under the sanction of the Inquisition of Venice, in 1554, and most carefully reprinted by my highly valued friend Mr. Mendham, Lond. 1840.—"Reti-

cree(t); but was then contented with proving that the ninth century is not the period at which the decision of the Roman Council under Gelasius is for the first time named in Ecclesiastical writings. I must now more fully discuss the question, and investigate the history of this document; inasmuch as the main argument of Daillé, against the antiquity and authority of the Apostolic Canons, rests upon the words I have cited from this celebrated Ordinance, than which, he says, "nihil clarius, aut luculentius dici potest(u)."

At the commencement it is to be observed that this Decree has been ascribed to three Bishops of Rome, Damasus, Gelasius, and Hormisdas(v). Baluzius is willing to give each of them a share in the composition; and suggests, "Damasum primum omnium de hujuscemodi libris publicè statuisse; deinde verò Gelasium Damasi Decretum renouasse, illudque auxisse eorum auctorum nominibus qui post Damasum vixere. Quod idem de Hormisda quoque dici

nens libros hæreticorum est excommunicatus, vt hic, nec potest absolui ab alio quàm à Papa; imo eo ipso quod libri hæreticorum reperiuntur penes aliquem, ille præsumitur hæreticus, & potest de hæresi condemnari." (Rebuffi Elucid. Bullæ Cænæ Domini Papæ Pauli III. in ejusd. Praxi Benefic. p. 298. Paris. 1664.)

- (t) Suprà, pp. 3, 4.
- (u) De Pseudepig. Apost. p. 437.
- (v) Fabricii Bibl. Græc. xii. 658. Van-Espen Juš Eccl. Univ.
  vi. 337. Chiffletii Not. in Opp. Vigilii Tapsensis, p. 149. Divione,
  1664. Fabricii Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test. Tom. i. pp. 65, 135.

potest(w)." However, Du Frische and Le Nourry, the Benedictine editors of St. Ambrose(x), state: "hoc decretum de libris apochryphis, quod recentiores quidam Hormisdæ pontifici adtribuit, [sic.] à nobis sub consueto Gelasii titulo allegari, quia illud in MSS. ante mille annos exaratis eadem inscriptione prænotatum reperiatur(y);" and Mabillon says: "nullatenus dubito quin hæc epistola decretalis Gelasium auctorem habeat(z)."

- (w) Not. ad Opp. Servati Lupi, p. 457. Paris. 1664.
- (x) Tassin, p. 146.
  - (y) S. Ambrosii Opp. Tom. i. col. 1266. Paris. 1686.
- (z) Disquis. de Cursu Gallic. ad fin. Lib. De Liturg. Gall. p. 386. Lut. Paris. 1685. Vid. Justi Fontanini De antiq. Hortæ Colon. Etruscor. Lib. ii. Cap. iii. pp. 211-32. Romæ, 1723. Ittigii Dissert. de Hæresiarch. pp. 207-8. Lips. 1690. & Heptas Dissertatt. pp. 125-6. Ib. 1696. Usserii Britann. Eccles. Antiq. p. 406. Lond. 1687. Disc. of Relig. prof. by ancient Irish, p. 41. Lond. 1631. [Larroquani] Observ. in Ignat. Pearson. Vindic. p. 29, sqq. Rothom. 1674. Barth. Germon, De veter. Hæret. Eccles. Codic. corruptor. p. 598. Paris. 1713. Bp. Taylor, Of Episcopacie, p. 96. Lond. 1647. Berington's and Kirk's Faith of Catholics, p. 98. Lond. 1830.

Mr. Brenan (*Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, Vol. i. p. 62. Dublin, 1840.) tells us, respecting Sedulius, that "a council composed of seventy bishops, in the pontificate of Gelasius, bear honourable testimony to his writings." The allusion is to his *Paschale Opus*; about which, and the Decree wherein it is praised, Jo. Pierius Valerianus\* relates the following tale:—"At uidete, obsecro, quæ damna plerunque deprauati codices afferant. Nostris in sacris Legibus, Distinctione xv. Gelasij Papæ sententia est, Venerabilis uiri Se-

<sup>\*</sup> Pagi Crit. in Annall. Baron. i. 44.

Besides the notice taken of Gelasius in the Catalogue of books presented in the Chronicon Centulense, Bp. Pearson(a) believes that Lupus Ferrariensis(b), Hincmarus(c), and Pope Nicholas I.,(d) afford the earliest evidence of the existence of this Decree; and these individuals wrote after the year 840. Bp. Cosin declares that "this Decree was then first heard of, when Isidore the Merchant began to vent his Apocryphal Wares to the World, and when Gelasius

dulij Paschale opus, quod Heroicis descripsit uersibus, insigni laude proferendum. Vulgata tamen hactenus exemplaria pro Heroicis uersibus, Haereticis uersibus habuere.\* Quod bonis quibusdam Legum professoribus suspicionem oggessit Poëmata omnia esse hæretica; Poëtasq; inter pios, etiam si sacra tractent, nequaquàm adnumerari: id quod Hadriano vi. Pont. max. usq; adeo persuasum uidimus, ut hac de causa nullum hominum genus maiori prosequeretur odio quàm Poëtas; id nominis nihil aliud præ se ferre arbitratus quàm impietatem." (Pro Sacerdotum Barbis, pp. 24-5. Paris. 1533. I have also another edition, Argent. 1534. Compare Bp. Taylor's Liberty of Prophesying, Sect. vii. Numb. 15. p. 144. Lond. 1647.)

- (a) Vind. Ignat. Cap. iv. apud Coteler. ii. 292.
- (b) [Epist. cxxviii. Opp. p. 190. Paris. 1664.]
- (c) [Opp. Tom. ii. p. 474. Lut. Paris. 1645.]
- (d) [Epist. xlii. apud Binii Concill. Tom. iii. P. i. Sect. post. p. 489.]

<sup>\*</sup> In the same chapter of this Distinction Gelasius apparently condemns "Evangelia quæ falsavit Lucianus." Deckherr very fairly inquires "quis ille?" (De Script. adesp. p. 71. Amstel. 1686.) I reply that Strauchius has suggested that for "Lucianus" we should read "Tacianus." Vid. Placcii Theatrum, i. 108. & de Tatiano adi B. Theodoret. Hæret. Fabul. Lib. i. Opp. Tom. ii, p. 375. Colon. Agripp. 1573.

had been already ccc years in his Grave(e)." Cave concludes, without hesitation, "fictum ac supposititium esse hoc Gelasii decretum, ac ejusdem esse cum epistolis primorum pontificum decretalibus farinæ, ex eademque Isidori Mercatoris officina prodiisse(f);" and Grabe(g) seems inclined to concur in this severe judgment with regard to an "egregium antiquitatis Ecclesiasticæ monimentum(h)."

The first proof that I shall here advance, against the hypothesis of these writers, is founded on the ancient collection of Canons which Petit published with the *Pænitentiale* of Archbishop Theodore; and which he supposes to have preceded the age of Charlemagne, and the false Decretals of Isidore. In this we read: (Cap. iv.) "Hæc scripta sunt à Gelasio Papa, cum lxx. Episcopis eruditis(i)."

The next authority is S. Aldhelmus(j), who flou-

- (e) Schol. Hist. of Canon of Script. p. 123. Conf. Bevereg. Cod. Can. vind. L. i. C. ix. p. 75.
- (f) Hist. Lit. i. 463. Conf. Howel Synops. Canon. Eccles. Latin. p. 211. Lond. 1710.
  - (g) Spicileg. Tom. i. p. 319. Oxon. 1714.
- (h) Thorndicius, De ratione ac jure finiendi Controv. Eccles.\* p. 491. Lond. 1670.
- (i) Theod. Panit. Tom. i. p. 104. Lut. Paris. 1677. Conf. Gallandii Syllog. pp. 239, 352.
- (j) Fabricii Biblioth. Latin. Tom. ii. p. 247. Venet. 1728. Biblioth. med. et infim. Latin. Lib. i. pp. 142-3. In the latter work

<sup>\*</sup> To this work a new title-page was prefixed in 1674; and it was then styled Origines Ecclesiasticæ. The same scheme was adopted in 1677; when the designation given was Restauratio Ecclesiæ.

rished at about the year 680. From him we learn that, "cætera Apocryphorum deliramenta, velut horrisona verborum tonitrua, penitus abdicare & procul eliminare, orthodoxorum Patrum scita scriptis decretalibus  $\operatorname{sanxerunt}(k)$ ."

Our third witness is St. Isidore of Seville, who lived at the end of the sixth century. In his book De Scriptor. Eccles.,(l) he relates that the Cento Virgilianus, by Anicia Falconia(m) Proba, "legitur inter Apocryphas scripturas insertum:" and this intimation appears to have undoubted reference to the Gelasian Decree, in which the proscription is found.

We have now to go a step higher, namely to the

Fabricius erroneously observes that Brasichellen has deprived Aldhelmus of the titles of "Sanctus" and "Beatus." Vid. *Ind. lib. expurg.* p. 128. Romæ, 1607.: pp. 112-13. Berg. 1608.

- (k) De laud. Virginit. Cap. xi. in Max. Biblioth. Patt. Tom. xiii. p. 37. Lugd. 1677. Conf. Soames's Anglo-Saxon Church, pp. 98-100. Lond. 1838.
- (I) Cap. v. Opp. p. 527. Paris. 1601.: vel apud Fabricii Biblioth. Eccles. p. 51. In the Decree of Gelasius, (apud Gratian. Decr. Dist. xv. C. iii.) occur these words: "Sed & si qua sunt Concilia, à Sanctis Patribus hactenus instituta, post istorum quatuor autoritatem, & custodienda & recipienda decernimus & mandamus." The similarity between this passage and the following one, in St. Isidore, (Origg. Lib. vi. Cap. xvi.)—"Sed & si qua sunt concilia, quæ sancti patres spiritu Dei pleni sanxerunt, post istorum quatuor auctoritatem, omni manent stabilita vigore"—is so striking that I cannot help thinking it a confirmation of the idea that this Father was not unacquainted with the Roman Ordinance.
- (m) Or "Anitia Faltonia." See the censure by Malvenda, in the *Index* of John Maria, p. 263. Romæ, 1607.: p. 230. Bergom. 1608. Conf. Zornii *Opusc. sacr.* Tom. i. p. 508. Altonav. 1743.

year 520; when Pope Hormisdas, (the same who has been deemed the author of this Constitution,) having been consulted by Possessor, an African Bishop, with respect to the writings of Faustus of  $\operatorname{Riez}(n)$ , which are reprobated as apocryphal(o) in the Decree of Gelasius(p), thus replied to his interrogator: "Hi vero, quos vos de Fausti cuiusdam Galli Antistitis dictis consuluisse literis indicastis, id sibi responsum habeant: Neque illum recipi, neque quemquam, quos in auctoritate Patrum non recipit examen Catholicæ fidei, aut Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ ambiguitatem posse gignere, aut religiosis præiudicium com-

- (n) Fabric. Biblioth. med. et inf. Lat. Lib. vi. p. 455. Ussher (Britann. Eccl. Ant. p. 234.) blames Malvenda for pronouncing "sanam atque Catholicam" an Epistle of Lucidus, containing the same tenets as a composition by Faustus, which he stamped as "multis Pelagianorum erroribus refertam." Conf. Vossii Histor. Pelag. Lib. i. Cap. viii. pp. 37-8. Amstel. 1655.
- (o) In the sixth book De Trinitate, ascribed by Chiffletius to Vigilius Tapsensis, we read of "hæreticorum apocrypha, quæ Ecclesia catholica omninò non recipit." (Opp. p. 261. Divione, 1664.) This tractate is amongst the works of S. Athanasius; (Tom. ii. pp. 619-21. Paris. 1698.) but De Montfaucon (p. 603.) has properly considered that the real author was Idacius, who has been confounded with Idacius Clarus by Schoettgenius. (Bibl. Lat. med. et inf. ætat. Lib. xx. p. 827. Hamburg. 1746. Conf. Fabric. Lib. ix. pp. 76-8. Olearii Biblioth. Tom. i. p. 361. Jenæ, 1711.) There is a praiseworthy (but not quite successful) attempt to distinguish "Idacios omnes" from each other, in a note in Du Breul's edition of the works of S. Isidorus Hispalensis, p. 780.
- (p) "Faustum . . non quem refellit Augustinus, sed quem notat in Decretis Gelasius." (Lupi Ferrar. Epist. cxii. Opp. p. 166.)

parare. Fixa sunt à Patribus, quæ fideles sectari debeant instituta: Siue interpretatio, siue prædicatio, seu verbum populi ædificatione compositum; si cum fide recta & doctrina sana concordat, admittitur; si discordat, aboletur."—Again: "Non improuide veneranda Patrum sapientia fideli posteritati quæ essent Catholica dogmata definiit; certa librorum etiam veterum in auctoritatem recipienda, sancto Spiritu instruente, præfigens: ne opinioni suæ lector indulgens, non quod ædificationi Ecclesiasticæ conueniret, sed quod voluptas sua concepisset, assereret(q)."

Having thus, as I hope, subverted the idea that this Decree of Gelasius originated with Isidorus Mercator, some additional reflections must of necessity ensue. Various expedients have been tried to remove or lessen the weight of this ancient sentence against the Apostolic Canons. For example, Turrian(r) suggests that "erat fortassis liber iste apocryphus Canonum Apostolorum ex numero illorum quos Priscillianistæ sub nomine Apostolorum ædiderant; de quibus Leo magnus in epi. 88. ad Tur-

<sup>(</sup>q) Binii Concill. Tom. ii. P. i. p. 604. Conf. Ant. Pagi Crit. in Annall. Baron. Tom. ii. p. 445. Franc. Pagi Breviar. gest. Pontiff. Rom. Tom. i. p. 124. Lucæ, 1729. Joannes Maxentius, and, after him, Cochlæus have denied the integrity of this Epistle of Hormisdas. See Brasichellen's Index, pp. 150-1. Romæ, 1607.: pp. 132-3. Berg. 1608. Maxentius had been called, in the Bibliotheca Patrum by De la Bigne, "Servus Dei;" but Malvenda has directed: "dele Serui Dei; nam indignus eo titulo pseudomonachus, impostor, & hæreticus Eutychianus."

<sup>(</sup>r) Pro Can. Apost. p. 56. Conf. Nat. Alexand. iii. 200.

bium(s) Asturicensem Episcopum," &c. Bellarmin(t) advises us to believe that only the last thirty-five Canons are condemned as illegitimate: but Ussher replies that "probari omninò non potest, librum, nimirùm, Canonum Apostolorum apocryphum in Romana lxx. Episcoporum Synodo declaratum, plures quàm quinquaginta Canones continuisse(u)." verege(v) says that even though it were granted that Gelasius issued some Decree, yet it is uncertain whether the words "Liber Canonum Apostolorum apocryphus" were inserted in it by him, or not: because that they are wanted in Justellus's and other MSS. (w) and besides, that Hincmar expressly testifies that Gelasius "de his Apostolorum Canonibus penitùs tacuit, sed nec inter apocrypha eos misit(x)." However all that can be inferred from the last circumstance is that Hincmar did not find the contro-

- (s) Turibium, or Thuribium. Vid. Epist. Decretal. ac Rescript. Rom. Pontiff. p. 94. Matriti, 1821.
- (t) De Scriptt. Eccl. in S. Clem. Conf. L'Abbé de Choisy, Hist. de l'Eglise, Tom. i. p. 73. A Paris, 1740.
- (u) Apud Cotel. ii. 211. Annatus says that Gelasius proscribed "omnes tam priores 50. quam posteriores 35." (Appar. ad Positiv. Theol. Tom. ii. p. 252. Venet. 1744.)
  - (v) Cod. Can. vind. p. 75.
- (w) E. g. Lucense et Vaticanum: but they are in the Codex Jurensis. Vid. Mansi Concill. Tom. viii. 169-70. Florent. 1762. The passage is also absent from the Herovallian MS. Vid. not. Jac. Petit, in Theodori Panitent. &c. Tom. i. p. 107. Conf. Ballerin. De antiq. Collect. Can. apud Gallandii Syllog. pp. 98, 177.
  - (x) Opp. Tom. ii. p. 474. Lut. Paris. 1645.

verted sentence in his copy of the Decree; and it is therefore altogether needless to have recourse to the vain fancies of Daillé and his defender De la Roque: the former of whom recommends(y) that instead of "misit" we should read "omisit;" which change would be a gratuitous insult to all MSS., and to the evident intention of Hincmar: and the latter, with equal reason, proposes that the significant term "nec" should be transplanted from its right position, and discreetly placed so as to enable us to discover Hincmar confessing: "NEC de his Apostolorum Canonibus penitùs tacuit, sed inter apocrypha eos misit(z)."

With reference to this assumption of Daillé, Pearson exclaims: "hic se Criticum ostendit Dallæus(a)!"; and Beverege sarcastically remarks that, if such liberties may groundlessly be taken with ancient records, "superfluum foret opus ab eodem autore editum, Devero usu Patrum; nulli enim usui esset(b)." But Daillé is not contented with his offered emendation. He again(c) quotes Hincmar as if affirming that Gelasius had rejected the Apostolic Canons; but says, parenthetically, "apud Turrianum(d) quidem certe." Beverege cannot bear this disingenuous argument; and answers: "Verumenimvero, quicquid apud Turrianum, cui nos majorem quam ipse Dallæus fidem

<sup>(</sup>y) De Pseudepig. Ap. Lib. iii. Cap. iii. p. 438.

<sup>(</sup>z) Observ. in Ignat. Pearson. Vind. p. 56.

<sup>(</sup>a) Vindic. Ignat. P. i. Cap. iv. apud Coteler. ii. 295.

<sup>(</sup>b) Cod. Can. vind. p. 76.

<sup>(</sup>c) Ut sup. p. 438.

<sup>(</sup>d) [Pro Canon. Ap. p. 57.]

non debemus, tanquam ex Hincmaro citatum extet, cum illud in omnibus doctissimi illius præsulis Remensis operibus nusquam affirmatum habeamus, sed contrarium prorsus, in verbis ejus superius à nobis transcriptis, indignum prorsus fuit quod à Dallæo recitaretur. Neque enim ipse fidem ei habere potuit(e)." We may take our leave of De la Roque with acknowledging our clear perception of the wisdom of the counsel which some of his friends gave him with respect to Beverege; "cui responsum parans, quodque præ manibus fermè absolutum habemus, autor noster, instantibus quibusdam amicis, aliò subitò divertit(f)."

It appears to me that most of the difficulty, occasioned by the censure of primitive writings in the Gelasian Decree, has been caused by inattention to the fact that "nomen Apocryphi tantum ab auctoritate Canonicorum scriptum aliquod removebat(g)." The word "apocryphal" admits of two meanings; and is not always the same as "pseudepigraphal:" and the term "canonical" is often to be taken in a large sense, as defining those books which were to be publicly read to the people. Thus, for instance, the

<sup>(</sup>e) C. C. vind. p. 77.

<sup>(</sup>f) Summa Vitæ autoris, præf. ad Larroquani Adversar. sacr. sig. \* \* 7. Lugd. Bat. 1688.

<sup>(</sup>g) Pearson, apud Cotel. ii. 296. Cf. Sandii Nucl. Hist. Eccles. De vet. Scriptt. Eccl. pp. 1, 2. Colon. 1676. Frid. Jul. Arens, De Evangel. Apocr. in Canon. usu, p. 2. Gotting. 1835. Bail Summa Concilior. Tom. ii. p. 161. Paris. 1659.

Epistle of St. Clement was sometimes ranked as canonical; ("ecclesiastical" would have been a better name;) while the Book of the Revelation was generally not so esteemed. St. Augustin speaks of writings, which, "sub nomine apocryphorum ab autoritate canonica diligenti examinatione remota  $\operatorname{sunt}(h)$ ;" and St. Isidore of Seville has manifestly copied from  $\operatorname{him}(i)$ . Casaubon(j) expresses his surprise that the reprobation of certain Epistles in the Constitution of Gelasius had been so much slighted; but Montague maintains that they were recounted, "non tamen, tanquam Hæreticorum carcinomata, ut penitus proscribendas & rejiciendas per Christianos(k); sed ut tales, quæ nequaquam inter Hagiographa, aut Canonicas Scripturas admitti debeant(l)."

Although I have undertaken the defence of the

- (h) De Civit. Dei, Lib. xv. Cap. xxiii.
- (i) Origg. Lib. vi. Cap. ii. ad fin.
- (j) Exercitt. ad Annall. Baron. an. xxxi. num. lviii. p. 289. Lond. 1614.
- (k) I must take notice of a proof of this assertion, in the Ordinance itself. Except we receive the suggested explanation, it would be hard to excuse the Pontiff from the offence of inconsistency; for he declares: "Historia Eusebii Pamphili apocrypha;" whereas he had before stated, concerning the same books of Ecclesiastical History by this author: "propter rerum tamen notitiam singularem, quæ ad instructionem pertinent, usquequaque non dicimus renuendos."
- (1) Origg. Eccles. Tom. i. Par. post. p. 62. Lond. 1640. Conf. Bollandi Præfat. gen. in Vitas SS. pp. xxxix, xl. Antverp. 1643. Doujat Prænott. Can. Lib. iii. Cap. ii. §. ix. p. 395. Bellarm. De Concill. auct. Lib. ii. Cap. xii. §. penult.

Decree of Gelasius, and his episcopal septuagint, I do not by any means wish to have it understood that I am prepared to plead for the absolute purity of this contested document. However, before I point out a passage which may probably have been corrupted, it is right to seek to invalidate one of Pearson's reasons for denouncing the Decree as counterfeit. tells us(m) that the "Scripta de inventione capitis Beati Joannis Baptistæ," herein named, were not extant in the age of Gelasius; since they allege the Chronicon of Marcellinus Comes, who was much junior to this Pope. This argument rests altogether upon the notion of Baronius (n), that the composition "De inventione capitis Beati Joannis Baptistæ" is the same as the tract "De revelatione capitis Beati Joannis Baptistæ," which is amongst the spurious works assigned to St. Cyprian(o): and, if Pearson had looked a little more into the latter valuable performance, he would have seen that not only is Marcellinus Comes cited in it, but also mention is made of "Rex Pipinus;" and I trust that Pope Gelasius was not quite so modern a character as this event would render him.

A case in which there would be a greater likelihood of a depravation of the text is that wherein the prerogatives of the Papacy are somewhat concerned.

<sup>(</sup>m) Loc. sup. cit.

<sup>(</sup>n) Martyrol. Rom. die Augusti 29. p. 367. Antverp. 1613.

<sup>(</sup>o) Ad fin. edit. Oxon. 1682. p. 35.

Petit has observed (p) that wherever in the editions of this Decree, or of the Epistles of the Popes of the fourth and fifth centuries, the Church is described as "Ecclesia Catholica, Apostolica, et Romana," the old Herovallian MS. wants the not unimportant word "Romana." There are likewise rather irrelevant and suspicious paragraphs, with regard to the Primacy, at the beginning of the Decree. In one of these we are taught that "sancta Romana, Catholica, & Apostolica Ecclesia nullis Synodicis constitutis cæteris Ecclesiis prælata est; sed Euangelica voce Domini & Saluatoris nostri primatum obtinuit(q)," &c. About this passage it is worthy of attention that Baronius(r) quotes it as the decision of the Roman Council, under Damasus: but instead of "nullis" he has "nonnullis;" and inserts an "&" between "sed" and "Evangelica(s):"—the original has therefore been

<sup>(</sup>p) Theodori Panit. i. 99, 107.

<sup>(</sup>q) Binii Concill. Tom. ii. P. i. p. 500. Gratiani Decret. i. Par. Dist. xxi. Cap. iii. See Challoner's Unerring Authority of the Catholic Church, p. 284. Dublin, 1829. Bishop Ridley's Works, p. 164. Cambridge, 1841.

<sup>(</sup>r) Annall. ad an. 69. n. iv. Tom. i. p. 659. Antverp. 1612. : p. 630. Lucæ, 1738.

<sup>(</sup>s) An old Gloss upon Gratian (Dist. xvii. C. vi.) having observed: "Habet ergo Romana Ecclesia auctoritatem à Concilijs," the Censura by Manriq, Master of the sacred Palace, published by the command of Pope Pius V., at Rome, in 1572, directed: "Deleantur hæc verba, unà cum margine è regione posita, quæ ait: 'Papa à Concilijs,' &c." Nevertheless the edition approved of by Pope Gregory XIII., in the year 1580, retains those words of the

tampered with by some one. Lastly, to preclude all chance of boastfulness on the part of our adversaries, we have only to remind them, if they should dwell too much on this Decree, of a remark of the Roman Correctors of Gratian: "certè in toto hoc Capite tot modis discrepant Collectiones ab originali, ut satis certò statui non possit quæ vera & pura sit Gelasii lectio; nec magnopere sit mirandum, si nonnulla sint quæ difficultatem faciunt(t)."

Having in the preceding pages, which relate to the Apostolic Canons, endeavoured to act on the principle "aut viam inveniam aut faciam" through many perplexities which beset these ancient Rules taken together, I have now to animadvert briefly upon a few of them separately considered.

The fifth Canon ordains: "Episcopus, vel Presbyter, vel Diaconus uxorem suam ne ejiciat, religionis prætextu: Sin autem ejecerit, segregetur; et si perseveret, deponatur(u)." Pope Gregory the Great seems to refer to this regulation, when he says: "vt

Gloss, but omits the marginal note. Again, the same Gloss having stated: "Ecclesia Romana primatum principaliter habuit à Domino, secundariò à Concilijs," this marginal addition was sanctioned by Pope Gregory: "Concilia propriè non dederunt primatum Romanæ Ecclesiæ, sed explicarunt datum à Dno." (Vid. Joan. Pappi Collat. Censur. in Gloss. Jur. Can. ad calcem Ind. Expurg. an. 1571. pp. 299, 300. Argent. 1599.)

- (t) Not. in verb. mandamus. Dist. xv. Cap. iii. Conf. Binium, ut sup. p. 502. James's *Treatise of Corruption*, Part 2. pp. 100-1. Lond. 1611.
  - (u) Bever. Cod. Can. vind. p. 435.

hi, sicut canonica decreuit auctoritas, vxores quas castè debent regere non relinquant(v)." Cabassutius is so much offended at the clearness of the sentence against the celibacy of the Clergy(w) that he thus evades the Canon: "vero-similiter fuit olim ab Hæreticis vel Schismaticis confectus(x)." This mode of solving the difficulty is unquestionably simple enough; but Bellarmin's argument is more ingenious: "Adde quòd iste ipse Canon pro nobis facit; nam Græca vox, pro qua habemus (religionis), est  $\epsilon \dot{v}\lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon i \alpha s$ , quæ cautionem propriè significat. Itaque sensus est, Episcopus aut Presbyter nequaquam prætextu cautionis vxorem abijciat; id est, ne curam vxoris dimittat, eo prætextu quòd tenetur ab ea se continere(y)." However the Cardinal's proposed

- (v) Lib. vii. Epist. 39. Opp. Tom. ii. fol. 227. Antverp. 1572. I learn from Gudenius, (Observatt. miscell. ex Hist. Bonifac. select. pp. 13-14. Helmst. 1720.) that in the year 744, Pope Zacharias seems to have confirmed, for Germany, the prescript of the Apostolic Canons, relative to the marriage of the Clergy.
- (w) Rittershusius (Differ. Jur. Civ. et Can. pp. 175-6. Argent. 1618.) cites, though not exactly in the same words, the following apothegm of Pope Pius II.: "Sacerdotibus magna ratione sublatas nuptias, majori restituendas videri." De Mornay (Mysterie of Iniquitie, p. 588. Lond. 1612.) states that Onuphrius Panvinius "raced this out of his edition" of Platina: but I do not find that the accusation is just; for the saying appears in two editions which I possess: p. 302. Colon. 1574.: p. 329. Colon. Agripp. 1611. Vid. Franci Disquis. de Papist. Indic. p. 149. Lips. 1684. Cf. Manning's Answer to Leslie, p. 507. Dubl. 1839.
  - (x) Notit. Ecclesiast. p. 9. Lugd. 1690.
  - (y) De Cler. Lib. i. Cap. xxi. coll. 365-6.

translation is reckoned among "Corruptions" by Dr. James(z); and "religionis" is the accredited term, and is that used in the version by Dionysius Exiguus. Another effort has been made by Gratian, who in this way cites the Canon: "Si quis docuerit Sacerdotem sub obtentu religionis propriam uxorem contemnere, anathema  $\operatorname{sit}(a)$ ." The Roman Correctors say that "Gratianus refert sensum Canonis:" but Van-Espen, with more truth, calls it "sensum Latinorum(b);" for there is not a little dissimilarity between the word "ejiciat" in the Canon, and Gratian's substitute "contemnere;" which is meant to convey the idea that the Clergy should merely not neglect the wives, from whom they had withdrawn, so far as to refuse them sustenance.

The first clause of the xxxiv., Canon is as follows: "Episcopos uniuscujusq; gentis nõsse oportet illum qui in eis est primus, & existimare eum ut caput, & nihil facere quod sit magni momenti, præter illius

<sup>(</sup>z) Treatise, Part 2. p. 86. Lond. 1611. Conf. Hall's Honor of the married Clergie, p. 153. Lond. 1620.

<sup>(</sup>a) Decr. i. Par. Dist. xxviii. Cap. xiv. Cf. Dist. xxxi. Cap. ix. Bp. Pilkington's Works, p. 566. Cambr. 1842.—"Gratianus Pontificibus iam tunc tyrannidem in Ecclesia Christi vendicantibus adulantior vel obsequentior quam oportuit, optima dicta & Decreta patrum vel antiquat, vel ad arbitrium Romanorum pontificum deprauat; pia(vtapparet) intentione, sed pestilentissimo exemplo." (Mart. Lutheri Præfat. in Epist. S. Hieron. ad Evagr. sig. A iv. Viteberg. 1538.)

<sup>(</sup>b) Jus Eccl. Univ. vi. 345.

sententiam (c)." Here there is a plain recognition of the power of Metropolitans, though the title be of later date(d). Stapleton adduces this passage to prove the necessity for appeals to the See of Rome; because, as he says, Bishops are in it directed "nihil singulare aut excellens agere sine Primatis sententia(e)": but he might have learned from the sixth Canon of the first Nicene Council that the privilege of Primacy was very anciently possessed by Alexandria and Antioch as well as Rome(f); and besides, the Apostolic Canon distinctly speaks of the chief Prelate among the Bishops ἐκάστου ἔθνους.—Bishop Taylor tells us that, "in the Epistle of Marcellus to the Bishop of Antioch, he affirmes that it is the Canon of the Apostles, præter sententiam Romani Pontificis, non posse Concilia celebrari. And yet there is no such Canon extant, nor ever was for ought appears in any Record we have (g)." In the first place, any thing contained in one of the fictitious Epistles of the early Popes is not deserving of much notice; and secondly, this forged decretal Letter of Marcel-

<sup>(</sup>c) Bevereg. C. C. vind. pp. 443-4. Vid. Barrow's Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, p. 164. Lond. 1680. Conf. Moshemii Dissertt. i. 606. Altonav. 1743.

<sup>(</sup>d) "Nomen Metropolitani quarto demum seculo usurpari cœpit: nec in Ecclesiasticis antea scriptoribus uspiam invenitur." (Bever. Ib. p. 29.)

<sup>(</sup>e) Princip. Fid. doctrinal. Relect. Cont. iii. Qu. 7. p. 405. Antverp. 1596. Conf. Turrian. Pro Can. Apost. Lib. i. pp. 63, 93-95.

<sup>(</sup>f) Conf. Bevereg. ut sup. p. 212. Hooker, iii. 199. Oxford, 1841. Bp. Bull's Works, Vol. ii. p. 245. Oxf. 1827.

<sup>(</sup>g) Liberty of Prophesying, p. 94. Lond. 1647.

lus to the Bishops of Antioch refers to "Apostolorum, eorumque successorum sanctiones(h)." Binius has noted: "Hoc loco Beatus Marcellus scribit, Apostolico canone statutum esse, ne præter sententiam Romani Pontificis vlla generalia Concilia celebrentur."

The lxiii., Canon enforces the precept given in Acts xv. 29, against eating "flesh, with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof(i):" and I allude to it for the purpose of pointing out a remarkable error of Rufinus(j); who makes it to have been declared of Christians that "ne mutorum quidem animalium carnibus utuntur(k);" when he should have said "sanguine(l):" and the word "mutorum" reminds me that where  $\phi vo\mu \acute{e}v\omega v$  ( $\acute{e}\omega v$ , "mutis animalibus," occur in Beverege's edition of the Syntagma by Matth. Blastares(m), Cotelerius(n) has ordered  $\phi vo\mu \acute{e}v\omega v$  to be changed into  $\theta vo\mu \acute{e}v\omega v$ .

- (h) Apud Binii Concill. Tom. i. P. i. p. 186. Conf. Blondelli Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes, pp. 393-7. Genev. 1628.
  - (i) Gen. ix. 4.
  - (j) Conf. Beaven's Account of S. Irenœus, p. 205. Lond. 1841.
- (k) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Rufino interp. Lib. v. Cap. i. p. 103. Basil. 1535. Beatus Rhenanus has consequently put in the margin: "Veteres Christianos à carnibus abstinuisse." Œcumenius also has been led into the same mistake. (Comment. in i. Epist. D. Petri, Cap. iii. p. 498. Lut. Paris. 1631.) See the well-known Account of the Martyrs at Smyrna and Lyons; with notes, [by Dalrymple,] pp. 41, 180-3. Edinb. 1776. Bingham's Works, v. 297-99. Lond. 1840. Routh's Reliquiæ sacræ, Vol. i. pp. 276, 307-8. Oxon. 1814.
  - (1) Dan. Angelocratoris Epitome Concilior. p. 3. Francof. 1620.
  - (m) Pandectt. Tom. ii. Par. ii. p. 236.
  - (n) Eccl. Græc. Mon. iii. 669-70.

It is appointed by the lxvi., Canon: "Si quis Clericus deprehendatur die dominico jejunans, vel sabbato, (præter unum solum(o),) deponatur. Si vero Laicus, segregetur(p)."—"This Canon is what could never go down with the Romanists(q)." In Baronius it excites "magnam imposturæ suspicionem(r);" and Binius(s) and Petavius(t) agree that it is coun-Bellarmin, on one occasion, replies, "canonem istum supposititium videri(u);" but, at another time, with somewhat ambiguous consistency, he says: "Respondeo, Clemens in Apostolico illo canone, & Ignatius in epist. ad Philipp. non sine magna ratione prohibent ieiunium Sabbathi(v)." The notable words in the Epistle to the Philippians, untruly ascribed to St. Ignatius, are these: "Si quis Dominicam, aut Sabbatum jejunârit, uno excepto Sabbato Paschæ, hic

- (p) Conf. Can. lv. Concil. Trull. apud Bevereg. Pand. i. 223.
- (q) Johnson's Vade-mecum, ii. 30. Conf. Van-Espen Jus Eccl. Univ. vi. 374.
  - (r) Annall. T. ii. ad an. 102. §. xv. p. 16. Antverp. 1617.
  - (s) Concill. Tom. i. P. i. p. 17.
  - (t) Animadvers. in S. Epiphanii Opp. p. 359. Colon. 1682.
  - (u) De Rom. Pont. Lib. ii. Cap. xxvii. col. 821. Ingolst. 1601.
  - (v) De Bon. Oper. in part. Lib. ii. Cap. xviii. c. 1478.

<sup>(</sup>o) "Vnum autem Sabbatum seruandum vobis est in toto anno, quod pertinet ad sepulturam Domini, in quo iciunare oportet, non festum agere." (Constitt. A postol. interp. Bovio, Lib. vii. Cap. xxiv. fol. 138. Antverp. 1564. Conf. Lib. v. Cap. xxi. ad fin.—Bovius says, in his scholium on the former place, fol. 210: "Ecclesia Romana, quæ Apostolica vtens potestate, singula pro conditione temporum in melius mutat, non fuit contenta vnius Sabbati iciunio, sed instituit vt idem mos in omnibus Sabbatis seruaretur.")

Christi interfector est(w)." Binius assures us that, concerning the falsification of this sentence by the Greeks, "suspicio esse non possit(x);" but we need not dwell upon this, as the whole Epistle is spurious. An instance of Daillé's right use of the Fathers may be here exhibited. He twice (y) quotes, as if from St. Ignatius, the words under consideration; and I perceive that an eminently diffident maligner of the primitive Church has cited "the same Father," on the subject of his monomania(z): Du Moulin also has reproved the Saint on account of the doctrine above taught(a): but let Daillé justify St. Ignatius, and reply to himself and the others :-- "Est enim & ipse spurius & fictitius, ac personatus Ignatius; sanctissimi Martyris nihil habens præter nudum nomen, quod impostor, istius ad Philippenses epistolæ parens, ad agendam suam fabulam, impudenter assumpsit(b)." In order to understand the object of the Apostolic Canon, and the earnest language of the Pseudo-Ignatius, we must remember "the impiety of certain

<sup>(</sup>w) Coteler. ii. 119.

<sup>(</sup>x) Loc. sup. cit.

<sup>(</sup>y) De vero usu Patrum, pp. 177, 297. Genev. 1656. Conf. ejusd. De lib. suppos. Dion. Areop. & Ignat. Lib. ii. p. 329. Ib. 1666.

<sup>(</sup>z) [Taylor's] Ancient Christianity, No. 1. p. 119. Lond. 1839.

<sup>(</sup>a) Defence of the Catholicke Faith, p. 136. Lond. 1610. Conf. Sculteti Medull. Theol. Patr. Syntag. p. 359. Francof. 1634. Heylyn's History of the Sabbath, Part ii. Ch. ii. p. 414. Lond. 1681. Cave's Primitive Christianity, p. 107. Lond. 1728. Turrian. Pro Can. Apost. p. 83. Thorndike, Of Religious Assemblies, p. 284. Camb. 1642.

<sup>(</sup>b) De Pscudepig. A post. Lib. iii. p. 565.

heretics, which thought that this world, being corruptible, could not be made but by a very evil author (c). And therefore, as the Jews did, by the festival solemnity of their Sabbath, rejoice in the God that created the world, as in the author of all goodness, so those heretics, in hatred of the Maker of the world, sorrowed, wept, and fasted on that day, as being the birthday of all  $\operatorname{evil}(d)$ ." The Saturday fast, for which Romanists are so  $\operatorname{zealous}(e)$ , "seems to have originated with  $\operatorname{Marcion}(f)$ , half a century after the  $\operatorname{Martyr}$ 's [Ignatius's] death, and the Sunday fast with the  $\operatorname{Manichæans}(g)$  in the following century (h)."

- (c) Conf. Wolfii Manichæismus ante Manichæos, p. 175. Hamb. 1707.
- (d) Hooker, ii. 417-18. Compare 407-8, 415. Oxford, 1841.— "Iussit in ipso sabbato ieiunare, non quòd oporteat in sabbato ieiunium seruare, cùm in eo cessatio conditi operis sit, sed quòd in illo tantùm ieiunare oportet, in quo opifex ipse subtus terram mansit." (Constitt. Apost. Lib. v. Cap. xvi. fol. 96.)
- (e) Brasichellen's *Index* thus deals with two marginal notes upon Anastasius Nicænus: "tollantur duæ notæ marginis, Sabbatho & die Dominico non ieiunandum, & Sabbathum & Dominica sunt dies Festi; atque scribe, Cautè lege, nam sunt hæc è ritu Græcanico." (p. 68. Romæ, 1607.: p. 59. Berg. 1608.)
- (f) S. Epiphan. Hæres. xlii. §. iii. Opp. T. i. p. 304. Colon. 1682. Conf. Bevereg. Cod. Can. vindic. pp. 263-4. Turner's Discourse of the pretended Apostol. Constit. pp. 246-7. Lond. 1715.
- (g) S. August. ad Casulan. Ep. xxxvi. Opp. T. ii. coll. 59, 60. Antw. 1700. Conf. Morton's Defence of Ceremonies, p. 119. Lond. 1619.
  - (h) British Critic, January, 1838, p. 38.

The last Apostolic Canon commences with this admonition: "Sint vobis omnibus Clericis & Laicis libri venerandi & sancti(i)." Such a prelude to the enumeration of the Canonical books of Scripture is so completely at variance with the doctrine of the modern Church of Rome, as to the restricted use of the Bible(j), that it is enough to make us expect to

- (i) Cod. Can. vind. p. 461.
- (i) In respect to this point, it will suffice to adduce two or three simple proofs. One is the memorable fourth Rule of the Tridentine Index, beginning: "Cum experimento manifestum sit, si sacra Biblia vulgari lingua passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde, ob hominum temeritatem, detrimenti quam utilitatis oriri," &c. Conf. Observat. circa quart. Reg.\* in Ind. lib. prohib. Clem. VIII. Romæ, 1596. Serces, Popery an Enemy to Scripture, p. 12. Lond. 1736.—The second shall be a short and explicit interdict in the Index of Pope Innocent XI.: "Biblia vulgari quocunque idiomate conscripta." (p. 30. Romæ, 1704.) And thirdly, the lxxxth Proposition, extracted from Quesnel's Reflections on the New Testament, is this: "Lectio sacræ Scripturæ est pro omnibus;" which is among the tenets condemned by the Constitution Uniqueitus of Pope Clement XI., "tanquam falsas, captiosas, malè sonantes, piarum aurium offensivas, scandalosas, perniciosas, temerarias, Ecclesiæ & ejus praxi injuriosas, neque in Ecclesiam solum, sed etiam in Potestates sæculi contumeliosas, seditiosas, impias, blasphemas, suspectas de hæresi, ac hæresim ipsam sapientes, necnon hæreticis, & hæresibus, ac etiam schismati

<sup>\*&</sup>quot; Nunc temporis autem iuxta adnotata circa eamdem Regulam Indicis quartam, ex mandato sanctæ Romanæ & vniuersalis Inquisitionis, sublata est facultas Episcopis, Inquisitoribus, & Prælatis Regularibus, concedendi licentiam emendi, legendi, vel retinendi dictam Bibliam sacram, siue in toto, siue ex parte, siue Noui, siue Veteris Testamenti, in quacumque lingua vulgari." (Del Bene, De Off. S. Inquisit. Tom. i. p. 131. Lugd. 1666.)

derive valuable information from the Catalogue itself. Accordingly, we find that "all the Apocryphal Books are omitted, except that of *Ecclesiasticus*, which is recommended to Novices only, and mentioned apart  $\lceil \tilde{\epsilon} \xi \omega \theta \epsilon \nu \rceil$  from the Sacred Code(k)." Baronius, in order to escape from this important testimony, is obliged to intimate a strong suspicion of the spuriousness of that Canon, "qui de libris canonicis omnium postremus habetur(l)." Binius, without hesitation, asserts: "Hic canon apocryphus est & surreptitius(m);" and his annotation is transcribed by Longus à Coriolano(n). Sylvius says that "certum est hunc ultimum canonem esse apocryphum & addititium(o);" and Germon's idea is that "ille Canon aut planè spurius est, aut saltem interpolatus (p)." One of the reasons given by Natalis Alexander, for believing it to be fictitious, is that "Canon ille expungit è serie libro-

faventes, erroneas, hæresi proximas, pluries damnatas; ac demùm etiam hæreticas," &c. Vid. Joan. Frickii Inclementia Clementis, p. 38. Ulmæ, 1714. Zornii Opusc. sac. i. 549. Serces, ut sup. pp. 19-21. Mendham's Literary Policy, p. 192.—An English version of this Constitution, and of the 101., Propositions, is in the Appendix to Whatley's translation of the Abbé de la Berthier's Paralléle de la doctrine des Payens avec celle des Jesuites, Dublin, 1726-7.

- (k) Johnson's Vade-mecum, ii. 39. Cf. Thorndic. De rat. ac jur. fin. Controv. pp. 549, 555.
  - (1) Annall. Tom. ii. ad an. 102. §. xv.
  - (m) Concill. T. i. P. i. p. 18. Conf. T. ii. P. i. p. 502.
  - (n) Summa Concill. p. 144. Antverp. 1623.
  - (o) Addit. in Summ. Concill. per Carranzam, p. 15. Lovan. 1668.
  - (p) De vet. Hæret. Eccl. Codd. corrupt. p. 253. Paris. 1713.

rum Canonicorum librum Sapientiæ; & libros Tobiæ, Judith, Ecclesiastici indictos prætermittit(q):" but Van-Espen confesses that this fact "tantum abest ut suppositionem, aut falsitatem Canonis evincat, ut potius eius abstruat antiquitatem(r)." Natalis Alexander, in the same place, adds that Esdras, that is Ezra, is here not included among the books of the Old Testament: and Daillé thinks this circumstance, along with another, to be abundant proof of the falsity of the Canon(s). However, we have only to look at the original, to discover in it "Εσδρά δύο, namely the books of Ezra and Nehemiah (t). Cotelerius inserts  $lov \delta \epsilon l\theta \epsilon \nu$ : but he does so upon the slender authority of only one MS., out of eight which he consulted; and he observes that Zonaras expressly bears witness that the book of Judith is not contained in the Apostolic Catalogue (u). There is also a notable entry in the editions by Beverege and Cotelerius, viz. Μακκαβαίων τρία: "which is One more then the Canon of Trent will allow, and more by all the Three then either Damascen, or Nicephorus, and many Greek Authors besides, ever found in the

<sup>(</sup>q) Hist. Eccles. iii. 199.

<sup>(</sup>r) Jus Eccl. Univ. vi. 383.—This work was prohibited, Decr.
22. Apr. 1704; "Et cetera ejusdem Opera omnia, Decr. 17. Maii, 1734." Vid. Ind. Pii VI. p. 101. Romæ, 1786.

<sup>(</sup>s) De Pseud. Apostolic. Lib. iii. pp. 587-8.

<sup>(</sup>t) Cf. Cosin's Scholast. Hist. p. 50. Routh's Reliquiæ sacræ, Vol. i. p. 128. Bp. Pilkington's Works, p. 60. Camb. 1842.

<sup>(</sup>u) Patt. Apost. i. 452.

Copies of those Canons, that came to their hands with less corruption then they come now to ours. For it is evident by Zonaras, (however that Canon of the Apostles, upon which he makes his Commentary, be now printed with this addition of the Three Maccab an Books(v), that the Copy which he had then before him differed not from the Canon of the Council at Landicea, where the Maccabees are not named at all(w)." Moreover, the Collectio Canonum, made, in the sixth century, by Joannes Antiochenus, omits mention of the Maccabees(x); although what is joined with the Greek as a Latin translation(y) has been interpolated by the introduction of "Machabæorum tria(z)."—Upon the whole, we may unreservedly agree with Bellarmin that the exclusion of the Apocrypha from this ancient Inventory "res non minimi momenti esse videtur(a);" and

- (v) "By which it may appeare what Apostles they were, that made that canckred canon." (Fulke's Answer to the proude Challenge of a counterfet Catholike, p. 215. Lond. 1577.)
  - (w) Cosin's Scholast. Hist. pp. 30-1.
  - (x) Bevereg. Annott. pp. 5, 39.
- (y) "Quod ad Latinam versionem attinet, ea Græco Joh. Antiocheni Codici non accommodata est: neque alia plane est quam Balsamonis versio è Gentiano Herveto facta: ut cuivis conferenti patebit." (Bever. Cod. Can. vindic. p. 274.)
  - (z) Vid. Voelli et Justelli Bibl. Jur. Can. vet. Tom. ii. p. 601.
- (a) De Verb. Dei, Lib. i. Cap. xx. col. 80. Conf. Rainoldi Censur. libror. Apocr. Tom. i. col. 438. Oppenheim. 1611. Whitakeri Opp. Tom. i. p. 274. Genev. 1610. Lindani Panopl. Evang. Lib. iii. Cap. iii. pp. 100-1. Colon. Agripp. 1560.

we need not desire more favourable evidence on our side than the following Gloss upon a chapter in the Pontifical Canon Law(b): "Atque inter Apocrypha, id est, sine certo auctore, ut Sapientia Salomonis; liber Iesu filij Syrach, qui dicitur Ecclesiasticus; & liber Iudith, [al. 'Iudicum,'] & Tobiæ; & liber Machabæorum: hi apocryphi dicuntur, & tamen leguntur, sed fortè non generaliter." This passage was justly esteemed so unfriendly to our adversaries that, in the Censura in Glossas Juris Canonici, by Manriq, Master of the sacred Palace, Romæ, 1572. there was a deleatur marked upon the entire sen-Notwithstanding, the Gregorian impression, of the year 1580, retains the Gloss, and notes in the margin: "Quinimo libri isti non apocryphi, sed canonici sunt: quamvis olim quidam etiam Catholici de illis dubitaverint. Concil. Trident. sess. 4. de Canon. Script.(c)"

In conclusion, Peresius Aiala freely states, with regard to the Apostolic Canons, that "in his regulis sacrosanctis multa continentur, quæ hactenus illibata authoritate retinuit sancta mater Ecclesia, quanuis corruptione temporum non plene observentur: aliis pro temporis & materiæ qualitate aut obliteratis, aut totius Ecclesiæ magisterio merito abrogatis(d);" and

<sup>(</sup>b) Dist. xvi. C. i.

<sup>(</sup>c) Vid. Ind. Expurg. an. 1571. Cui accessit Collatio Censuræ,&c. studio Joan. Pappi, p. 299. Argent. 1599.

<sup>(</sup>d) De Diuin. Apost. atque Eccles. Traditt. Par. iii. fol. 172, b. Paris. 1550.

Medina has ventured to assert: "Ex 84. Apostolicis Canonibus, quos Clemens, Romanus Pontifex, & eorundem discipulus, in vnum coegit, vix sex aut octo Latina Ecclesia nunc observat(e)." It is, however, undeniable that "commonly the church of Rome alleadgeth these canons, whensoeuer she hopeth to winne any advantage by them(f)."

- (e) De sacr. homin. Continent. Lib. v. Citantt. Coco, in Censura, p. 7. Lond. 1614. Hall, Honor of the married Clergie, p. 149. Lond. 1620. Taylor, Liberty of Prophesying, p. 93. Lond. 1647. Doujat, Prænott. Can. L. iii. C. ii. p. 396.
- (f) Sutcliffe's *Challenge*, Of divers falsities, Chap. iv. p. 104. Lond. 1602.

## CONSTITUTIONES APOSTOLORUM.

An Epitome Apostolicarum Constitutionum, found in Crete by Carolus Capellius, and by him translated from Greek into Latin, was published by Weissenhorn, at Ingolstadt, in the year 1546. This tract, which is in 4to., I have accidentally obtained; and it has been reprinted by Crabbe, in his Concilia, Tom. i. pp. 27-30. Colon. Agripp. 1551. In 1563, the eight books of the Constitutions were, for the first time, put forth in Greek, by Turrian, with his prolegomena and scholia in the same language; 4to. Venet, ex off. Iordani Zileti. On the first of February, 1564(a), appeared at Paris, in 8vo., the Latin version by Carolus Bovius, (Archbishop of Brundusium,) having on the title-page the words "Omnia nunc primum è tenebris eruta;" and of this there was a reimpression, in 12mo., at Antwerp, in the same year. It is also to be seen in Surii Concill.

<sup>(</sup>a) I have been thus accurate, because that Ittigius (De Pseudepig. Christi, &c. p. 190.) and Fabricius (Bibl. Græc. vii. 24.) mention a Latin edition, at Venice, in 1563: but I suspect that they are mistaken. Franc. Pagi says that Bovius "in lucem emisit" the Constitutions, in 1573: (Brev. gest. Rom. Pontt. Tom. i. p. 7. Lucæ, 1729. Cf. Coteler. i. 198.) but we learn from Ughelli that he died in 1570. (Italia sacra, Tom. ix. col. 43. Venet. 1721.) Sammarthanus fixed upon 1603, as the date of his death; but he was no more right in this than in changing his name to Bony. (Gallia Christ. Tom. ii. coll. 1020-21. Paris. 1720.)

Tom. i. pp. 33-133. Colon. Agripp. 1567.; in D. Clementis *Opera*, foll. 434-570. Paris. 1568.; and in the *Clementina*, edited by Gruterus, pp. 195-344. Colon. Agripp. 1570. Turrian likewise published a Latin translation, with notes, fol. Antverp. 1578.; which Nicolinus inserted in his *Concilia*, Tom. i. pp. 26-276. Venet. 1585.; and which is annexed to the *Commentarii* of Zonaras, pp. 814-1044. Lut. Paris. 1618.; and has been adopted by Labbé and Cossart. *Concill*. Tom. i. coll. 209-512. Lut. Paris. 1671.

In the last Apostolic Canon these ancient Constitutions are thus named: "Constitutiones vobis Episcopis per me Clementem in octo libris editæ, quæ non sunt omnibus divulgandæ, propter ea quæ sunt in eis mystica(b)." Considerable doubt, however, rests upon the authenticity of this sentence; and there seems to be good reason for concurring with Beverege in the opinion, "illam ultimi Canonis Apostolorum partem, quæ de Constitutionibus agit, interpolatoris alicujus manu intersertam fuisse, ejusdem fortasse, qui ipsas etiam Constitutiones corrupit & depravavit(c)." Pearson supposes that this Canon was not "ita conceptum" before the sixth century (d); and the following is the important judgment of the Trullan Synod: "Quoniam autem in his nobis Canonibus præceptum est, ut eorundem sanctorum Apostolorum per Clementem Constitutiones suscipere-

<sup>(</sup>b) Cod. Can. vind. p. 462.

<sup>(</sup>c) Ib. p. 284. Usserii Dissert. de Ignat. Epp. ad fin. C. vi.

<sup>(</sup>d) Vind. Ignat. apud Coteler. ii. 299.

mus, quibus jam olim ab iis, qui à fide aliena sentiunt, ad Ecclesiæ exitium, adulterina quædam & à pietate aliena introducta sunt, quæ divinorum nobis decretorum elegantem ac decoram speciem obscurarunt: has Constitutiones, ad Christianissimi gregis ædificationem ac securitatem, commodè rejecimus; hæreticæ falsitatis fætus nequaquam immiscentes, & germanæ ac integræ Apostolorum doctrinæ inserentes(e)."

The true account of the origin of the Apostolic Constitutions, as they now exist, appears to be that made known to us by Bishop Pearson: "Fuerunt igitur, ex sententia nostra, antiquitùs hi libri, quasi ab Apostolis scripti, aut dictati,  $\Delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\dot{\gamma}$  'Αποστόλων,  $\Delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\dot{\alpha}$  Κλήμεντος,  $\Delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\dot{\alpha}$  'Ιγνατίου(f),  $\Delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\dot{\alpha}$  δι'

- (e) Can. ii. in Bevereg. Pandectt. i. 158.
- (f) From the great similitude between passages in the Clementine Constitutions and the larger Epistles of S. Ignatius, [Vid. Bosii Crux triumphans et gloriosa, p. 529. Antverp. 1617.] Ussher (Dissert. Cap. x, sqq. Conf. Germon, De vet. Hæret. Eccles. Codd. corrupt. p. 260.) maintained that the depravation of both had the same original. Pearson, however, contends that the fact of this remarkable resemblance, by means of which Turrian and Bovius, in their Prefaces, had endeavoured to prove the antiquity of the Constitutions, only evinces that the interpolator of the Epistles of S. Ignatius took "lacinias" from his Didascalia, which seems to have been interwoven with the Constitutions.—The corrupted Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Romans, says: "I do not command you, as Peter and Paul." The Greek word here is "διατάσσομαι;" [Compare 1 Cor. vii. 17. Barlow's Brutum Fulmen, pp. 45-6.] and Mr. Whiston, for the purpose of protecting the integrity of his

'Ιππολύτου(g), Διδαχὴ Πολυκάρπου. Ex his omnibus, & aliis fortasse adhuc incognitis, conflatæ sunt Διαταγαὶ, sive Kαθολικὴ διδασκαλία(h)." Grabe(i), Bishop Lloyd,(j) (of Worcester,) and others agree with Pearson; and the sentiments of various learned men, upon this subject, are to be found in Lardner's works(k).

Τῶν Αποστόλων ἁι λεγόμεναι διδαχαὶ are named by Eusebius(l) among the apocryphal books of the New Testament. Rufinus, in his version of this passage, has the words "Doctrina quæ dicitur Apostolorum(m);" and the singular number is used by S.

beloved document, has translated the sentence thus: "I do not make Constitutions for you, as Peter and Paul have done."! (Prim. Christ. reviv'd, Vol. i. p. 245. Lond. 1711. See the Eclectic Review, October, 1838, p. 372.)

- (g) Cf. Grabii Spicil. i. 285, sq. Essay upon the Doctrine of the Apostles, pp. 25, 72-3. Oxford, 1711. Bingham's Works, iv. 209-10. Lond. 1840. Turner's Discourse of the pretended Apostol. Constit. p. 288. Lond. 1715. Scholliner Disciplina Arcani, pp. 74-5. Typis Monast. Tegernseens. 1756.
- (h) Apud Cotel. l. c. Cf. Cavei Hist. Lit. i. 29. Prim. Christ.Pref. sig. B 2. Lond. 1728. Fabricii Bibl. Græc. vii. 25. xii. 156.
- (i) Spicileg. Tom. i. pp. 43, 285. Compare Hickes' Account of Dr. Grabe, and of his MSS., pp. xvii-xxiii. Lond. 1712. Smalbroke's Pretended Authority of the Clementine Constit. confuted, Pref. pp. xiv, xv. Lond. 1714.
  - (j) Whiston's Historical Preface, p. 41. Lond. 1711.
- (k) Vol. iv. pp. 324-27. Lond. 1788. Jortin's Rem. on Eccles. Hist. i. 155-6.
  - (1) Eccles. Hist. Lib. iii. Cap. xxv.
  - 'm) Vid. Hyst. Eccl. curâ Boussardi, fol. xxiij. Lugd. 1526.

Athanasius also, both in his Synopsis, and Heortastic Epistle. It has been thought by Blastares(n), and, before him, by some others whom Zonaras alludes to(o), that by this "Doctrina," or by these "Institutiones Apostolorum" the Apostolic Constitutions are intended: and such is the belief of Bovius(p), Turrian(q), Baronius(r), and Cotelerius(s). The contrary opinion is maintained by Ussher(t); who grounds it upon three arguments. First, upon the authority of St. Athanasius, in the Festal Epistle(u) just referred to; in which he mentions the "Doctrina Apostolorum" among writings which were fit to be read to Catechumens; whereas the Constitutions contain explanations of mystical doctrines, "which the ancient Church always conceal'd from

- (n) Bevereg. Pand. T. ii. P. ii. p. 57.
- (o) Vid. ejus Schol. apud Bever. Annott. in Pandectt. ii. 221.
- (p) Præfat. in Constt. Apost. sig. A 9. Antverp. 1564.
- (q) Proæm. in Apost. Constitt. sig. \* 5. Antv. 1578.
- (r) Ad an. 102. §. ix.
- (s) Patt. Apostol. i. 196-8. Conf. Bevereg. Cod. Can. vind. p. 280.
- (t) Dissert. de Ignat. Epistt. Cap. vii. Cf. Le Moyne Varia Sacra, ii. 1070.
- (u) There is an amusing and very pertinent instance of interpolation in this Epistle, in an edition of the works of Athanasius, Colon. 1686: "juxta Parisinam anni 1626." Tom. ii. p. 40. The translator is Curterius; and, without the slightest reason, so far as the original is concerned, he inserts these words immediately before "Doctrinam etiam Apostolorum," &c.:—" Videtur intelligere Apostolorum Constitutiones, quæ nomine Clementis nunc habentur."!

the new Converts, before they were baptized (v)." The second proof is derived from the smallness of the number of stichs, of which the  $\Delta \iota \delta \alpha \gamma \dot{\eta}$  is said to consist, both in the Greek text of the Stichometry ascribed to Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, and in the Latin translation of it by Anastasius Bibliothecarius. Thirdly, in the Catalogue of Canonical and Apocryphal books, subjoined to the Questions of Anastasius Nicænus, in one of the Baroccian MSS., in the Bodleian Library, the Διδαγαί τῶν Αποστόλων and the Διδασκαλία Κλήμεντος are enumerated as distinct works. Moreover, Grabe has clearly shown that The Doctrine of the Apostles cannot be the same as The Constitutions of Clement, because that passages have been cited from the former, which are not to be discovered in the latter; and not only so, but he has pointed out direct opposition between them (w).

Turrian has asserted that "tales habet nostra ætas Apostolorum Constitutiones, sanas scilicet & incorruptas, quales Epiphanij ætas habuit(x):" but the reverse of this statement has been demonstrated by Petavius(y), Ussher(z), and Grabe(a). The lan-

- (v) Grabe's Essay upon the Doctrine of the Apostles, p. 28.
- (w) Vid. Spicileg. i. 46, sqq. Conf. Essay, §. 23. Dallæum, De Pseudep. Apost. Lib. i. pp. 33, sqq., 409.
  - (x) Proæm. Lat. vers. Constt. præf. sig. \* 5.
- (y) Animadvers. in S. Epiphanii *Opp.* Hæres. lxx. Audian. p. 290, sqq. Colon. 1682.
  - (z) Apud Coteler. ii. 215-20.
- (a) Loc. sup. cit. Conf. Richardson Prælectt. Eccles. Vol. i. p. 83. Lond. 1726.

guage employed by Epiphanius, in commendation of the primitive, uncontaminated Διάταξις, is particularly strong. In one place, he declares that this book, "tametsi dubiæ apud nonnullos fidei sit, non est tamen improbandus. Nam in eo quæ ad Ecclesiæ disciplinam attinent, omnia comprehenduntur; neque quidquam aut in fide, ac Catholica professione depravatum, aut Ecclesiæ administrationi, ac decretis contrarium continent(b)." This character is not by any means applicable to the Clementine Constitutions(c): for Ittigius, speaking of those who had doubts about the Διατάξεις, in the days of Epiphanius, had abundant reason for asking-" Quid illi dicturi fuissent, si hodiernas Constitutiones Apostolicas legissent(d)?" The compiler of the Apostolic Constitutions was charged with Arianism, so early as in the time of Photius; who says that the accusation could only be repelled " $\beta \iota a \iota \omega s(e)$ :" and the appearance of this heresy in the work was evidently a sufficient motive to induce Mr. Whiston to pronounce it to be "the most sacred of the Canonical books of the New Testament (f)." Indeed we might suspect this

<sup>(</sup>b) Hæres. lxx. §. x. Conf. Apol. Augustan. Confess. Cap. iv. De Ecclesia. §. 9. Libr. Symbol. curâ Pfaffii, p. 214. Tubing. 1730.

<sup>(</sup>c) Earbery's Remarks on Burnet's State of the Dead, Part ii.p. 104. Lond. 1727.

<sup>(</sup>d) De Pseudepigr. Cap. xii. §. xxii. p. 204.

<sup>(</sup>e) Biblioth. Cod. cxii. col. 289. Rothom. 1653. Cf. Usser. apud Cotel. ii. 235.

<sup>(</sup>f) See the title-page of his Essay, in Vol. iii., of Primitive

to be the case from his own words relating to Grabe, of whom he says that his "dread of the *Arian* passages affrighted him from owning the whole as really Apostolical(g)." I shall give one example of the heterodoxy of these Constitutions:—In Lib. vi. Cap. xxvi., they are termed heretics who suppose that our blessed Saviour is "τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν:" but such is the doctrine of St. Paul; Rom. ix. 5.

It is unnecessary for me to exhibit at length instances of disagreement between Scripture and the Constitutions of Clement(h). Of these Bishop Smalbroke has enumerated thirty-nine(i): Turner has produced some in his excellent Discourse(j); and Lardner has taken notice of inconsistencies in the books themselves(k). There is also a remarkable sentence in Lib. viii. Cap. xxxiii., in which the im-

Christianity reviv'd. The second volume contains the Constitutions in Greek and English. Lond. 1711.—Conf. Histor. Pref. pp. 85-6. [Wilkins Concill. iv. 650.]

- (g) Whiston's Hist. Memoirs of the Life of Dr. S. Clarke, p. 23. Lond. 1748. Compare his Remarks on Dr. Grabe's Essay upon two Arabick MSS., pp. 34, 46. Lond. 1711.
- (h) They who imagine that Judas was not present at the institution of the Lord's Supper may find their theory explicitly supported by the Constitutions, Lib. v. C. xiv.: but their idea seems to be totally at variance with the words of St. Luke, xxii. 14, 19-21.
- (i) The pretended authority of the Clem. Constit. confuted. Lond. 1714.
- (j) Of the pretended Apost. Constitut. pp. 275-77. Lond. 1715. Cf. Coci Censuram, pp. 16, 17. Lond. 1614.
  - (k) Works, iv. 348.

postor, who personated St. Paul and St. Peter, forgot himself so far as to give a direction that servants should not work upon days kept in honour of the Apostles, saying: "doctores enim vestri fuerunt in Christo, vosque Spiritu donârunt:" thus making it manifest that the Apostles were then dead(l). Besides, Lib. vii. Cap. xlvi., commences with these words: "De Episcopis verò, qui à nobis in vita nostra ordinati sunt(m)."

I observed that St. Epiphanius has spoken of the ancient  $\Delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\dot{\gamma}$  in a manner quite unsuited to the Clementine Constitutions; and he has cited it as a genuine composition, and apparently as in some measure inspired, when he affirms: "èv  $\tau\alpha\hat{i}s$   $\delta\iota\alpha$ - $\tau\dot{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\sigma\iota$   $\tau\dot{\omega}v$   $A\pi\sigma\sigma\tau\dot{\alpha}\lambda\omega\nu$   $\phi\dot{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$   $\dot{\sigma}$   $\theta\epsilon\hat{\iota}\sigma s$   $\lambda\dot{\sigma}\gamma\sigma s$   $\kappa\alpha\hat{\iota}$   $\dot{\gamma}$   $\delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\dot{\iota}\alpha(n)$ :"—"in the Constitutions of the Apostles saith the divine Word and Doctrine." Here he certainly "seems to intimate the *Doctrine* and *Constitutions* to have been the same book( $\sigma$ );" but it must be remembered that these are not the Constitutions as they are now extant. This may be

<sup>(1)</sup> Conf. Richardson Prælectt. i. 64-5.

<sup>(</sup>m) Vid. Chamieri Panstrat. Cathol. Tom. i. p. 141. Genev. 1626.

<sup>(</sup>n) Hæres. lxxx. cont. Massal. §. vii.—"The Ethiopic Didascalia, or, the Ethiopic version of the Apostolical Constitutions, received in the Church of Abyssinia," has been edited and translated by Thomas Pell Platt, Esq., Lond. 1834. He informs us (Pref. p. ix.) that this Didascalia "is in fact a very loose and inaccurate translation of the Apostolical Constitutions."

<sup>(</sup>o) Grabe's *Essay*, p. 50.

further proved by a passage in Lib. v. C. xx., in which Proverbs viii. 22 is applied to the Saviour; but Epiphanius says that such an explanation had never been authorized by the Apostles(p). Again, in his confutation of the heretic Aëtius, who had styled God the Father " $\mathring{a}\gamma\acute{e}\nu\nu\eta\tau os$ ," he states that this word is " $\mu\eta\delta a\mu o\hat{v}$   $\mathring{e}\nu$   $\theta e \acute{l}a$   $\gamma\rho a\phi\hat{\eta}(q)$ :" but it occurs several times in the present Constitutions(r); and we may hence conclude that Epiphanius, who so highly approved of the old  $\Delta\iota a\tau\mathring{a}\xi\epsilon\iota s$ , would not have objected to the term, if it had been found in them: and thus they are shown to have been different from the Constitutions of Clement.

It is possible to ascertain with tolerable precision the date of the origin of the Clementine Constitutions(s). We have seen that the  $\Delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\dot{\eta}$  or  $\Delta\iota\alpha\tau\dot{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\iota s$ 

- (p) "Quem locum nusquam Scriptura repetendo confirmavit, aut Apostolorum quisquam commemoravit, ut ad Christum accommodaret." (Hæres. lxix. §. xx.)
- (q) Hæres. lxxvi. Opp. p. 941. Vide Turner's Disc. p. 201. Bp. Kaye's Account of the writings of Justin Martyr, p. 56. Lond. 1836.
  - (r) Lib. vii. Capp. xlii, xliv, xlvii. Lib. viii. C. v.
- (s) Turrian, in his Greek Prolegomena, fol. 7. Venet. 1563, and Bovius, in his Preface, sig. B 5. Antv. 1564, have stated that St. Jerome translated the Constitutions into Latin. Their "frigid conjecture," as Daillé says, (De Pseudepig. p. 18.) is quite gratuitous; for St. Jerome was never so employed: but Gennadius (De Vir. illust. Cap. xvii.) testifies that Rufinus interpreted "Clementis Romani Recognitionum libros." Vid. Usser. apud Coteler. ii. 214. Ittig. De Pseudepigr. p. 212. Richardson Prælectt. i. 79-80.

must have been uncorrupted in the days of S. Epiphanius, who commenced his Panarium, (the work from which I have quoted,) in 374; five years anterior to the beginning of the reign of Theodosius the Great, who died in 395. That the author of the Opus imperfectum in S. Matthæum lived perhaps a considerable time after this period(t) is plain from the following passage: "Si quis autem auditiones quidem præliorum, fames, & tumultus, & pestilentias intelligat esse omnia hæc mala spiritualia, quæ facta sunt tempore Constantini, simul & Theodosij, usque  $\operatorname{nunc}(u)$ ." In another place, the same writer tells us: "Quomodo autem quidam sacerdotes ex hominibus ordinantur, manifestè in libro octavo Canonum Apostolorum dicitur(v):" meaning by the Canons the Apostolic Constitutions; which appear to be now, for the first time, cited as consisting of eight books: and we may therefore determine that this composition, about which there has been such a variety of conjectures, should be referred to a date not previous to the fifth century (w).

- (t) Ussher is somewhat incorrect when he calls him "non minus antiquus" than S. Epiphanius. (Dissert. de Ignat. Epistt. Cap. ix. ad fin.)
- (u) Hom. xlix. inter D. Chrysost. Opp. Tom. ii. p. 444. Antverp. 1614
- (v) Hom. liii. p. 458. Cf. Coteler. PP. A. i. 191. Eccl. Gr. Mon. Tom. i. col. 725.
- (w) Conf. Pearson. apud Cotel. ii. 299. Dallæum, De Pseudep. Ap. pp. 393, 408. Grabii Spicileg. i. 284. Waterland's Review of the doctrine of the Eucharist, Chap. ix. p. 341. Lond. 1737. Lard-

As it seems that the interval between the time of St. Epiphanius and that of the author of the *Opus imperfectum* should with propriety be fixed upon as the period of the formation of the present Constitutions, we must of course disagree with those who, knowing that some parts of the collection are "most undoubtedly ancient(x)," and probably as old as the end of the first, or the commencement of the second century(y), have been led to speak of the whole compilation as "not younger than 200 years after Christ, at the most(z);" or to consider that these Clementine Constitutions were "saltem ante Nicænum Concilium in unum volumen redactæ(a);" and therefore that they should be assigned to "about the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century(b)."

ner's Works, Vol. iv. p. 350. Pearsonii Lectiones in Acta Apostol. p. 46. Lond. 1688. Ittig. De Pseudepigr. p. 220.

- (x) Bp. Bull's Works, ii. 261. Oxf. 1827. Hildebrandi Enchirid. de vet. Sacris, sig. A 2. Helmest. 1652. Brett's Dissertation concerning the Liturgies, pp. 25, 270. Lond. 1720. De Marca, De concord. Sac. et Imp. Lib. iii. Cap. ii. p. 130. Paris. 1669.
  - (y) Grabii Spicileg. i. 45.
- (z) Mede's Works, Book iv. p. 840. Lond. 1672. Scholliner De Hierarch. Eccl. Cathol. Dissertt. p. 16. Ratisb. 1757. Blondelli Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus vapul. p. 28. Genev. 1628.
- (a) Zaccariæ Biblioth. Ritual. Tom. i. p. 14. Romæ, 1776. Conf. Card. Bonæ Rer. Liturg. Lib. i. Cap. viii. p. 48. Romæ, 1671. Renaudotii Liturg. Orient. Collect. Tom. i. Dissert. i. pp. v, x. Paris. 1716. Assemani Codex Liturg. Lib. iv. Par. ii. Præfat. p. li. Romæ, 1752. Guéranger, Institutions Liturgiques, Tome i. pp. 47, 73. Au Mans, 1840.
  - (b) Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, Vol. i. p. 287. Cf. pp. 37, 40.

I have now, in pursuance of my design, to point out some instances of the uses made by Romanists of the vitiated Apostolic Constitutions. Let us commence with Jodocus Coccius, "the great Threasurer of such fabulous, erroneous, and counterfet stuffe (c)." He cites this compilation in defence of the practice of making the sign of the Cross(d): also to show that Saints are to be worshipped(e); their Festivals observed (f); and their Relics honoured (g): to prove that the books of Wisdom(h), Judith(i), Maccabees (i), and the histories of Susanna (k), and Bel and the Dragon(l) are canonical. He likewise quotes the Constitutions in support of Free Will(m); distinction between Sins, mortal and venial (n); merit of Fasting(o), and giving of Alms(p); abstinence from certain Meats(q); vows of Celibacy(r), and of a monastic life(s); benediction of Chrism(t); Tran-

Oxford, 1832. Sixth Letter to N. Wiseman, D.D. p. 60. Oxf. 1841. Vid. Comber's Schol. Hist. of Liturgies, Part ii. p. 265. Lond. 1690. Dallæi De Cult. Relig. object. Disp. Præf. sig. k 4. Genevæ, 1664. [Marshall's] Penitential Discipline, p. 67. Lond. 1714.

- (c) James's Treatise of Corruption, Part i. p. 2. Lond. 1611.
- (d) Thesaur. Cathol. Tom. i. p. 233. Colon. 1619.
- (e) Tom. i. p. 531. (f)
  - (f) Tom. i. p. 543. (h) Tom. i. p. 633.
- (g) Tom. i. p. 566.
- (i) Tom. i. p. 633.
- (i) Tom. i. p. 651. (k) Tom. i. p. 668.
- (l) Tom. i. p. 675.
- (m) Tom. ii. p. 53. Colon. 1620.
  - (o) Tom. ii. p. 280. Cf. 293.
- (n) Tom. ii. p. 109. (p) Tom. ii. p. 322.
- (q) Tom. ii. p. 311.
- (r) Tom. ii. p. 391.
- (s) Tom. ii. p. 425.
- (t) Tom. ii. p. 539.

substantiation(u); Sacrifice of the Mass(v), and gestures and ceremonies during its celebration(w); Satisfactions(x); Purgatory(y); seven Orders of Ministers(z); unmarried Priests(a); Canonical Hours(b); and the Sacraments of Confirmation(c), Penance(d), and Matrimony(e).

Bellarmin, in his Liber de Scriptor. Eccles.,(f) speaks most slightingly of the Apostolic Constitutions, which he allows to possess "nullum ferè nomen" in the Latin Church. We find, notwithstanding, that scruples of conscience do not interpose to prevent him from adducing these books in behalf of Purgatory(g); Holy Water(h); Clement being St. Peter's successor(i); the Sacrament of Confirmation(j); the benediction of Chrism(k); reservation of the Eucharist(l), and the ceremony of washing the

- (u) Tom. ii. p. 606.
- (v) Tom. ii. pp. 656, 686.
- (w) Tom. ii. p. 775.
- (x) Tom. ii. p. 826.
- (y) Tom. ii. p. 848.
- (z) Tom. ii. p. 915.
- (a) Tom. ii. p. 938.
- (b) Tom. ii. p. 970.
- (c) Tom. ii. p. 589.(e) Tom. ii. p. 988.
- (d) Tom. ii. p. 781.
- (f) Pp. 33-4. Romæ, 1613. Cf. Hoyle's Reioynder to Master Malone's Reply, p. 446. Dubl. 1641.
  - (g) De Purg. Lib. i. Cap. x. col. 739. Ingolst. 1601.
- (h) De Verb. Dei non script. Lib. iv. Cap. iii. col. 207. De Cult. Sanctt. Lib. iii. Cap. vii. c. 1080.
  - (i) De Rom. Pont. Lib. ii. Cap. v. col. 734.
  - (i) De Sacram. Confirm. Lib. ii. Cap. iii. c. 403.
  - (k) De Sacr. Confirmat. Lib. ii. Cap. viii. col. 420.
  - (1) De Sacram, Euchar. L. iv. C. v. col. 790.

hands before its consecration (m); the Preface after the Offertory (n); the mode of conferring the Sacrament of Holy Orders (o); and the due observance of Canonical Hours (p):—" Quod num satis sit consentaneum illi laudi, qua vulgo fertur Bellarminus per totam vitam nullius mendacii conscius esse, aliis judicandum relinquit Conringius (q)."

Baronius, though confessing that the Constitutions were written only "Clementis Romani nomine(r)," is not unwilling to avail himself of their assistance at sundry times: for example, in maintenance of Fasts(s); the benediction of Holy Water(t); and the use of the hymn Tersanctus in the days of the Apostles(u).

The occupation of searching for cases, in which Romish writers have had recourse to the sanction of the Apostolic Constitutions, might be made almost endless. Besides the instances already produced, I shall cite a sufficient number of others; and my authorities can easily be multiplied ad libitum (v).

- (m) De Missa, Lib. ii. Cap. xv. c. 1106.
- (n) De Missa, L. ii. C. xvii. col. 1118.
- (o) De Sacr. Ordin. Lib. i. Cap. ix. c. 1676.
- (p) De Bon. Oper. in partic. L. i. C. xiii. col. 1377.
- (q) Pet. Zornii Opusc. sacr. i. 533.
- (r) Annall. ad an. 32. §. xviii. Cf. an. 57. §. ccvi.
- (s) An. 34. §. clxi.
- (t) An. 132. §. iii. Cf. Collin, Traité de l'Eau Bénite, p. 61. A Paris, 1776.
  - (u) An. 142. §. xii.
  - (v) Francus, De Indicibus, p. 46. Lips. 1684.

These ancient books are alleged by Harding, to vindicate the mixing of water with wine, in the Eucharistic Cup(w); and in defence of the Sacrifice of the Mass(x). They are quoted by Sanders, in favour of Transubstantiation (y): by Garetius (z) and Turrian,(a) to justify the Invocation of Saints: by the Rhemists, to prove Lent to be an Apostolical Tradition(b); the use of Chrism in Confirmation(c); and the rectitude of keeping the Holydays of Saints(d). Vellosillus argues from the Constitutions that our Saviour offered himself, at his last Supper, under the species of bread and wine (e). By means of the same evidence Kellison maintains the counsel of Celibacy(f): Bishop asserts that Prelates and Priests are superior to Kings(g): Coquæus pleads for Ceremonies in Baptism(h); and Signius advo-

- (w) Reioindre to M. Iewels Replie, foll. 139, b, 140. Ant. 1566.
- (x) Ib. foll. 27, b, 33. Vid. etiam Jewel's Replie vnto M. Hardings Answer, pp. 4, 433. Lond. 1609. Dering's Aunswere to M. Hardings Reioinder, p. 21. Lond. 1568.
- (y) Supper of our Lord, fol. 225. Lovan. 1566. Compare Sanders Cauils answered, by Fulke, pp. 619, 684. Lond. 1581.
  - (z) De Sanctor. Invoc. fol. 7. Gandavi, 1570.
  - (a) Ap. Constt. Lib. v. p. 65. Antverp. 1578.
  - (b) New Test. p. 145. Rhemes, 1582.
  - (c) Ib. p. 313.
- (d) Ib. p. 507.
- (e) Advertent. Theol. Scholast. fol. 32, b. Compluti, 1585.
- (f) Reply to Sotcliffes Answer, fol. 93, b. Rhemes, 1608.
- (g) Reproofe of M. Abbots Defence, pp. 153-4. An. 1608. Cf. Sclater's Consensus Veterum, pp. 7, 8. Lond. 1686.
- (h) Examen Præfat. monit. Jac. i. Reg. p. 176. Friburg. Brisg. 1610.

cates Relics(i). Cotonus cites the Constitutions in support of the Sacrifice of the  $\operatorname{Mass}(j)$ ; Canonical  $\operatorname{Hours}(k)$ ; and with reference to the Tonsure of  $\operatorname{Monks}(l)$ . Their testimony is adduced by Gavantus also, to uphold the Commemoration of Saints in the  $\operatorname{Mass}(m)$ : by Bailey, to countenance Prayers for the  $\operatorname{dead}(n)$ : by  $\operatorname{Manning}$ , with respect to the mode of celebrating  $\operatorname{Mass}(o)$ : by Scholliner, to prove the Discipline of the  $\operatorname{Secret}(p)$ . Finally, Messrs. Berington and  $\operatorname{Kirk}(q)$ , and  $\operatorname{Dr.Wiseman}(r)$  endeavour to make these books bear witness of the truth of Transubstantiation: and Bishop Trevern(s) and Mr. Husenbeth(t) desire hereby to establish the same doctrine; together with the adoration of the Eucharistic elements.

- (i) Reliquiarium, p. 111. Bonon. 1610.
- (j) Institutio Catholica, p. 668. Mogunt. 1618.
- (k) Ib. p. 566. (l) Ib. p. 553.
- (m) Thesaur. sac. Rit. Tom. i. p. 147. Antverp. 1634.: p. 289. Venet. 1823.
  - (n) An End to Controversie, p. 356. Doway, 1654.
- (o) The shortest Way to end Disputes about Religion, p. 120. Dubl. 1754.
  - (p) Disciplina Arcani, pp. 63-79. Typis Monast. Tegerns. 1756.
  - (q) Faith of Catholics, pp. 196-7. Lond. 1830.
- (r) Lectures on the principal Doctrines of the Catholic Church, Vol. ii. p. 233. Lond. 1836.
  - (s) Discussion Amicale, Tom. i. pp. 314-15. A Paris, 1835.
- (t) Reply to Faber's Supplement, pp. 272-3. Lond. 1829. Compare Faber's Supplement to the Difficulties of Romanism, pp. 112-13. Lond. 1828.

Before I close my observations on the Apostolic Constitutions, it is right to take notice of what Oudin advances as a specimen of the Jesuitical fidelity of Turrian; in whose Greek edition, fol. 80, b, are these words: "Παραδούς δὲ ἡμῖν τὰ ἀντίτυπα μυστήρια τοῦ τιμίου σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ αἵματος;" which Bovius renders: "Cum verò antitypa(u) mysteria preciosi corporis & sanguinis sui nobis tradidisset(v)." Oudin declares(w) that Turrian suppressed the translation of this passage, because he knew that it favoured the opinion of Calvinists; and Harless(x) has renewed the accusation. not, nevertheless, the least foundation for this charge; as the Latin version of the passage is conspicuous in page 68, Antverp. 1578. I cannot omit another proof of Oudin's intolerable carelessness. He says, in the same chapter: "Silent, quod mirum est, de Constitutionibus istis Apostolicis, Sixtus Senensis in Bibliotheca Sancta, Antonius Possevinus in Apparatu Sacro, Natalis Alexander in Ecclesiastica Historia, sæculo 1." It happens that the first two writers have spoken expressly of the Constitutions; and the last has a Dissertation entirely upon them.

The sixteenth chapter of the sixth book of the

<sup>(</sup>u) Conf. Jewel's Replie vnto M. Hardings Answer, p. 415. Lond. 1609. Du Moulin's Masse in Latin and English, p. 164. Lond. 1641.

<sup>(</sup>v) Fol. 94, b. Ant. 1564. Cf. Coteler. i. 320.

<sup>(</sup>w) Commentt. de Scriptt. Eccl. Tom. i. col. 29.

<sup>(</sup>x) Apud Fabric. Bibl. Græc. vii. 24.

Constitutions is headed: "De libris falsò inscriptis(y);" and it contains the following admonition, which is not inapplicable on the present occasion:—
"Hæc omnia scripsimus vobis, ut notum haberetis qualis sit nostra sententia; et ne libros qui ab impiis, nominis nostri inscriptione, sunt firmati, reciperetis.
Non enim attendere debetis nomina Apostolorum; sed naturam rerum, et rectam indeflexamque sententiam."

(y) Cf. Can. Apost. lx.

## SYNODUS ANTIOCHENA.

It is not generally known that one of the convincing authorities, alleged by Romanists, in defence of Image-worship, is a Decree of a Council, said to have been held at Antioch, by the Apostles. Of the nine Canons, attributed to this Synod, Turrian(a) has given an epitome of seven, and the supposed original of the last two. He affirms that he found them "in antiquissimo codice Græco:" but Daillé declares(b) that "nemo mortalium" has ever seen this memorable MS., but the Jesuit himself; whose discretion did not permit him to communicate the slightest information as to its locality. It is true that he tells us that the document proceeded from the Martyr Pamphilus; who is reported to have derived it from the Library of Origen: but, as Dr. Routh observes (c), "constat eundem Turrianum neque canones neque testimonium sumpsisse ex opere aliquo Pamphilo adscripto, sed ex άνεπιγράφφ quodam manuscripto."

The existence of this interesting Synod is a mat-

<sup>(</sup>a) Pro Can. Apostt. Lib. i. Cap. 25. Conf. Fabricii Cod. Apost. Nov. Test. iii. 336-39. Howel Synops. Can. Eccles. Latin. p. 4. Lond. 1710. Ottii Examen in Annall. Baron. Cent. i. pp. 178-9. Tigur. 1676. Fabricii Bibl. Græc. xii. 154-5.

<sup>(</sup>b) De Pseudepig. Apostol. Lib. iii. p. 691.

<sup>(</sup>c) Reliquiæ sacræ, iii. 279. Oxon. 1815.

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ter of which the ancients were perfectly unconscious: nor is the eighth Canon, to accompany which the others seem to have been feigned, to be discovered in any shape, figure, form, or substance, until the time of the second Nicene Council; when "this notorious and improbable Forgery"(d) was first made In the first Act of this assembly, according to what is called by Sirmondus the "vulgata editio," we read(e): "Gregorius, religiosissimus Pessinuntum Episcopus, ait: In Antiochena Synodo Sanctorum Apostolorum dictum est, seruatos non debere amplius ad idola aberrare; sed certandum esse ante columnam Dei, hominisq. Iesu Christi, Domini nostri." If this were really the old version of the Ordinance, as Labbé(f) and Daillé(g) wrongly thought, it is evident that there might be some discussion as to the meaning of the word "columnam:" but it is only the Latin interpretation made by Gybertus Longolius(h), in the year 1540!; and it must consequently give place to the translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who has thus rendered the original: "Gregorius reuerendissimus Episcopus Pisinuntensium dixit: In Synodo sanctorum Apostolorum, quæ apud Antiochiam congregata dicitur: Et ne vl-

<sup>(</sup>d) Comber's Roman Forgeries in the Councils, Part i. p. 6. Lond. 1689.

<sup>(</sup>e) Concill. General. Tom. iii. P. ii. p. 8. Romæ, 1612.

<sup>(</sup>f) Concill. vii. 661-2.

<sup>(</sup>g) De Pseudepigr. p. 722.

<sup>(</sup>h) Harduini Concill. iv. 529-30.

tra errent hi, qui salui fiunt, circa idola; sed pro eis imaginentur deivirilem statuam Domini nostri Iesu Christi(i)."

Binius was the first collector of the Councils, who put forward the Latin version of this Canon in conformity with the Greek of Turrian. His performance is this: -- "Ne decipiantur saluati ob idola: sed pingant ex opposito diuinam humanamq; manufactam, impermixtam effigiem Dei veri ac Saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi, ipsiusq; seruorum, contra Idola & Iudæos. Neq; errent in idolis, neque similes fiant Iudæis(j)." Here we may readily perceive that the Turrianic Apostles have become even more explicit, with regard to Images, than their predecessors who were cited at the Nicene Council: for the latter merely recommended "Deivirilem statuam Domini nostri Jesu Christi;" while the most modern edition of this important mandate inserts the epithets "manufactam, impermixtam;" and adds as a postscript: " Ipsiusque Servorum; contra Idola et Judæos. Neque errent in Idolis; neque similes fiant Judæis:" thus introducing a precept relative to the Pictures of Saints; and advising Christians to adopt the via media between the gross Idolatry of the Heathen, and that utter rejection of Images which was enjoined upon the Jews.

Perhaps there could not be produced a more strik-

<sup>(</sup>i) Sirmondi Conc. Gen. iii. i. 386.

<sup>(</sup>i) Concill. Toni. i. P. i. p. 18.

ing example of Popish effrontery than that exhibited by the citation of such "musty evidence(k)" as this Antiochian Synod. The genuineness of the eighth Canon is maintained not only by Turrian and Binius, but likewise by Baronius(l); who, to remove all reasonable doubt concerning it, and "ne imposturam esse existimes," says that it was quoted at the second Council of Nice! Lindanus also relies on the authenticity of the same Canon(m); and with him agree Feu-ardentius(n), Cardinal Palæotus(o), Gretser(p), and Wadding(q). Besides, it is not unfair to regard as responsible for it those editors of the Councils, by whom it has been republished: e. g. Labbé and Cossart(r), Mansi(s), Longus à Coriolano(t), and Bail(u).

Petavius has candidly stated his opinion of the eighth Canon in these words: "Eum puto supposititium esse; cujusmodi sunt pleraque Græcorum recentiorum: idque satis evincit nomen ipsum  $\theta \epsilon \alpha \nu$ -

- (k) [Traherne's] Roman Forgeries, p. 172. Lond. 1673.
- (l) Ad an. 57. §. cxii. & ad an. 102. §. xx.
- (m) Panopl. Evangel. Lib. iii. p. 160. Colon. Agripp. 1560.
- (n) Annott. in D. Irenæum, Advers. Hæres. L. i. C. xxiv. p. 63. Paris. 1575.
  - (o) De Imaginibus, Lib. i. pp. 114, 120. Ingolstad. 1594.
  - (p) De sancta Cruce, Tom. i. Lib. ii. Cap. i. p. 318. Ingolst. 1600.
  - (q) Tract. de Incarnat. Disp. xii. p. 539. Antverp. 1636.
  - (r) Concill. Tom. i. col. 62. Lut. Paris. 1671.
  - (s) Concilia, T. i. coll. 67-8. Florent. 1759.
  - (t) Summa Concill. p. 147. Antverp. 1623.
  - (u) Summa Conc. Tom. ii. p. 3. Paris. 1659.

δρικηs, antiquitati illi neutiquam usitatum, & à Dionysio primitus inventum(v)."

A remark must be made upon the chief argument in support of the Pseudo-Apostolic Council at Antioch. Turrian and his successors in this matter assert that Pope Innocent I., alludes to the holding of this Synod, when he speaks of Antioch as the place, "ubi et nomen accepit Religio Christiana, et quæ conventum Apostolorum apud se fieri celeberrimum meruit(w):" but doubtless he here refers to Acts xi. 26; and possibly also may have expressed himself inaccurately with respect to the Council of Jerusalem, which sent letters to the brethren at Antioch(x).

The ninth Canon, which has been alleged by Turrian as a valid authority in the question "de delectu ciborum," must lastly submit to a summary trial of its claims. The Synagogue of the Jews is herein styled "belluina;" and of them it is said that, "sicut ait Propheta, Saturati sunt suilla, et reliquerunt reliquias parvulis suis." It is plain that the passage intended is Psalm xvii. 14: "they are full

<sup>(</sup>v) De Theolog. Dogmatt. Tom. vi. p. 326. Antwerp. 1700. Conf. Pagi Crit. in Annall. Baronii, i. 44-5. Natalis Alexandri Hist. Eccles. iii. 211-13. Coci Censur. pp. 223-4. Lond. 1614. Cooke's Pope Ioane, p. 72. Lond. 1625. Stillingfleet's Defence of Discourse conc. Idolat. p. 526. Lond. 1676. Bingham's Works, ii. 501-2. Lond. 1840.

<sup>(</sup>w) Apud Binium, i. i. 617.

<sup>(</sup>x) Acts xv. 23.

of children; and leave the rest of their substance to their babes:" and this strange absurdity has been caused by a singularly unapostolic error; namely, confusion of the words "νείων" and "νίων."—In the previous sentence Christians are directed to live "ἀναγωγικῶs:" and I am inclined to imagine that the exact sense of this command would have surpassed the comprehension even of those profound Divines, who professed their ability to discover not only the Literal and Allegorical, but also the Tropological and Anagogical meanings of each text of Scripture(y).

(y) Vid. Tyndall's Workes, p. 166. Lond. 1573.

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