# THE BYZANTINE PATRIARCHATE
## 451–1204

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BY

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THIS BOOK IS PRODUCED IN COMPLETE
CONFORMITY WITH THE AUTHORIZED
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DEDICATED TO

WLADIMIR WEIDLÉ

# PREFACE

THE Christian East disappears from the field of vision of most English students, both of European history and of general church history, after the reign of Justinian (527-65). Yet the influence of the East upon the West in the five centuries following was more continuous than is commonly supposed. This is most obvious in the field of art, where Western styles continued to be variants upon Byzantine models until the twelth century, but like conclusions could be drawn from the study of other subjects.

The first object of this book is to fill up a gap in the library of the English theological student who wants an introduction to Eastern church history after the Council of Chalcedon; but I hope it may be useful to others as an introduction to the ecclesiastical and theological aspects of Byzantine civilization. At the present time the Byzantines are likely to interest us more and more, for three main reasons. Firstly, their empire was an early example of a Christian society ruled by an educated lay bureaucracy. Secondly, Byzantine art had symbolic and decorative aims that we now find sympathetic, in contrast with the naturalistic aims of Hellenistic and Renaissance sculpture. Thirdly, those European peoples who were most thoroughly Byzantinized now form together the most powerful practical force in Europe and Asia. It is necessary for us to understand their background, especially where it diverges most from the mediæval background of post-Renaissance Western Europe.

The first eleven chapters of this book make no claim to originality. They are concerned with the Byzantine church in its relations with other churches, especially, but not exclusively, in the West, from the middle of the fifth to the beginning of the eleventh century. In this period differences between East and West were real and important, and sometimes led to schisms; but these were healed because they were regarded, at least on the Byzantine side, as schisms within the one Catholic and Orthodox church. The last three chapters call for a special note, since two of them derive material from original sources

in a greater degree than the rest of the book. This is because I have been driven to depart from what has been the normal view of the final divergence between East and West.

It used to be supposed that the two churches were at enmity from the time of Photius (858-86), and in schism from the year 1054, when Papal legates excommunicated the Patriarch Michael Cerularius. But recent research has reduced the significance of both these crises, and prolonged the period of transition between unity and schism far on into the central period of the Middle Ages. In this situation it is difficult to feel confidence in the accounts of the Crusading movement in its ecclesiastical aspect that were written under the belief that the schism was an accomplished fact forty years before the First Crusade. But I do not think it would be fair to my readers if I merely criticized the accepted views without offering a provisional reconstruction of the possible development of the divergence between East and West in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

This can only be tentative: I am more certain of the nature of the original discord and of the significance of its results. The real problem is this: how did a schism originally local, limited and curable become a permanent separation between two distinct churches?

So long as the transition was ascribed to the tenth century, the responsibility could be laid upon Byzantine self-sufficiency at a time when Rome's prestige was admittedly at a very low ebb. But if it be transferred to the eleventh and twelfth a larger share of the responsibility must be attributed to the reformed Papacy. The transformation of the Papal primacy into a central government for the universal church could not but offend the deepest feelings of the Eastern churches, who were ready to acknowledge the Pope as the first among equals, but not to submit to his sovereign instructions.

The Byzantine objection to this was political in a deep and serious sense. Considerations of immediate policy often favoured an alliance with Rome, but the structure of Byzantine society would be endangered by the acknowledgment of a supreme ecclesiastical authority independent of the emperor. In the Byzantine world there was no rigid distinction between two societies: the monks and the married clergy on the one

hand, and the laity on the other. All had their office in the church, and all were equally interested in theology. The emperor appointed and at times deposed Patriarchs, but the custody of dogma belonged to the whole people. The Eastern Patriarchs, who inherit this tradition, wrote to Pius IX in 1848: "For us the guardianship of religion rests with the whole body of the church, that is with the people itself, which desires that religious dogma should remain unchanging and conformed to that of the Fathers."[1] This is the clue to the failure of emperors and Popes to bring about a reunion of East and West by political means. The Byzantine people, and those peoples who inherit their tradition, stubbornly remain responsible for the maintenance of dogma, of a mystery which they understand through the order of the liturgy and the pattern of the icons on their church walls. Dogma with them is not only an intellectual system apprehended by the clergy and expounded to the laity, but a field of vision wherein all things on earth are seen in their relation to things in heaven, first and foremost through liturgical celebration. Therefore they can endure political changes that would gravely embarrass Western churches, because the power of the clergy to speak their own mind matters little, if the rite is preserved. Religious freedom in the East is freedom for the liturgy, not for preaching, or education, or youth organizations. Yet "all these shall be added," for the church is a sermon, a school, and a family.

The Rev. Thomas Smith, a somewhat severe critic of the Greek clergy in the days of their degrading subservience to the Turkish government, paid eloquent tribute to the influence of liturgical observance upon the laity:

> Next to the miraculous and gracious providence of *God*, I ascribe the preservation of *Christianity* among them to the strict and religious observation of the *Festivals* and *Fasts* of the Church. . . . For Children and those of the most ordinary capacities know the meaning of these holy Solemnities, at which times they flock to church in great companies, and thereby retain the memory of our *Blessed Saviour's* Birth, dying upon the Cross,

[1] *Cf.* the letter of Alexis Khomiakoff to William Palmer in W. J. Birkbeck, *Russia and the English Church*, vol. i, London, 1895, p. 94.

Resurrection, and Ascension, and keep up the constant profession of their acknowledgment of the necessary and fundamental points of Faith, as of the doctrine of the *Blessed Trinity* and the like. And while they celebrate the sufferings and martyrdoms of the *Apostles* of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and other great Saints, who laid down their lives most joyfully for His name, and underwent with unwearied and invincible patience all the torments and cruelties of their *Heathen* Persecutors, they take courage from such glorious examples, and are the better enabled to endure with less trouble and regret the miseries and hardships they daily struggle with.[1]

My own knowledge of Orthodox church life in the modern world is very limited. I have never actually visited an Orthodox country; and most of my Orthodox friends, though not all, are of the Russian emigration. But I have received much help in the understanding of Byzantine history from my brother, the Rev. E. Every, who has lived in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and has stayed among Orthodox surroundings in Jerusalem and Alexandria, Greece and Cyprus. Dr. Zernov has given me much encouragement, and in particular matters I have been able to rely on the assistance and criticism of Miss Avrilea Vlachos, Dr. Eugene Lampert, M. Methodie Kusseff, the Rev. Alexis van der Mensbrugghe, and two Armenian priests, the Rev. Tiran Nersoyan and the Rev. S. Kalloustian.

Two English authorities on Byzantine history, Dr. Norman Baynes and Dr. Joan Hussey, have helped me a great deal with advice and criticism, though they must not be reckoned responsible for any of my errors. Among others who have assisted me with the loan of books and in the verification of references I must mention in particular Sir Eric Maclagan of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Professor R. M. Dawkins of Oxford, the Metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira, Dr. Otto Demus, the Rev. D. J. Chitty, the Rev. J. Ferret, the Rev. T. F. Taylor, the Rev. T. M. Parker of the Pusey House, Oxford, and the authorities at St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, Dr. Williams's Library in London, and the National Central Library.

[1] From *An Account of the Greek Church*, by Thos. Smith, B.D., London, 1680, pp. 18-19.

For criticism of particular chapters I have to thank Fr. Lionel Thornton and two other members of the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield, Dr. F. J. E. Raby, and members of my own community, especially Fr. Victor Ranford, at whose instigation the book was written. Acknowledgments for assistance in connection with the illustrations will be found in the notes on the illustrations, and so far as possible my obligations to books are acknowledged in the footnotes. Details for some of those that I have used frequently will be found under abbreviations.

GEORGE EVERY, S.S.M.

KELHAM, *August*, 1945.

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# ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

| | |
|---|---|
| *Alexiad:* | The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena, Greek text in CB, PG 131, and elsewhere, Eng. trans. by E. A. S. Dawes, London, 1928. |
| Bettenson: | Documents of the Christian Church, ed. H. Bettenson, Oxford, 1943. |
| *Bibl. Arm.:* | Bibliothèque historique Armenienne, ed. E. Dulaurier, Paris, 1858. |
| Bindley: | Œcumenical Documents of the Faith, ed. T. H. Bindley, London, 1925. |
| *B.O.:* | Bibliotheca Orientalis, ed. J. Assemani, 3 vols, Rome, 1717-28. |
| Bury, *E.R.E.:* | History of the Eastern Roman Empire from Irene to Basil I, by J. B. Bury, London, 1912. |
| Bury-Gibbon: | The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, by Edward Gibbon, ed. J. B. Bury, illustrations selected by O. M. Dalton, 7 vols., London, 1926-9. |
| B : | Byzantion, Brussels, 1924 *ff.* |
| BZ: | Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Leipzig, 1892-1939. |
| *C.A.H.:* | Cambridge Ancient History, 1923-39. |
| CB: | Corpus scriptorum historiæ Byzantinæ, Bonn, 1826-97. |
| *Chron. Eccles.:* | Chronicon Ecclesiasticon by Gregory Bar-Hebræus, Syriac with Latin trans. by J. B. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy, 3 vols., Louvain, 1872-8. |
| *C.J.C.:* | Corpus Juris Civilis, ed. P. Kruger, T. Mommsen, R. Schöll, G. Kröll, 3 vols., Berlin, 1906-12. |
| *C. Med. H.:* | Cambridge Mediæval History, 1911-36. |
| *D.A.C.:* | Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclerq, Paris, 1907 *ff.* |
| Diehl, *Manuel:* | Manuel d'art Byzantin, by Charles Diehl, 2 vols, Paris, 1925-6. |
| Dölger: | Regesten der Kaiserkunden des Oströmischen Reiches, ed. F. Dölger, 3 vols., Munich and Berlin, 1924-32. |
| *D.T.C.:* | Dictionnaire de theologie catholique, ed. P. Vacant and others, Paris, 1899 *ff.* |
| ECQ: | Eastern Churches Quarterly, Ramsgate, 1937 *ff.* |
| EHR: | English Historical Review, London, 1885 *ff.* |
| EO: | Echos d'orient, Paris, 1897 *ff.* |
| Evagrius, *H.E.:* | Historia Ecclesiastica of Evagrius, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, London, 1899. |
| First Bulgarian Empire: | A History of the First Bulgarian Empire, by S. Runciman, London, 1930. |
| Gay: | L'Italie méridionale et l'empire Byzantin, by J. Gay, Paris, 1904. |

| | |
|---|---|
| H-L: | Conciliengeschichte, by C. J. Hefele, French trans. by H. Leclerq, Paris, 1907-14. |
| *Hist. Hier.:* | Historia Hierosolymitana, by Fulcher of Chartres, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, 1913. |
| Jaffé: | Regesta Pontificum Romanorum to 1198, ed. P. Jaffé, G. Kaltenbrunner and others, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1885-8. |
| J. M. Hussey, *Ch. and Learning:* | Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867-1185, by J. M. Hussey, Oxford, 1937. |
| JTS: | Journal of Theological Studies, Oxford, 1900 *ff.* |
| Kidd, *Documents:* | Documents illustrating the history of the Church, ed. B. J. Kidd, vols. ii and iii, London, 1923-41. |
| *Lib. Pont.:* | Liber Pontificalis, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols., Paris, 1886-92. |
| Mansi: | Sacrorum conciliorum . . . collectio, ed. J. D. Mansi, 31 vols., reprint, Paris and Leipzig, 1901 *ff.* |
| MGH epp ss sgus: | Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, ed. G. Pertz and others, Hanover, 1826 *ff.*, epistolæ, scriptores, scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum. |
| Michel: | Humbert und Kerullarios, ed. A. Michel, 2 vols., Paderborn, 1924-30. |
| PG: | Patrologia Græco-Latina, ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166, Paris, 1857-66. |
| PL: | Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols., Paris, 1844-55. |
| PO: | Patrologia Orientalis, ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau, Paris, 1907 *ff.* |
| Potthast: | Regesta Pontificum Romanorum 1198-1304, ed. A. Potthast, 2 vols., Berlin, 1873-4. |
| PPTS: | Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, Eng. trans. of pilgrim texts, 34 nos. in 13 vols., London, 1884-97. |
| *Premiers temps:* | Les premiers temps de l'état pontifical, by L. Duchesne, Paris, 1904. |
| REG: | Revue des études Grecques, Paris, 1888 *ff.* |
| ROL: | Revue de l'orient Latin, Paris, 1894-1911. |
| Schwartz: | Acta conciliorum œcumenicorum, ed. E. Schwartz, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927 *ff.* |
| Tellenbach: | Church, State, and Christian Society in the Investiture Contest, by G. Tellenbach, Eng. trans. by H. F. Bennett, Oxford, 1940. |
| Tixeront: | History of Dogmas by J. Tixeront, Eng. trans. St. Louis and London, vol. iii, 1916. |
| Vasiliev: | A. A. Vasiliev, Histoire de l'empire Byzantin, French trans. by P. Brodin and A. Bourguina, 2 vols., Paris, 1932. |
| *VIème siècle:* | L'église au sixième siècle, by L. Duchesne, Paris, 1925. |

# I

## BYZANTINE CIVILIZATION

GIBBON'S *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*,[1] a masterpiece of literature and a landmark in the history of historical research, belongs to an age that had no doubts of any kind about the meaning of civilization. The civilized way of life came down from Hellas, enshrined in Greek and Latin literature, Hellenistic and Roman sculpture, declined into the Dark Ages, and emerged at the Renaissance into the enlightenment of modern times. Four volumes of the seven in Bury's edition are given to the decay of Rome from Diocletian (284-304) to Justinian (527-65), and one to the last agony of the fall of Constantinople and the dispersion of Greek culture in the West. Only two deal summarily with the eight hundred years from 565 to 1350, which are in this way forcibly assimilated to the periods of decay before and after. In England they are still neglected, for although J. B. Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*[2] was continued in another *History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I* (867),[3] the second edition of the first of these two books, published in 1923,[4] did not go beyond 565.

Bury's titles show his special emphasis on the continuity of the Roman empire from Augustus to 1453. This is justified by the continued use of the Roman name by the Byzantines, who called their country Romania, and by the modern Greeks, who call their language Romaic. But this language is Greek, not Latin. The Byzantines knew no Latin poetry, history, or theology. Virgil, Livy, and St. Augustine were no part of their tradition. The Latin element in their civilization was legal, political, and military. The Greek classics made a deeper impression upon them, for they always remained an essential

[1] The original edition in six volumes was published in London, 1775-88. All citations in this book are from the illustrated edition by J. B. Bury, 1926-9.

[2] 2 vols., London, 1889.

[3] 1 vol., London, 1912.

[4] 2 vols., London, 1923.

element in their higher education. The Hellenes, as the Byzantines called the pagan Greeks, were unbelievers, but ancestors. Every educated Byzantine could catch an allusion to Homer, and many were familiar with Plato, Aristotle, and Pindar.

Byzantine civilization was the result of a development in Greek culture within the carapace of Roman administration, assimilating many oriental elements, pagan, Persian, Jewish, and Christian, until this syncretism affected not only the culture, but the framework of administration and government. The empire of Diocletian and Constantine, which lasted until the time of Justinian, used a system of taxation and compulsory service that was borrowed from the immemorial usages of ancient Egypt.[1] The law of the Theodosian Code (438) and the Code of Justinian (529-34), the civil law which was studied in the Middle Ages (when Dante regarded Justinian[2] as the typical Roman emperor), was not the law of Cicero and Augustus, but a product of the transition from Roman to Byzantine. Later Byzantine developments, which have had less influence on the West, led the law of the East farther away from Rome, especially after the dissolution of the administrative system of Diocletian and the rise of a new model of Byzantine government, sketched in the eighth, elaborated in the ninth,[3] and formalized in the tenth century.

The new society has been called oriental, especially by Professor Charles Diehl, whose various works[4] will be frequently cited in these pages. It is true that it revolved round a sacred palace, where water issued from a throne beside which mechanical lions roared and musical birds sang. "By such means," wrote the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his *Book of Ceremonies*, "we shadow the harmonious movement of God the creator around this universe, while the imperial power is

[1] See M. J. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 461-6.

[2] *Paradiso*, canto v, 115-vii, 8, *passim*.

[3] See J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, London, 1911.

[4] See also *Histoire de l'empire Byzantin*, Paris, 1919; Eng. trans., Princeton, 1925; and *Byzance, grandeur et decadence*, Paris, 1920. For the history of Byzantine history see A. A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'empire Byzantin*, French trans., Paris, 1932, vol. i, c. 1, pp. 1-51.

preserved in proportion and order."[1] But the Byzantine sacred monarchy was set in a city, exposed at times to the hissings of an angry mob around the racecourse at the Hippodrome, to demonstrations in St. Sophia against heresy or heavy taxation, and to the risks of rebellion in the army, the navy, and even the *scrinia* or secretarial bureaux. No Byzantine dynasty sat long upon the throne.[2] Several rose from the ranks, for Justin I was an itinerant rope-seller, Leo III a Syrian sheep-drover, Michael the Amorian an obscure Phrygian, Basil "the Macedonian" an Armenian adventurer who first distinguished himself by his skill in taming horses. Others sprang from the official aristocracy of generals and administrators. Though the frequency of revolutions in Byzantine history can be exaggerated, in all periods the danger of insurrection was real; and this sets limits to a sovereign power that was theoretically uncircumscribed. Revolutions might begin in the administration and the army; or in the city *demes*, the blue and green factions in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, who concerned themselves, not only with racing, but with police and the management of minor public services, under the leadership of *demarchs* or *democrats* from the class of skilled craftsmen and shopkeepers.

After the beginning of the seventh century the *demes* became formal divisions. A greater significance belonged to the aristocratic Senate of great officials, especially in the reign of Constans (641-68), who spent much of his time away from the capital, leaving the senators in charge.[3] F. Dvornik has argued that the Œcumenical Councils of the church were meetings of the senate in its ecclesiastical aspect under the presidency of the emperor's representatives.[4] Several such councils were held besides the few that appear in both Eastern and Western lists. Ecclesiastical business of less moment was transacted at

[1] CB, p. 5. For the throne of Solomon, *cf.* bk. ii, c. 15, p. 569. For the textual problems of the *De ceremoniis*, which incorporates much earlier material, see J. B. Bury in EHR XXII (1907), pp. 209-27, 417-39; and for the running water Ibn Batouta in B. Trapier, *Les voyageurs Arabes au moyen age*, Paris, 1937, pp. 154-8.

[2] The Macedonian dynasty (867-1056) is an apparent exception, but its tenure was interrupted by long regencies in 913-45, 963-76, and after 1028.

[3] See C. Diehl, *Le Senate et le peuple Byzantin au viième et viiième siècles*, in B, i (1924), pp. 201-13.

[4] *The Authority of the State in the Œcumenical Councils, The Christian East*, London, 1934, No. 3, pp. 97-108.

the *synodos endemousa* or permanent synod of bishops present in Constantinople, corresponding to the *consistorium* or imperial council of civil officers. In no branch of public business was the conscience of the empire more sensitive, for orthodoxy was in effect its constitution.

Theoretically the sole legislator, in practice the emperor, was hedged about on every side by powerful orders devoted to precedents, and open to the sway of voices from the marketplace, not only in Constantinople, but in the other Greek cities and colonies from Naples in Campania and Reggio in Calabria to Antioch in Syria and Cherson on the north coast of the Black Sea. Monks were especially formidable critics, for persecution made them martyrs. The only effective way of dealing with them was to move them to an unsympathetic monastery, and even then they might exercise too great an influence over their hosts. The Greek monk was often a politician, like the Greek citizen. It must never be forgotten that the Greek cities were the heart of the empire. Those on the coasts of Italy and Asia remained loyal when the highlands in the interior were conquered by the Lombards and the Turks. The oriental element in Byzantine culture and art was always kept in check by the Greek tradition.

The strength of this tradition was proved in the iconoclast controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries, when the influence of Greece and the islands defeated an Asiatic attempt to make all ecclesiastical art symbolic and abstract, and won the day for a religious art that could retain the Greek interest in the representation and interpretation of the human body. Byzantine mosaic and mural painting sacrifice bodily proportion to answer problems of human destiny beyond the normal range of classical enquiry. For these they found a surer medium than sculpture[1] in the play of light on coloured surfaces, revealing rhythmical movement or reposeful rest. But decorative aims were always subordinated to the revelation of the soul through garments of flesh.

[1] The difficulty of using classical busts for Byzantine ends can be seen in some of the opening plates of H. Peirce and R. Tylor's *Byzantine Art*, London, 1926, showing imperial portraits of the third and fourth centuries. For another view of the transition see C. Rodenwalt in *C.A.H.* xii, pp. 561-70.

The luxury of Byzantine decoration can be exaggerated. For instance, the mosaics of the Holy Family that once belonged to the oratory of the Greek Pope John VII in Old St. Peter's at Rome[1] show the same tenderness for women and children, for the poor and for labour, that we discover with the same surprise in Byzantine legislation. In the later developments of Byzantine law[2] women were practically on an equality with men in respect of property and the guardianship of minors. The Byzantine law of divorce is remarkable for an attempt to strike a qualitative balance between the claims of wife and husband. The grounds for divorce were not the same for each, but every advantage to him was compensated by some corresponding advantage for her. The church frowned on all marriages after the first, but did not refuse a second or even a third chance to the divorced, unless the grounds were considered altogether insufficient. Such marriages were performed with maimed rites, and entailed a period of penance.[3] Similar penances were imposed on widowers and widows who remarried. Fourth marriages were altogether forbidden, alike to the divorced, the widower, and the widow. The theory was that the first marriage created a bond that should survive death. It is interesting to observe that where there were children remarriage of any kind was made more difficult.

The place of the mother in the Byzantine family is illustrated in three remarkable sketches in Charles Diehl's *Figures Byzantines*[4] of the three mothers of Theodore the Studite (d. 826), Michael Psellos (eleventh century), and Alexius Comnenus (d. 1118). The last, Anna Dalassena, was the matriarch of the Comnenoi, and the real founder of the fortunes of the family.

[1] See Paul Muratoff, *Peinture Byzantine*, Paris, 1928, plates lv, lvi.

[2] See especially G. D. Buckler, *Women in Byzantine Law about* 1100, in B, xi, 2 (1936), pp. 391-416; Bury-Gibbon, v, pp. 557-9; *Nomocanon*, PG 104, c. 891 (tenth century), with *scholia*, *ibid.*, c. 1167-94; Matthæus Monachus, *Quæstiones et causæ matrimoniales*, PG 119, c. 1275-82.

[3] Rules in the *Nomocanon*, PG 104, c. 907-8, with comment from Balsamon and others (twelfth century), *ibid.*, c. 1193-4, provide for seven years of graduated penance. In mediæval Byzantium divorce was an affair of the civil law. The church was not directly involved until the question of remarriage arose. Only in Russia did cases of divorce come before ecclesiastical courts.

[4] 2 vols., Paris, 1906-13, Eng. trans. by Harold Bell, *Byzantine Portraits*, 1 vol., London and New York, 1927, pp. 105-25, 276-326.

Other women distinguished themselves by their skill in government, from Pulcheria, the sister of Theodosius II, in the middle of the fifth century, to Theophano, the sister of Basil II, who acquitted herself well in the difficult task of ruling Germany at the end of the tenth century. The narrative of Anna Comnena[1] is interesting evidence of a woman's learning. She refers to her mother's intellectual and mystical interests that carried her out of her depth and gave her "a kind of vertigo"[2] when she was a young girl. Other princesses wrote poetry, like Eudocia Athenais, the wife of Theodosius II.[3] The daughters of Constantine Porphyrogenitus did secretarial work for their learned father. The Comnenoi in their foundations made provision for choirs of male and female voices,[4] and for a lady doctor[5] as a regular member of the staff of a hospital.

Another remarkable difference between classical and Christian times is in the status given to labour. The classical aristocrat was a gentleman of leisure, who did political work in his spare time. The Byzantine bureaucrat was a hard-working administrator, accomplishing his "liturgy" in accordance with instructions laid down in books on procedure, like the *De administrando imperi* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The soldiers worked to similar drill books, *The Strategicon* of the Emperor Maurice and the *Established Tactics* of Leo VI.[6] The biographers of some emperors boast their skill in calligraphy, in handwriting and diplomatic forms, their mastery of the art of administration. A like passion for exact craftsmanship runs through the whole of Byzantine society, and probably underlies the success of Byzantine citizens in the minor arts, especially ivories, enamels and jewellery.[7] Few textiles survive, but travellers' tales testify to a universal impression that by Italian standards everyone in Constantinople was magnificently

[1] *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena*, Eng. trans. by E. A. S. Dawes, London, 1928; also in CB and PG 131.

[2] *Alexiad*, v, c. 9.

[3] S. Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization*, London, 1933, p. 249. One of her poems is in PG 85, c. 827-64.

[4] *Alexiad*, xv, c. 7.

[5] J. M. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford, 1936, p. 85.

[6] See Sir C. Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, London, 1898, pp. 169-215.

[7] Examples in H. Peirce and R. Tylor, *Byzantine Art*, *passim*.

dressed.[1] The government took every care, perhaps too much care, to preserve the standards and secrets of craftsmanship, and to regulate prices, hours and wages. The silk industry was a state monopoly, and we do not hear of large fortunes made by private persons in legitimate commerce. Usury, on the other hand, though regulated, was not strictly forbidden as in the West; and perhaps for this reason we hear little of Jews from the end of the seventh century, when Christians were forbidden to bathe with them,[2] to the middle of the twelfth century,[3] when much Byzantine commerce fell into foreign hands, because the immunities of the Italian cities, and other foreign communities, enabled them to evade the ordinary controls. J. B. Bury[4] argued, from the standpoint of the nineteenth century, that Byzantine commerce was ruined by over-severe government supervision and the absence of a satisfactory credit system. It certainly did not suffer, as Western commerce suffered in the Middle Ages, from the indifference of a landed aristocracy. The Emperor Theophilus in the ninth century personally investigated the quality and price of the goods in the bazaars, especially the food, though he objected to his own empress investing in commercial ventures.[5] In the thirteenth century John Vatatzes bought his empress a new crown, called "eggy," from the proceeds of her chickens.[6]

In theory at least no one might be or remain in Constantinople except on business.[7] Idlers, aristocratic or plebeian, had no encouragement. The able-bodied unemployed were set to work at street cleaning, weeding the public gardens, or working in the bakeries, which were public property like the silk factory. The infirm were cared for in hospitals, founded in every period for old and young. The *Orphanotrophos*, or minister of orphanages, was an official of standing, who might rise to the first place in the hierarchy. Hospital trains accompanied the Byzantine

[1] See the narrative of Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew (about 1162), in T. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, London, 1848, pp. 74-6.

[2] Canon 11 of the Council in Trullo (691-2); *cf. infra*, p. 90.

[3] For the Jews in *c.* 1162 see Benjamin of Tudela in T. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-8.

[4] Bury-Gibbon, v, appendices 12-3, pp. 561-6.

[5] Theophanes Continuatus, CB, pp. 87-9.

[6] Gregoras, CB, vol. i, p. 43.

[7] *Corpus Juris Civilis*, vol. iii, ed. R. Schöll, G. Kröll, Berlin, 1912, pp. 482-3 (novel 99); J. B. Bury, *Later Roman Empire* (1889), vol. ii, pp. 527-8.

armies. Alexius Comnenus brought his column to a halt every time a woman in the company was taken in the pains of childbirth,[1] and then, after a trumpet-blast, moved on.

A like consideration for the weak is to be found in Byzantine agrarian legislation, even if we have to admit that it was not finally successful. The long struggle of Byzantine governments to prevent the growth of a feudal class,[2] and to preserve the free village of independent peasant proprietors in Macedonia, Thrace and Greece, had left behind a certain impress on the traditions of peasant life in those countries, where a Christian feudal aristocracy has seldom, if ever, established itself against the tradition of the free commune, so long supported by the Byzantine government. Even the criminal gained by the reluctance of the Byzantines to kill in cold blood. Their economy in the use of their small professional armies shocked Western observers, trained in the dare-devil ways of feudalism.[3] The same observers were often horrified at the use of mutilation as a substitute for death. The amputation of a finger or a slit in the nose revolts our susceptibilities, but the intention was humane: to humiliate, and then to provide an opportunity for penitence. J. B. Bury saw no reason to doubt contemporary testimony that in the reign of John Comnenus (1118-43) no one was put to death.[4] Even unsuccessful revolutionaries were more often interned in monasteries, from which they might emerge at the next swing of the political pendulum.

It is not easy to form a picture of the humbler classes in the Byzantine empire, but the style of some chronicles and many lives of the saints suggests that they were written for a popular audience, who took pleasure in vivid colour, and wanted to know the personal appearance of the heroes of the Trojan war. Dr. Norman Baynes can compare the *Chronicle of John Malalas* to a modern Sunday newspaper.[5] If this argument is valid, literacy may have been common, at least in the capital. More

[1] *Alexiad*, xv, c. 7.

[2] See the chapter, by Georg Ostrogorsky, on *Agrarian Conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages*, in *Cambridge Economic History*, vol. i, 1941, pp. 194-223; *cf.* also Vasiliev, i, pp. 455-9.

[3] For Byzantine military ethics see Sir C. Oman, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-201; and G. D. Buckler, *Anna Comnena*, Oxford, 1929, pp. 97-105.

[4] *C. Med. H.*, iv, preface, p. xiii.

[5] *The Byzantine Empire*, London, 1925, pp. 35-6.

evidence points to continuous excitement on religious themes. In the fourth century St. Gregory of Nyssa complained that the baker and the bath-keeper would argue about Arianism.[1] As early as the sixth century this popular interest veered from theological to liturgical issues, for

> theology is . . . always the professional preserve of the clergy and the interest of a comparatively small educated *élite* of the laity. Liturgy is a . . . universal Christian activity, and so a *popular* interest.[2]

Rival versions[3] of the *Trisagion* were sung by rival parties in the choir at Antioch and at Constantinople. Later on popular excitement raged over images or animal designs on the walls of churches, over the ceremonial veneration of icons of the saints, the use or omission of Alleluia in Lent, the right day to begin fasting, and the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist. These issues are reflected in hagiography,[4] the journalism of the Byzantine church. A hagiographical war between rival parties in the ninth century[5] has done much to complicate the history of the schism between East and West.

To understand the part played by the Byzantine laity in liturgical controversies it is necessary to understand the meaning of liturgy in the East. In the Greek city state the word was used of any kind of public service, from building a battleship to providing a chorus at the festival of Dionysus. In the early church bishops, presbyters, deacons and laity all had their accustomed services,[6] especially in the celebration of the Mass. In the West we have become accustomed to think of the Mass as something performed by the clergy for the congregation, since the usual form is a Low Mass with one priest and one server. In the East, on the other hand, every celebration of *The Divine Liturgy* is a High Mass performed with full cere-

[1] B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrating the History of the Church*, vol. ii, London, 1923, no. 105.
[2] Gregory Dix, O.S.B., *The Shape of the Liturgy*, London, 1945, p. 7.
[3] *Infra*, p. 49.
[4] See H. Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, London, 1907.
[5] See E. v. Dobschutz, *Methodius und die Studiten*, BZ, xviii (1909), pp. 41-105.
[6] See *The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians*, c. 40.

monial by priest and deacon, reader and acolytes, choir and people. The icons in the roof and on the screen, the image of Christ in the cupola, the Virgin Mother over the altar, the saints and angels in the upper story, are actors in the same drama with the clergy in the sanctuary and the people in the nave. In modern times the high iconostasis divides the normal Eastern church into two halves, and excludes the laity from direct participation in the action that takes place within the sanctuary, except at two dramatic moments when the Royal Doors swing open for the Great Entrance, and for the final revelation of the Body and Blood at the communion; but Byzantine screens, like the one in St. Mark's, Venice, were low and open. Many descriptions imply that the images in the roof of the sanctuary, and the incense rising towards them from the altar, could be seen from the nave. The Emperor Justinian commanded that all the words of the liturgy should be said in a loud voice,[1] audible to the people. Even after considerations of time made it necessary to allow two parts of the over-elaborated rite to proceed simultaneously inside and outside the iconostasis, the sense of a common action remained strong. This underlies the very interesting history of vernacular liturgies in the East. From very early days the Mass was constantly being translated into new languages, Abasgian, Avar, Old Slavonic in the early Middle Ages, Zyriane in the fourteenth century, Rumanian in the seventeenth, Kalmuck and Japanese in the nineteenth.[2] Through these vernacular liturgies Ukrainian and Arabian peasants acquired a fanatical devotion to the letter of the ritual. In the seventeenth century opposition to reforms and corrections in the Russian liturgy produced the schism of the "Old Believers."[3] To-day a like antagonism to the reform of the calendar has led to similar conflicts on Mount Athos and in other parts of Greece.[4]

The peasants were more sensitive to liturgical issues than

[1] *C.J.C.*, iii, p. 699 (novel 137, c. 6); J. Pargoire, *L'église Byzantine*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1923, p. 100. G. Dix, *op. cit.*, p. 481, is misleading about the early iconostases; see *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, vi (1945), pp. 190-3.

[2] See *infra*, p. 123, and references.

[3] See *Life of the Archpriest Avvakum*, Eng. trans., London, 1924.

[4] See R. M. Dawkins, *The Monks of Athos*, London, 1936, pp. 199-200.

the citizens, for in village churches the whole congregation joined in those parts of the service which a city church could leave to a professional choir. In the country, choristers and acolytes learnt by heart their gestures, words, and music. Sometimes they rose in middle life to be readers, deacons and priests. In some ages and regions this may have been the normal method of recruitment for the village clergy, who were almost invariably married before ordination, and lived in matrimony, though they were not allowed to marry afterwards, or to marry a second wife. Bishops, on the other hand, were required to live in celibacy. They were generally chosen from the monasteries, seldom from the parish clergy; but to important sees the appointment of a civil servant with administrative experience, unmarried or a widower, was by no means uncommon. Such appointments puzzled and shocked Western critics, but in this way the Byzantine church gained the services of some distinguished theologians and more capable administrators.[1]

Byzantine laymen and women knew their theology, not only through the liturgy, but through the liturgical scheme of church decoration,[2] constant in style and subject, continually re-interpreted by painters of real though anonymous genius from the sixth century to the seventeenth. This pattern formed a frame on which scattered fragments of knowledge, derived from the lives of the saints, from sermons, from prayer and from mystical reading, could combine and cohere.[3] Many Byzantines made too much of trivial issues of a ritualistic kind on

[1] John of Damascus left the Arabian civil service to become a monk, *c.* 735. Former Byzantine civil servants include Maximus Confessor (*d.* 662), Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople (*d.* 897), and another Patriarch, John Xiphilinus (*d.* 1075). All these were remarkable as theological thinkers. The administrators stretch from Ephrem of Antioch (*d.* 545) to Nicholas Mysticus (*d.* 925).

[2] *The Byzantine Guide to Painting*, as used on Mount Athos, was printed in an Eng. trans. (from the French of M. Paul Durand) as an appendix to the English edition of A. N. Didron, *Christian Iconography*, vol. ii, London, 1886, pp. 265-399. The pages on the distribution of subjects (*cf.* C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art Byzantin*, vol. ii, Paris, 1926, pp. 484-92) are probably older than the detailed directions. It is significant that three-quarters of these last are concerned with scriptural material.

[3] See Nicolas Cabalisas, *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, in PG 150, c. 368-492, the work of a layman of the fourteenth century (French trans., Paris, 1943).

which their feelings played too easily. Few were as ignorant as most Western clerks, who had never proceeded beyond the painful preliminaries of a Latin education.

The laity never became a purely passive element in the Byzantine church community. This is the real clue to the relations between church and state in the East. In the monasteries most of the monks were laymen. It was not uncommon for lay monks to assume functions that were properly reserved for the priesthood, especially absolution. The very ancient custom, dating from the times of persecution, whereby the laity were allowed to reserve the Eucharist in their own houses to communicate themselves during the week, was forbidden by the council in Trullo (691-2) for fear of abuse,[1] but revived during the iconoclast troubles. Other evidence[2] can be cited to show that weekly or even daily communion was not uncommon in the seventh, or even in the ninth century. The disciples of Theodore of Tarsus, the Greek missionary who became Archbishop of Canterbury from 668 to 690, recalling his *obiter dicta* on Greek and Latin customs,[3] say that the Greeks communicate every Sunday, and put to penance those who miss three Sundays in succession "according to the canons." In the West annual

[1] Canon 101: communicants may not receive the sacramental elements in vessels. For the use of these vessels in the seventh century, and again in the ninth, see J. Pargoire, *L'église Byzantine*, pp. 228, 339-40; Anastasius the Sinaite in PG 89, c. 765; Theodore the Studite in PG 99, c. 1116, 1661; H. Delehaye in *Les saints stylites*, Paris and Brussels, 1923, p. clxxii. Stylite hermits used to draw them up to the top of their pillars on the end of a string.

[2] Especially Anastasius the Sinaite, *ibid.*, c. 753; Theodore the Studite, *ibid.*, c. 1668.

[3] In the compilation known as the *Penitentiale* of Theodore, printed in A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. iii, Oxford, 1871, p. 186. The canons referred to are certainly the second canon of the council of Antioch (341) and the ninth (or tenth) in the collection called *The Apostolic Canons*. Of the Greek commentators on these canons in the twelfth century, printed by W. Beveridge in his *Syntagma canonum*, Oxford, 1672, reprinted in PG 137, c. 53-4, 1279-4, Zonaras agrees with Theodore's disciples, while the others take a laxer view of the obligation in accordance with the custom of their own time. There is a discussion in the article, "The Canonists on Non-Communicating Attendance," by J. W. L., in *The Union Review*, London, 1873.

St. John Chrysostom refers to wide varieties in frequency of communion on his seventeenth *Homily* on Hebrews, PG 62, c. 131-2; *cf.* also his fifth *Homily* on 1 Timothy, *ibid.*, c. 529-30 (end of the fourth century).

communion was already becoming usual. In the East, too, it eventually became customary, but the communion of clergy and people remained the climax of the Mass, since a Mass where the celebrant alone communicated was almost unknown. The people came to communicate in the prayers, not to see the priest perform an action for them. They could not see all that passed in the sanctuary. They were intent upon their own liturgy, the responses and the chants.

Many of them left the church to perform other liturgies in the sacred palace, where:

> The logothetes run down the porphyry stair
> bearing their missives through the area of empire.[1]

Byzantine labourers sowing seed, building houses and digging wells obeyed rituals that are still preserved in the *Euchologion*, the book of occasional offices of the Eastern Orthodox church.[2] The difference between church and state was that the church was larger in space and time. She had an upper story for angels and archangels, prophets and martyrs and saints, with the Blessed Virgin at their head, and Christ in glory reigning over all from the cupola. In the diptychs of the dead all Orthodox Patriarchs were commemorated, in the diptychs of the living the heads of all Orthodox churches outside as well as inside the bounds of the empire. The church was too old and too vast to be turned into a department of the palace, but the emperor was in supreme control of all the outward ordering of church affairs. He regulated the disposition of benefices, and the election of bishops, metropolitans, and Patriarchs. His place in the church has been compared with that of the deacon in the liturgy,[3] who from the point of view of the people seems far more active than the priest. To a Western reader a better parallel might be with the choirmaster, who is more important in an Eastern church than the organist is in the West, since the selection of such parts of the service as can be sung aloud and in full is, in practice, in his hands. The emperor was not

[1] *Taliessin through Logres*, by Charles Williams, Oxford, 1938, p. 6.

[2] See *infra*, p. 92.

[3] By Alexis van der Mensbrugghe in *Sobornost*, Oxford, Dec., 1944, p. 10.

a layman, but no Byzantine who was careful of his words would call him a priest or his power sacerdotal. In the constitutional theory of the empire, expressed in the *Ecloga* and the *Epanagoge*, emperor and Patriarch are the two chief organs of the body politic, and harmony between them was essential for the health of the empire.[1] Some later commentators, such as Theodore Balsamon[2] in the twelfth century, found a theoretical justification for the superiority of the emperor in the Patriarch's detachment from bodily affairs. Many Patriarchs, however, had been civil servants, and wielded great political influence, especially in the period of the Macedonian dynasty (867-1056). Western scholars have debated whether the Patriarch, when he crowned the emperor, represented the church or the people. I do not think that the Byzantines would have attached much meaning to this question, which has its bearings on Western history because the Pope imitated him when he crowned a rival "Roman emperor" at Rome in A.D. 800. At that time he represented the "republic of the Romans," the citizens of the Byzantine empire in Italy, not only the clergy of the Roman church. The idea of the spiritual independence of the clergy never took root at Byzantium. When bishops, priests and monks engaged in administrative work, as they often did, it was in the employ of the sacred monarchy that protected all alike from famine, disease and heresy. It seemed perfectly natural that administration, in religious as well as in secular matters, should normally be in the hands of the civil bureaucracy at the sacred palace, who combined administrative experience with theological learning and devotion to accepted standards of orthodoxy. The church in the Byzantine empire never developed a bureaucracy of its own.

Byzantine monasteries remained private institutions. They were never associated in great orders like the Cluniacs, the Cistercians, and the Premonstratensians of the West. Many were so small that they easily died out, and left ruined buildings to be used again by fresh enthusiasts.[3] Individually monks might be politicians, but monasticism was never a political

[1] See extracts from the *Ecloga* in J. B. Bury, *Later Roman Empire* (1889), vol. ii, p. 415, and from the *Epanagoge* in PG 119, c. 909-10.

[2] In Ῥαλλη καὶ Ποτλη, Συνταγμα κανονων IV, Athens, 1854, pp. 544-5, quoted in Vasiliev, ii, p. 122.

[3] See J. M. Hussey, *Ch. and Learning*, p. 165.

power. No Eastern order "ever conceived of itself as an instrument for reshaping secular life."[1] Though Byzantine bishops were normally monks, the constructive statesmen of the Byzantine church came from the civil bureaucracy, and were ordained comparatively late in life.

The moral effects are exceedingly interesting. It does seem true to say that in the Byzantine church promotion and esteem depended more upon spiritual and intellectual qualities than on that political and legal skill that gradually became the one thing necessary for a Western archbishop, or for a cardinal of the Roman church. At all times there were disorders and abuses, especially in the monasteries, for Byzantine monks and hermits wandered about far too easily in the course of their spiritual pilgrimage. A strange restlessness led them from Mount Athos to Campania or Jerusalem and back again. By Benedictine standards they lacked stability. But sanctity was comparatively common[2] and self-indulgence remarkably rare, even in the sacred palace. Of all the heretical emperors between the fifth and ninth centuries, only one was accused of sexual vice by his Orthodox opponents. Despite the apparent laxity of Byzantine divorce legislation, in comparison with the West, very few Byzantine emperors divorced their wives. Second and third marriages at court were the occasion of much scandal. In this as in so much else our picture of Byzantium has been distorted by the interests of Gibbon. In fact, the scandalous periods in Byzantine court history were few and short, and all ended in violent purges.

The moral weakness of the Byzantines was on the side of truth, not chastity. To play barbarians against one another was a necessary part of the diplomatic ritual, essential for the defence of the frontier against enemies who were formidable in arms but ponderous in wit. The use of stratagems against Franks and Normans gave the "subtle Greekling" a reputation for guile that was not undeserved. Anna Comnena wrote with intense pride of her father's achievements at the time of the Latin occupation of Constantinople during the first Crusade:

[1] F. Borkenau in *Horizon*, London, September, 1944.

[2] The Byzantine Acta Sanctorum made in the tenth century by Simeon Metaphrastes is in PG 114-6. See also "Les stylites à travers les ages" in H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites*, pp. cxvii-cxliii.

He gave orders that all the Franks should come in freely every day, partly because he wished them to state their requests, and partly too because he was manœuvring by arguments of various kinds to bring them to accede to his own wishes. . . . One came after the other . . . always preferring one excuse after another for further talk, whilst he stood unmoved in the midst of the Franks, quietly hearing their endless chatter. . . . If any one of his ministers tried to cut them short, the Emperor prevented him. For knowing the Franks' natural irritability he was afraid lest for some trifling pretext a great fire of scandal should be lighted. . . . Like a hammer-wrought statue, made perhaps of bronze or cold iron, he would sit the whole night through, from the evening until midnight perhaps, and often until the third cock-crow, and very occasionally almost till the sun's rays were bright. All his attendants were dead tired and would retire and rest and then come back again grumbling. . . . The emperor alone presented an unyielding front to all this labour. And what words could properly describe his patience ? For in this babel of tongues each one spoke at length and "wrangled on unbridled of tongue," as Homer says; then he would stand aside for another and give him the opportunity of speaking, and he passed it on to another, and so on from one to the other. And they only stood at intervals, but he had to retain his position unceasingly.[1]

Alexius was the hero of the *Alexiad* as Odysseus "of many wiles" was the hero of the *Odyssey*. Both were Greeks in their subtlety, but the patience of Alexius as Anna describes it had a quality unknown to the pagan world.

And from that time on to his death the rheumatism visited him at periodic intervals, and caused him exquisite agony. But he endured it so patiently without ever uttering a word of complaint, but only said, "I deserve the pain; it comes upon me justly because of the multitude of my sins." If perchance a word of despondency had escaped his lips, he at once made the sign of the cross against the miscreant demon, and said, "Away from me, thou wicked one! Perdition to thee and thy machinations against Christians."[2]

A civilization that combines respect for intelligence with loyalty to dogmatic standards, asceticism with respect for the family, chastity with subtlety and patience, ought not to be

[1] *Alexiad*, xiv, c. 4. [2] *Ibid.*

dismissed as mean or decadent. Nor is it just to say that Byzantine culture was arrested in its development by a dead weight of administrative machinery,[1] for it reached maturity long before the corresponding Christian civilization of the Western Middle Ages. Byzantium was old when the West was still young, but it had as long a course in history, and perished by violence in the first stages of decay;[2] while Western mediævalism died naturally within a millennium, a short space for a civilization. A modern critic finds in Byzantine art "one of the most deeply moving manifestations of the human spirit,"[3] the one point at which East and West really meet. To the present writer Byzantium offers a proof of the possibility of continuity, that a new life is possible without a descent into darkness and disorder. In one corner of the earth at least a Christian culture was born within an empire, and this may be so again.

No one would claim that Byzantine civilization is the only Christian one. For us in the West it is not on the line of our own ancestry. We can learn from it only as we learn from more exotic cultures, Indian, Malayan and Chinese. Englishmen will never decorate their churches with mosaics, or talk metaphysical theology on the way home from the baths. They can learn from the plurality of Christian cultures that it is not necessary to be Latin in order to be Christian, and that it is necessary for every Christian civilization to grow a culture of its own.

[1] See A. J. Toynbee, *The Study of History, passim*, but especially vol. iv, Oxford, 1939, pp. 340-405.

[2] The quality of Byzantine art in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is very imperfectly illustrated by plates 4-8 in this book. M. Paul Muratoff in the introduction to his *Peinture Byzantine* endeavours to trace the course of an important artistic revival from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. The literary culture of the same period was by no means lacking in quality. Economic decline may be explained by the loss of granaries in Asia Minor and the rise of Italian, especially Venetian, sea-borne trade. But the Byzantine empire could still subsidize its allies in the reign of Manuel (1143-8). See *infra*, p. 183.

[3] Eric Newton, *European Painting and Sculpture*, London, 1941, p. 66.

# II

## HERESY AND CHURCH ORDER

TO the Byzantine Greek Orthodoxy meant not only right belief, but right worship and right reason. Heresy was idolatry and perversity of spirit, the worship of a false image of God, contrary to the whole wisdom transmitted in the Scriptures and in the definitions and traditions of the church. To ascertain the Orthodox answer to a question was never easy, for the hierarchy might speak with various voices. The tradition must be found through the consent of all the authorities, and ratified by the voice of the whole church, laity and clergy, bishops and the emperor. A general council was a normal way of discovering the voice of the church on an important issue, but general councils attended by many bishops might fail to commend themselves to the whole church as interpreters of the Holy Tradition. So the Arian councils of the fourth century fell to the ground despite their impressive numbers. The Second Council of Ephesus in 449 was regarded as the *Latrocinium*, the robber synod, outside Monophysite circles. The Iconoclast General Council of 754 was rejected by Rome and the Eastern Patriarchates, and in course of time by the church within the empire. No synod could finally determine Orthodoxy. The true doctrine would in the end be recognized by its harmony with the past, by its own intrinsic balance, and its place in the course of history. "If this thing be a counsel or work of men, it will be overthrown: but if it is of God, ye will not be able to overthrow them."[1]

This conception of Orthodoxy explains the provisional acceptance of imperial edicts on dogmatic matters. These were generally drawn up with the counsel and consent of the *synodos endemousa*, but the emperor himself was universally regarded as an officer of the church from the day when Constantine the Great was hailed as a thirteenth apostle. Gratitude to him for

[1] Acts v 38-9.

his gifts on the morrow of the persecutions may do something to explain the hold that the empire acquired over the organization of the church at the moment when she came to the surface, and ceased to be an illegal, though grudgingly tolerated society. But in the fourth and fifth centuries no government could have stood neutral in theological controversy.

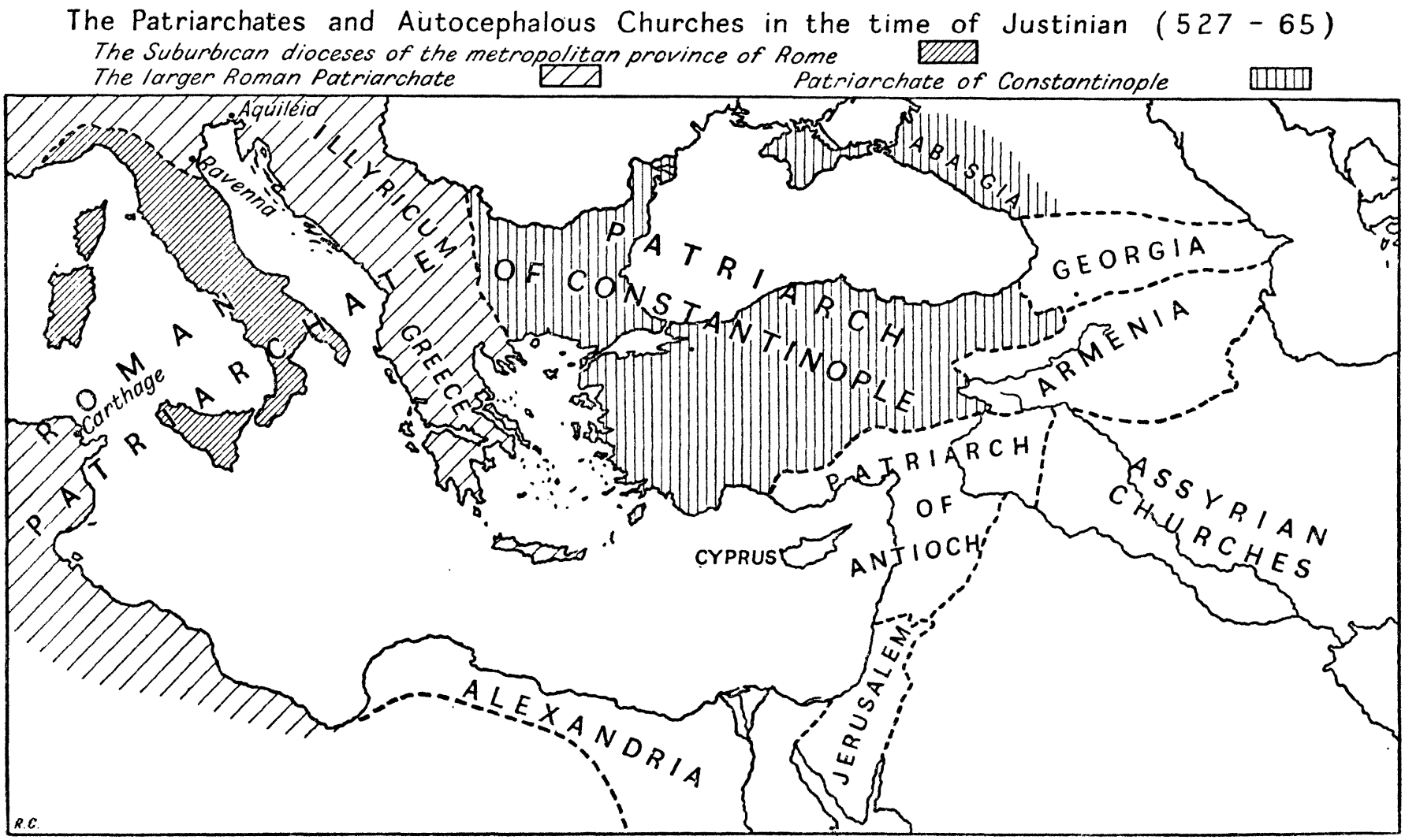
Theological excitement may be explained partly by the Greek passion for theory, which from the third century onwards played mostly on religious questions, and partly by the place of the church in civic society. The city councils never regained the prestige that they inevitably lost in the last days of the undivided Roman empire. In the third and fourth centuries they became almost entirely agents for the collection of taxes. Their members were bound to their houses and lands by the most stringent regulations; what had been an honour became a terrible burden. The *curiales* dragged out some kind of an existence until the sixth century, when their remaining powers were transferred to other councils,[1] but the centre of civic life left the curia for ever, and more and more came to reside in the Christian cathedral, where the bishop and his clergy dispensed charity, not only to their own flock. The membership of the clergy, the number and nature of the diocesan officers, and the choice of a bishop, all became matters of absorbing interest to the citizens who thronged the market-place. Party conflicts between groups in a city, or between the citizens and peasants in the surrounding country, might arise for many reasons, social, linguistic or economic, but they very easily took an ecclesiastical and theological colour. A bishop who was disliked as a Greek or a Syrian, a haughty aristocratic or a pushing plebeian, a friend of corn-merchants or a friend of peasants, would be denounced for some form of heterodoxy. By this I do not mean that heresy was merely a blind for social and economic conflicts. It would be much nearer the truth to say that it was in the detection of heresy that the Byzantines were interested. The rival theological doctrines, especially conflicting images of the perfected human nature of Christ, expressed distinct conceptions of the final destiny of man.[2]

[1] See A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City*, Oxford, 1940, pp. 209-10, 511.

[2] *Cf.* 1 Corinthians xv. 22: "So in Christ shall all be made alive"; and *infra*, pp. 42-3, 45-6.

Most Greek cities had a bishop before the conversion of Constantine to the Christian faith. In those days the individual diocese was necessarily autocephalous for all normal purposes. Bishops sometimes met in council, and the bishops of the chief sees had a certain authority, especially Rome, in southern Italy and Sicily, Alexandria in Egypt, and Antioch in "the hollow Syria." But there was nothing in the way of permanent organization over and above the diocese in most parts of the Roman world before the coming of the Christian empire. Ecclesiastical provinces were the first contribution of the Christian empire to the organization of the church. At the Council of Nicæa in 325 it was laid down that all bishops should be consecrated at the capital of the civil province in which their see was situated, except the bishops of Egypt, who were accustomed to resort to Alexandria; and those of the "suburbican" dioceses of southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. These formed the metropolitan province of Rome. The larger Patriarchates of Rome and Constantinople came into existence soon afterwards, when rules for "appeals to Rome" from all parts of the Western church were laid down at the Council of Sardica (343).[1] Rescripts from two Roman emperors, Gratian in 382 and Valentinian III in 445,[2] gave legal authority to Roman decisions. The First Council of Constantinople in 381 assigned to the church in the new capital "equal rights of seniority" with the elder Rome; and an imperial law of 421[3] gave to its archbishop authority to judge disputes in the large civil "dioceses" of Thrace, Pontus, and Asia in the Prefecture of the East, and in the whole of the Prefecture of Illyricum (Greece and "Dacia," the modern Albania and Serbia). But the boundaries of the Patriarchate of Constantinople at the time of the Council of Chalcedon (451)[4] were limited to the Eastern "dioceses" of Pontus, Asia and Thrace. Illyricum, which was disputed between the Eastern and Western halves of the empire, was assigned to the Patriarchate of Rome. Nevertheless, the church of Rome objected to this twenty-eighth

[1] H. Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, Oxford, 1943, p. 112.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 32-3.
[3] *Codex Justinianus*, i, 2, 6; *C.J.C.*, ii, p. 12; J. B. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, vol. i (1923), p. 64, citing *Codex Theodosianus*, xvi, 2, 45.
[4] Bettenson, pp. 116-7.




THE FIVE PATRIARCHATES

canon of Chalcedon,[1] partly because the Patriarch of Constantinople was given so large a Patriarchate, at the expense of the "Exarchs" of Asia and Pontus, at Ephesus and Trebizond, to whom the like authority had been assigned in 381; but even more because of the implications latent in the grounds given for setting Constantinople on an equality with Rome. The council said that "the Fathers gave privileges to the throne of Old Rome with good reason, because it was the imperial city." Therefore the new capital might claim "the like rights of seniority." The church of Rome, on the other hand, claimed seniority as the see of St. Peter and St. Paul, the shrine of the Apostles and martyrs.

The Roman church was still a revolutionary minority in a largely pagan city. The Christian empire was never firmly established in the Western provinces, for pagan opposition in the "city" *par excellence*, as well as in remote country districts in Africa and Gaul, was still strong when the empire tottered to its fall. The prestige of the church grew with the decline of the empire. St. Leo, the first Pope to play a great part in politics, saw the Vandal sack of the city in 455. The rescripts of Gratian and Valentinian never had an important place in the Roman tradition, though they are the historical foundation upon which later Romans reared the fabulous *Donation of Constantine*.[2]

Constantinople, on the other hand, was refounded by Constantine the Great in 330 to be the capital of the Christian empire. Though pagan shrines were plundered to set up their monuments there, it had no new pagan temples of its own. The historical associations of the city were Christian, but Christian of the fourth century. The see had no claim to apostolic foundation, nor any connection with the martyrs. The many relics which soon appeared there came from elsewhere. But it was the city of the councils, the capital of the contemporary Christian world.

This difference between Constantinople and Rome underlies and explains other differences between East and West. The Western church was still surrounded by a pagan society in the

[1] See C. J. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, French trans. by Dom H. Leclerq, vol. ii, pt. ii, Paris, 1907, pp. 815-26.

[2] Bettenson, pp. 135-40; *infra*, p. 116.

fourth century, and by a semi-pagan society in the fifth. Western paganism was popular, unsophisticated and superstitious. For most people it was still a matter of demi-gods and demons. The Latin church therefore insisted on the unity of God, and resisted every tendency in Greek theology that might possibly lead men and women to regard Christ as some kind of a semi-divine, super-human person, neither man nor God. The Latins were intensely hostile to all forms of Arianism or semi-Arianism before and after the Council of Nicæa. They stuck to their own traditional formula, that Christ is consubstantial, of one substance, *una substantia*, with the Father. The Greeks, on the other hand, were more familiar with an abstract kind of philosophic paganism, the monotheism or monism of the Neo-Platonists. They thought that it was at least equally important to affirm the real, distinct personality of the Son and the Holy Ghost, who have come down from heaven and done particular works in the world. The Latins were ready to condemn the cruder and more absurd forms of Sabellianism, the heresy that reduces the Son and the Spirit to mere forms or facets of the Father. They did not easily scent danger in the doctrine of Marcellus of Ancyra, who seemed Sabellian to the Greeks. At the Council of Ephesus in 431 the Roman church agreed with the church of Alexandria that God "was born," as against the heresy of Nestorius. But for a long time Latins showed, by their very careful qualifications, a great reluctance to say that "God died."[1]

Among the Egyptians and some of the Syrians the emphasis was almost exactly opposite. The nature of God was to them a dark mystery that might well be left in the dark. Salvation was a present necessity, and their traditions led them to seek salvation through physical union with a dying and rising God. Christ was a far more real and intimate God than Adonis or Osiris, since He had walked upon their hills and beside their streams, and they themselves might go on a pilgrimage to the land where He had lived and died. Still He was first and foremost a saviour-God, a means to reunion with the earth in the spring festival. Their religious ideas led them to look forward

[1] For instance, in the *Tome* of St. Leo (449); Kidd, *Documents*, ii, 209; T. H. Bindley, *Œcumenical Documents of the Faith*, London, 1925, pp. 187-215; Bettenson, pp. 70-2. *Cf* also *infra*, pp. 57-60.

to the transfiguration of the body into something wholly impalpable, utterly absorbed in God. This process seemed to them to be beginning in the bodies of some of their own ascetics, who lived in complete detachment from ordinary human necessities in the desert or on pillars. The nearer they could get to such an absorption in the stream of deity the better it would be for them. Surely then Christ's human body must be lost in God as a drop of oil or fresh water is lost in the sea.

St. Athanasius, the first great Egyptian Patriarch of Alexandria, taught how "God became man that man might become God." In Christ our human nature is made one with the Word of God; with the Logos or plan behind the world; with the order of nature, winter and spring, summer and autumn. Our alienation from this order is abolished when we enter into all the benefits which He has won for us, and especially when we are united to Him in the life-giving sacrament of His body and blood. The Incarnation is the atonement, and the atonement can only be complete if the Incarnation is complete, if the union of the two natures is actual. According to St. Cyril of Alexandria, the second great Patriarch of the Alexandrian church, who died in 444, "One is the enfleshed nature of the Word."[1] He never denied that Jesus Christ was human as well as divine; but he insisted so strongly on the union of the two natures that his teaching might seem to imperil the truth that Christ remains man, even in His ascended body. To St. Cyril and his followers the idea of a "heavenly man," "exalted above the heavens," yet still distinct from the Word of God, was something of a monstrosity.

This was a favourite idea of the rival school of Antioch, which preserved in the East something of the humanism of the Greek tradition, and combined it with a special devotion to the literal and historical interpretation of the Bible, to the scenes and acts of our Lord's life, and to the human character of His decisions. This school was stronger in Syria and Palestine than anywhere else in the East. Its real father and founder was Theodore of Mopsuestia, a very able exponent of the literal meaning of Scripture, critical of the mystical interpretations which were favoured at Alexandria. He was a Cilician bishop, who died in 428. The most notorious representative of the

[1] μία ψύσις του λόγου σεσαρκωμένη.

school was the Patriarch of Constantinople, Nestorius, who was deposed at the First Council of Ephesus in 431, because he raised a scandal in his own city by preaching that Mary cannot be called the Mother of God, nor can the Word of God be called three months old; since all the human actions and sufferings of the Word should be ascribed, not to the Word Himself, but to the Son of Man in whom He tabernacled.

This teaching was condemned at Egypt and at Rome, and in its more extreme forms almost everywhere. In 433 the Syrian followers of the school of Antioch, led by Theodoret of Cyrrhus, agreed with St. Cyril of Alexandria in a formula of peace. They all confessed that the Word of God "united with Himself from the very moment of conception the temple which He took"[1] from the Virgin Mary. Mary might rightly be called "Mother of God," and Nestorius had been justifiably condemned. The conflict flared up again after St. Cyril's death in 444, when a more headstrong Patriarch, Dioscorus, came to the throne of Alexandria. In 449 the Patriarch of Constantinople was attacked for his treatment of Eutyches, a Byzantine archimandrite, who seemed to him to have gone too far in the opposite direction from Nestorius, since he denied that Christ's human nature was of the same substance as our own. The Egyptians flocked to Ephesus in the train of their Patriarch, and there (as they thought) renewed the anti-Nestorian decisions of the First Council in 431. They excommunicated not only the Syrian followers of the school of Antioch, but the great Pope, St. Leo of Rome, who had written to the Patriarch of Constantinople a dogmatic letter, the *Tome* of Leo, which substantially supported him in his attitude to Eutyches. In the disorder at Ephesus the Patriarch was murdered.

The excesses of Dioscorus and the Egyptians produced a not unnatural reaction in Constantinople. Many Byzantines had disapproved the methods of St. Cyril in 431, at the time of his attack on Nestorius. They were too reminiscent of similar methods that had been used by an earlier Patriarch of Alexandria, an uncle of St. Cyril, against the great Byzantine preacher St. John Chrysostom. Dioscorus carried violence even further; and his theology was extreme in that he and his Second Council of Ephesus committed themselves, most un-

[1] Bindley, pp. 143-59; and Bettenson, pp. 65-6.

wisely, to the defence of Eutyches, a muddle-headed person, who said that there were "two natures in Christ before their union, one afterwards." It is more than likely that he himself did not know what he meant. The Egyptian attack on St. Leo of Rome was also unpopular. When in the next year, 450, the Emperor Theodosius died, and his sister, the Princess Pulcheria, raised to the throne a Macedonian soldier, Marcian, from the Latin-speaking province of Illyricum, public opinion in the capital was ready to support a change of policy, a reconciliation with the Pope and the Western empire, and an alliance of the old and the new Rome against Egypt. But the Byzantines were not prepared to accept the *Tome* of St. Leo as the only authoritative settlement of the controversy. The Emperor Marcian insisted that the Roman church should send representatives to a new council at Chalcedon in 451.

At Chalcedon the *Tome* was approved, and a new definition of doctrine was framed.[1] This contained the controversial expression "in two natures," which was in line with the traditions of Latin theology. In the West theologians had long insisted that Christ was perfect God and perfect man "without any confusion." In the East the idea of two natures in Christ was associated with Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius, whose friends and followers in Syria and Palestine were restored to their bishoprics by the Council of Chalcedon, though Nestorius himself was condemned by name. The ex-Patriarch in his distant exile heard and approved the Chalcedonian decisions. He would not write a letter to the Pope, lest this should cause him acute embarrassment:

> that I might not hinder from his running him who was running fairly because of the prejudice against my person.[2]

But he saw in the definition of Chalcedon the victory of his own theology.

Others shared the same impression, that there could be no harmony between St. Cyril's "one enfleshed nature of the Word" and St. Leo's "in two natures." Nevertheless, the Byzantines struggled to remain loyal to both. The idea of

[1] Kidd, *Documents*, ii, 214; Bindley, pp. 217-43; Bettenson, p. 73.

[2] *The Bazaar of Heracleides*, ed. by G. R. Driver and L. Hodgson, Oxford, 1925, p. 378.

deification as it was developed by St. Athanasius and St. Cyril continued to be central to their theology. It is the very foundation of Byzantine mystical piety as it is found, for instance, in the writings of St. Simeon, the new theologian, in the tenth century.[1] But between Byzantium and Egypt there was a difference of emphasis that is best illustrated in Byzantine icons of Christ and the saints. The Byzantines did not desire to disappear into the abyss of mystery, but to grow in God and with God into a richer, fuller and more completely personal life. They knew that the redemption of the body is not to be transformed into spirit, but to be "made like unto His glorious body, according to the working whereby He is able to subdue all things unto Himself."[2]

The more extreme Monophysites in Egypt and parts of Syria taught that the flesh of Christ had become incorruptible, so that He suffered only in appearance, even before His resurrection. Others allowed that He really suffered, but maintained that each separate suffering was a miracle, an act of condescension to the low state of humanity, for the God-Man could not be subject to necessity. These were the extreme and moderate *Aphthartodocetæ* or Julianists, called after their leader, Julian of Halicarnassus. Most Monophysites were more cautious, and in condemning Julianism moved into positions[3] not easily distinguishable from Chalcedonianism. They would not say "in two natures," but they could say "two ousiæ," or kinds of being, since they insisted that Christ was of one substance with the Father and with us. The real difference between them and the Orthodox was not about the reality of His human nature, but about its permanence. The obstinate persistence of disagreement on this matter reveals the real centre of the controversy.

The real quarrel was about the perfection of human nature. If Christ's manhood is made of one nature with God, then it is the final destiny of humanity to become divine, and in so doing to cease from being human. If, on the contrary, the flesh of Christ, though deified, remains human within divinity, the man in perfect obedience to God will be perfect man. The

[1] See J. M. Hussey, *Ch. and Learning*, p. 223.
[2] Philippians iii. 21.
[3] See especially J. Lebon, *Le Monophysisme Severien*, Louvain, 1909.

struggle against Monophysitism was a battle for Christian humanism.

As we shall see, the battle in the East was much confused with other issues, social, political and national. Still both sides had the same concerns. Both were intensely interested in the deification of humanity, though different groups conceived deification in a variety of ways. On the Chalcedonian side the descendants of the school of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who remained influential at Edessa until 489, and after that continued to control the church in Persia and farther east, thought primarily in terms of the exaltation of the Son of Man to the right hand of God. Others in Constantinople, Thrace, and Syria were much nearer in spirit to the Egyptians.

The West was not deeply stirred, because the deification of man had never yet become part of her theology. To the Latins Monophysitism was simply a heresy, a rebellion against the traditional teaching of the *Tome* of St. Leo. Because the *Tome* was directed to the particular case of Eutyches, who had been so rashly defended by Dioscorus and the Second Council of Ephesus, they were inclined to class all Monophysites as Eutychians. They were too far away to discriminate between those who were near to Chalcedon and *Aphthartodocetæ* whose doctrine approached the very old Gnostic heresies condemned in the First Epistle of St. John.

Monophysites, on the other hand, classed all Chalcedonians as Nestorians. They had some justification, since Nestorius as well as Theodoret approved Chalcedon. Moreover, the Latins had a blind eye for some of the errors of the school of Antioch, as in the Arian controversy they missed the objections to the Sabellianism of Marcellus of Ancyra. Nestorius was condemned because he could not say that God was born. For a long time the Roman church feared to say "One of the Trinity suffered in the flesh." Even after a Pope did assent to this formula,[1] "Theopaschites" are apt to appear in Western lists of heretics.[2]

[1] *Infra*, p. 60.

[2] *E.g.*, in PL 143, c. 950, in the crisis of 1054.

# III

## ALEXANDRIA, CONSTANTINOPLE, AND ROME

MONOPHYSITES were chiefly found in Egypt and Armenia, and in the inland parts of Syria, Asia Minor and Illyricum. In all these regions there was some tension between the Greek cities founded after the conquests of Alexander the Great, and other cities, towns and country villages that had retained or regained their own languages and customs. The Christian church had spanned this gulf more successfully than any pagan cultural agency. Sir William Ramsay brings evidence[1] from inscriptions to show that in Lycaonia and Isauria Christianity and the Greek language grew together. But it was no part of the church's business to spread Hellenism, and in Egypt and Armenia, as well as in Syria and Palestine, the language of the people in the villages was used in Christian worship from the very first. In Alexandria and in Syria the same diocese contained churches where the liturgy was celebrated in two or three languages. In Armenia, which was an independent Christian kingdom until it was annexed to the Persian empire in 428, colonies of Greek and Syrian Christians had bishops of their own.[2] The Syrian Christians in Armenia belonged to the church of Persian Mesopotamia, whose teachers came from the school of the Persians at Edessa, and followed the doctrine of Theodore of Mopsuestia; while the national church of Armenia was open to the influence of the extremer forms of Monophysitism. In the Armenian kingdom, therefore, rival theological tendencies were already represented by distinct churches before the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon; but the fissures were national as well as theological.

In Egypt the social cleavage was older and more bitter, for the ancient pattern of social life had continued in its accustomed channels since the days of the Pharaohs, mastered, but

[1] In *Luke the Physician*, London, 1908, p. 164, with references to other works.

[2] See the references cited in F. Dvornik, *National Churches and the Church Universal*, London, 1944, pp. 14-5.

little influenced, by the Greek and cosmopolitan culture of the great port and university city of Alexandria.[1] The rise and fall of the Nile determined the system of irrigation, and made the establishment of the autonomous Greek city impossible. Alexandria was not a city in the Greek sense, but rather quarters for government officials and commercial magnates, who exploited the countryside in the interests of the empire as a whole. The *fellahin* had no means of resistance except the "anachoresis,"[2] the flight to the desert, where they met other anchorites, Christian hermits who did not live by robbery, and need not return to their masters for fear of starvation; for they had learnt to support a life of contemplation on the pittance provided by the desert itself. Naturally these hermits[3] became heroes. As hermitages gave place to communities which lived a common life, manufactured baskets, and even planted gardens in the desert, and *parabolani* or hospital monks performed corporal works of mercy in the poorer quarters of Alexandria, popular support for Christian asceticism increased. In his conflicts with the government at the time of the Arian controversy St. Athanasius was able to rely on the enthusiastic sympathy of rural Egypt, where the hermits and the *fellahin* hid him from his enemies, the Arian Greek officials in the government offices at Alexandria. The stubborn loyalty of the Egyptians to their own gods and temples, that had so long presented an unyielding front to Greek penetration, transferred itself to the new religion in the person of the Patriarch of Alexandria, who became to Egypt as Pharaoh.

The same loyalty that was given to St. Athanasius was retained by St. Cyril and Dioscorus. The Council of Chalcedon had few defenders outside the Greek quarter of Alexandria and the region of Tanis, Egypt's Ulster, renowned for its obstinate loyalty to the memory of the Hyksos or "Shepherd Kings."[4] In 457, when the Emperor Marcian died, the Egyp-

[1] See M. J. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 253-74.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 437.

[3] See especially the life of St. Antony, translated by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, in *The Paradise of the Fathers*, vol. i, Oxford, 1907, pp. 1-73. The Greek text, ascribed to St. Athanasius, is in PG 26, c. 835-975.

[4] According to W. A. Wigram, *The Separation of the Monophysites*, London, 1923, p. 41, Tanis still remains obstinately Chalcedonian.

tians rose and murdered the Chalcedonian Patriarch. They elected a successor to Dioscorus, one Timothy Ælurus.[1] The new emperor consulted the bishops of the empire, who all replied that this election must be treated as void, though some[2] recommended a revision of the decisions of Chalcedon.

The government therefore arrested Timothy Ælurus, and confined him at Cherson, on the north coast of the Black Sea. The new Patriarch of Alexandria, who was also called Timothy, did his best to conciliate the Monophysites by commemorating Dioscorus in the diptychs or intercessions with all the previous Patriarchs. St. Leo of Rome wrote a letter of explanation, the so-called *Second Tome*,[3] in which he took care to quote St. Cyril at length and avoid the expression "in two natures." The Egyptians remained obstinate in their loyalty to their own choice. They would not communicate with the new Patriarch, who in their view was in communion with Chalcedonians in Rome, Palestine and Edessa who were practically Nestorian. As their leaders were monks and hermits who would have welcomed enthusiastically any physical form of martrydom, the government and church authorities could do very little against them.

After a time the battle spread to Armenia, Mesopotamia and Syria, where the Monophysites found a leader in Peter the Fuller, who added to the traditional *Trisagion*, "Holy God, Holy and Almighty, Holy and Immortal, have mercy upon us," the words "Who was crucified for us." The old and new forms became watchwords of the rival schools of Edessa and Alexandria, for while the followers of Theodore of Mopsuestia still hesitated to say "God was born," the Monophysites reiterated, "God died."

In 475-7 the struggle came to a head during a civil war between two claimants to the imperial throne. Basiliscus sought to conciliate the Monophysites by recognizing Peter the Fuller as Patriarch of Antioch and Timothy Ælurus as Patriarch of

[1] The weasel, or perhaps the cat.

[2] See L. Duchesne, *The Early History of the Christian Church*, Eng. trans., vol. iii, London, 1924, pp. 334-5. The objectors were the Metropolitans of Side and Perga, with their comprovincial bishops. Both these provinces are in Pamphylia, southern Asia Minor.

[3] Epistle 165 in PL 54, c. 1155-90.

Alexandria. He gave them an *Encyclical* letter[1] in support of their views, which were imposed on all the churches by his imperial decree. The other claimant, Zeno, won the support of the Patriarch Acacius of Constantinople, whose authority was threatened when Timothy Ælurus held a council at Ephesus[2] and restored the autonomy of the Exarchate of Asia, assigned by the Council of Chalcedon to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Basiliscus soon found that he had underestimated the strength of Greek sentiment in favour of the Chalcedonian definition. Popular feeling in the capital manifested itself in demonstrations, during which St. Daniel the stylite descended from his pillar to defend the threatened faith. Basiliscus capitulated, and issued an *Anti-encyclical*[3] in direct contradiction to his previous measures, but it was too late. In September, 476, Zeno entered Constantinople in triumph.

It was another matter to impose the Council of Chalcedon on Antioch and Alexandria. Peter the Fuller was arrested, but Timothy Ælurus was allowed to die in peace. The Monophysites found him a successor in a certain Peter Mongus (the "stammerer"), who remained at large in the desert, sheltered by the *fellahin* and the hermits, like another Athanasius; while in Alexandria the Chalcedonian Timothy presided over empty churches, for only Greeks and officials would come. When he died in 482 his party gave him a successor in a monk of Tanis, John Talaia; but the government and the Patriarch of Constantinople gave up the battle, and offered to Peter Mongus an *Henoticon* or formula of union.[4] In this they confessed that Christ is "one and not two," gave special authority to the twelve "chapters"[5] which St. Cyril, "of holy memory," had written in 430 against Nestorius, and condemned any contrary doctrine that might have been taught, "whether at Chalcedon or in any synod whatever." Peter Mongus accepted these terms, to the distress of some of his followers, who would be satisfied with nothing less than an open anathema upon Chalcedon and the *Tome*. A year later Peter the Fuller also

[1] In Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, bk. iii, c. 4.
[2] See L. Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church*, iii, p. 339.
[3] Evagrius, *H.E.*, bk. iii, c. 7.
[4] Kidd, *Documents*, ii, 235; also *ibid.*, iii (1941), 3; Bettenson, pp. 123-6.
[5] Bindley, pp. 143-59, and Bettenson, pp. 65-6.

accepted them, and returned to the see of Antioch. The Syrian supporters of the tradition of Theodore of Mopsuestia withdrew across the frontier from Edessa to Nisibis in 489. They had a rival formula,[1] drawn up in 486 at the Council of Seleucia, but they did not at this time deny the orthodoxy of the Byzantine church.

The *Henoticon* condemned no one but Nestorius and Eutyches. It exalted a controversial letter of St. Cyril, and did not mention the *Tome* of St. Leo. This silence did not commend it to Egypt, where the *Acephali* or "headless party" broke off communion with Peter Mongus because he would not explicitly condemn those who approved the Council of Chalcedon. At Rome resentment was more serious. Though Roman legates came to Constantinople in 483, and consented to appear at a liturgy in St. Sophia, where the name of Peter Mongus was read in the diptychs, in July, 484, Pope Felix III excommunicated them for their compliance. He went further, and deposed the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The church of Rome derived her information about Eastern affairs partly from John Talaia, who claimed to be the lawfully elected Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria; and partly from the *Acoimeti* or "sleepless monks," who preserved in Constantinople the traditions of the school of Antioch. Felix III and Gelasius (492-6) maintained an attitude of unyielding protest towards those who tampered with the *Tome* of St. Leo. The government could do very little about it, for their power in Italy was limited. The real rulers of the country were two German Masters of the Soldiers, Odovacer, and Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths (493-526). Theodoric ruled Italy in the name of Anastasius, who reigned in the East from 491 to 518. He preserved the Roman methods of government, and collaborated with the Senate and the Roman church, though he himself was an Arian. Most Christians of his race had received their religion from an Arian missionary called Ulphilas, who gave them their Gothic liturgy and Gothic Bible in the middle of the fourth century. Theodoric himself wished to be on good terms with the court of Constantinople, and he almost certainly favoured overtures for religious peace that were made

[1] Kidd, *Documents*, ii, 236; J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire Perse*, Paris, 1904, pp. 147-8, 262-3.

by Pope Anastasius II in 498 to the Patriarch Macedonius. But it was obviously not in his interest to alienate any strong party in Italy in order to restore harmony between Constantinople and Rome. On the contrary, he had something to gain by continued discord, that would cause Roman Christians to prefer the rule of an Arian king to the reunion of the Western provinces with the Roman empire under a Monophysite emperor.

Between the senators and the king of the Ostrogoths the clergy held the balance of political power. It is significant that at this moment Pope Gelasius developed, in a letter to the Emperor Anastasius in 494, the theory of two distinct and independent spheres of church and state.[1] This theory corresponded to the actual condition of things in Italy, where an Arian military commander and senators whose traditions were still those of philosophic paganism, though most of them were now personally Catholics, allowed the church of Rome to develop on its own lines, and to exercise considerable authority over all other Catholic churches of Italy. The independence of the Roman church was tested by the crisis that followed the death of Pope Anastasius II in 498. Before his death a considerable party had withdrawn from his communion, in the belief that he was wavering in his resistance to the *Henoticon*.[2] It seems that though his legates in Constantinople insisted that the name of Acacius must be removed from the diptychs, they were more tolerant of subsequent Patriarchs whose personal sympathies were Chalcedonian. They were attacked by the *Acoimeti*, and by their special friends in Rome, who elected Symmachus to succeed the "heretical"[3] Anastasius II, while the majority of the senators, and others of the party of peace, chose the archpriest Laurentius. Theodoric decided in favour of Symmachus, and at first it seemed that this would be decisive; Laurentius himself gave way. But some headstrong acts of Symmachus and his party led in their turn to renewed strife, which lasted at least until the election of Pope Hormisdas in 514. In 507 Theodoric again intervened in favour of Symmachus, and assigned the churches to his party, but for some

[1] Kidd, *Documents*, iii, 4.
[2] See L. Duchesne, *L'église au sixième siècle*, Paris, 1925, pp. 14-6, 113-28.
[3] Dante placed him in hell, *Inferno*, xi, 8-9.

time at the beginning of the sixth century he stood aside and let events take their own course.

This controversy produced a fertile crop of propaganda, relevant to our purpose in so far as it was one of the principal objects of the Symmachian party to justify the sentence of Felix III in the matter of Acacius, where he might seem to have exceeded his powers in deposing another Patriarch unheard. It was also important to insist that the Pope is "judged of none." Neither the Emperor Anastasius, nor King Theodoric, nor the senate, nor any synod of bishops could pronounce a verdict on the claims of Symmachus, or on his behaviour during the controversy. To sustain these theses, a copious supply of records were either enlarged from very slender materials, or quite simply fabricated.[1] No doubt the chief object of the forgers was to impress Theodoric and his Ostrogoths. This Symmachian literature includes the *Vita Silvestri*, an important source of the later *Donation of Constantine*. This contains in germ the theory of the universal episcopacy of Rome, that the Pope was to the other Patriarchs and to the bishops as the emperor was to the Prætorian Prefects, provincial governors and local authorities. Evidently this was primarily intended to defend the deposition of Acacius.

The same Symmachian party were theologically extreme in their hostility to Monophysitism. They never quote any writings of St. Cyril[2] except those that were included in the acts of the First Council of Ephesus, where Rome and Alexandria combined to condemn Nestorius. In Rome, after the death of St. Leo, St. Cyril was regarded as a semi-Monophysite. In this we can see the influence of John Talaia and the Alexandrian Chalcedonians, and also of the *Acoimeti*, who revered Theodore of Mopsuestia. While these influences gained ground in Italy at the expense of Laurentius and his friends, who were in communion with Macedonius of Constantinople, the pure Monophysites gained ground in the East, where they had much influence with the emperor. In 511 Macedonius was exiled, and replaced by a Monophysite. In 512 Severus, the ablest of the moderate Monophysite leaders, replaced a Chalcedonian

[1] See L. Duchesne's introduction to his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. i, Paris, 1886, pp. cii-cxl; *VIème siècle*, p. 124.

[2] *VIème siècle*, p. 59.

follower of the *Henoticon* on the throne of the Patriarchate of Antioch. Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria, all the key positions in the East, were in the hands of bishops personally hostile to the decisions of Chalcedon. In Egypt they were openly anathematized for the satisfaction of the *Acephali*, though it seems that not all were contented. Some believed that the Patriarch of Alexandria was in communion with Greeks who were tainted with the heresy of Chalcedon, and so with the errors of Nestorius.

So from both sides the *Henoticon* was undermined: by those who believed that it was Monophysite, and by those who considered it a feeble compromise with the "Nestorianism" of the Chalcedonian definition and the *Tome*. In Constantinople itself Chalcedonian sympathies revealed themselves in the Blue faction, who demonstrated at the games against the Emperor Anastasius. In Thrace and Illyricum, where Latin was spoken, the bishops made their own terms with Rome. Pope Hormisdas offered them a formula,[1] the so-called creed of Hormisdas, containing the famous sentence, "The Catholic faith is always kept inviolate in the Apostolic see." They had to remove from their diptychs not only Acacius, but all the subsequent Patriarchs of Constantinople, including Macedonius. This was the real obstacle to peace negotiations, which were again attempted in 515, for in Constantinople Macedonius was the saint of the Chalcedonian party. In Rome he was associated with Laurentius and Pope Anastasius II.

In 518 an Illyrian from Macedonia mounted the throne of the Byzantine empire. Justin had risen from the ranks, and was almost illiterate, but he was well served by his nephew Justinian, who had received an excellent education in Roman law and Latin theology. Their first acts were those of partisans of Latin influence in the East. Henceforth the Latin provinces, so long abandoned to the invasions of Vandals, Goths, Franks and Huns, were to receive their share of attention from the government at Constantinople.

Immediately after the succession of Justin the congregation in St. Sophia clamoured for the proclamation of four councils, including Chalcedon, and the restoration of the names of Macedonius and Pope St. Leo to the diptychs. Severus

[1] Kidd, *Documents*, iii, 8.

could no longer be commemorated, and the Patriarch John was pressed to send his "systatic letter" to Rome, but the place given to Macedonius and his predecessor Euphemius in the popular demands shows that the formula of Hormisdas was not quite what was wanted in Constantinople. Eventually, under the influence of Justin and Justinian the names of all the Patriarchs since Acacius were removed from the diptychs at St. Sophia for the time being. The Patriarch John smoothed things over with an open letter, in which he declared that the old and the new Rome were now at one, and "one Apostolic see."[1]

For a brief time in Constantinople and in Syria the old theology of Antioch had a new lease of life. The *Acoimeti* were powerful in the capital. At Cyrrhos, the see of Theodoret, the memory of Nestorius was revived.[2] In Egypt, on the other hand, it was so clearly impossible to shake the supremacy of the Monophysite party that, despite some Roman protests, nothing was attempted. The *Henoticon* remained in force, and Monophysite Patriarchs continued to be recognized not only by the government, but by the Alexandrians and the men of Tanis, whose sympathies were Chalcedonian, until 536. Many Monophysite bishops from Syria took refuge in the Patriarchate of Alexandria, where they carried on vigorous controversies among themselves on points of theology, after the manner of exiles. It was at this time that the cleavage developed between Julian of Halicarnassus, the leader of the *Aphthartodocetæ*, and Severus of Antioch, whose theology could not easily be distinguished from the Chalcedonian definition, as it was interpreted by those who wished to reconcile St. Leo with St. Cyril.

The position in 518-36 resembled the *Henoticon* in reverse, for while before 518 all the four Eastern Patriarchs were in communion with one another and not with Rome, now four of the five Patriarchs were in communion with one another and not with Alexandria. It does not therefore follow that all individuals who went to Egypt refused the communion of the church, or that all Egyptians were refused communion at

[1] PL 63, c. 444 (in Latin); for a later Byzantine view of this affair see Photius in PG 104, c. 1219-22.

[2] *VIème siècle*, p. 68.

Jerusalem or Constantinople. These schisms had not the same rigidity as modern denominational differences. Western pilgrims who came to Jerusalem at the time of the *Henoticon* seem to have communicated with the Patriarchs, whose sympathies were Chalcedonian. So did Persians and Armenians, who at home might be semi-Nestorians or advanced Monophysites.[1] Only the extreme *Acephali* and the most ardent Symmachians and *Acoimeti* refused communion for opposite reasons to all who were tainted with the *Henoticon*. In the eyes of Orthodox Eastern Christians most Monophysites were not heretics but *diacrinomenoi*, "distinguishers." They were ready to condemn Eutyches and Julian of Halicarnassus as well as Nestorius, but they drew a distinction between St. Cyril and St. Leo. It was the vocation of the church of Constantinople to make a further attempt to reconcile the apparent contradictions in the teaching of these Fathers, both of whom were equally authoritative for her. The *Henoticon* had failed, but it was scarcely buried when monks from Scythia began to agitate for another formula, not very far removed from it.

[1] Light on the situation in Palestine can be found in a life of St. Sabbas by Cyril of Scythopolis (c. 557) in Cotelier, *Ecclesiæ Græciæ Monumenta*, iii, Paris, 1686, pp. 220-376, cited extensively in Fleury, *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, vol. vii, Paris, 1727, bks. 30-32 *passim*.

# IV

## JUSTINIAN AND ALL THE CHURCHES

JUSTINIAN, who succeeded his uncle Justin in 527, and reigned until 565, was in many respects the most Roman of the Byzantine emperors. His *Code* and his *Digest* of Roman law have made his name familiar to every student of legal and constitutional history. He was probably[1] the only emperor between Theodosius I (377-95) and Manuel Comnenus (1143-80) to attempt the recovery of the Western provinces of the Roman empire. His success was more superficial than real, for the war of liberation that destroyed the kingdom of the Ostrogoths wrought more havoc in Italy than any of the earlier barbarian invasions, and prepared the way for the coming of the Lombards. As the emperor grew older an increasing interest in the administrative problems of the Eastern half of the empire made him more sensitive to Greek and Syrian opinion. Defensive wars against the Persians drew his attention away from his original plans in Italy and Spain, until at the end of his reign the Latin provinces of Italy, Pannonia and Illyricum were the most neglected. After his death they fell prey to new barbarian invasions.

The theological interests of Justinian show a similar evolution. In the reign of his uncle Justin he was a defender of Latin theology, and an ally of the *Acoimeti* against the monks from Scythia, who came to Constantinople in 518 and accused them of concealed Nestorianism. These Scythians, John Maxentius, Leontius and others, came from Tomi, a Greek city at the mouth of the Danube, where the language of the hinterland was Latin. They desired to reconcile St. Leo with St. Cyril in a new formula, "One of the Trinity suffered in the flesh." This was derived from the letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius, with the twelve anathemas, or "twelve chapters,"[2] honoured in the *Henoticon* in place of the *Tome*. The immediate source of the

[1] Constans (641-68) visited Rome and died at Syracuse, but his objects were probably defensive rather than offensive.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 50-1.

expression seems to have been a letter[1] of Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople, to the Armenians in 437, in the aftermath of the Nestorian controversy. Proclus had an unblemished reputation for Orthodoxy, but in the suspicious eyes of the *Acoimeti* and of the Roman legates, especially Dioscorus, a Chalcedonian exile from Alexandria, "One of the Trinity suffered in the flesh" seemed far too near Peter the Fuller's addition to the hymn *Trisagion*, "Holy God . . . who was crucified for us." Both expressions seemed equally inconsistent with the language of St. Leo's *Tome:*

> It belongs not to the same nature to . . . hang upon the cross, and changing light to darkness, to make all the elements tremble. . . . On account of the unity of the person . . . the Son of God is said to have suffered these things, not in the divine nature in which He is the only begotten of the Father . . . but in the weakness of human nature.

In 519 the Scythians themselves paid a visit to Rome, where Pope Hormisdas gave them a chilling reception, though some African theologians were more sympathetic. In 520 the Pope turned them out of the city and wrote a letter against them to a friend in Constantinople. But he hesitated to condemn them as heretics, for in their absence they had found a new friend in Justinian. His letter to the Pope in their defence marks the first beginning of an evolution that left him at the end of his life under a suspicion of Aphthartodocetism.

One cause of this evolution was his affection for Theodora, who became his wife at the very beginning of his reign, though they had been lovers in the reign of Justin. The personality of this remarkable woman reveals itself in clear outline through the mists of legend, gossip and caricature that in her own time gathered round her name. That she had a dubious past is probable enough, though no one seriously accused her of unfaithfulness to her husband after their marriage. On the contrary, she appears as a stern moralist, a staunch and bitter defender of neglected wives against their erring husbands, and a pioneer in preventive and rescue work; though Procopius, her most malignant detractor, says that she made the lives of

[1] PG 65, c. 856-73, *Acta conciliorum œcumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz, vol. iv, pt. ii, pp. 187-95.

her rescued prostitutes so miserable in the convent called Metanoia that "some of them threw themselves down from a height . . . and in this way escaped the compulsory change."[1]

Theodora also collected monks of Monophysite inclinations, who were always certain of a refuge and a welcome within the walls of her palaces. The discrepancy between her patronage of suspected heretics and her husband's orthodoxy puzzled contemporaries, and led Procopius to the conclusion that the two were in collusion, and pursued opposite policies to puzzle their adversaries; but he was not only an embittered critic, but at least half a pagan. Monophysite theologians, who in their correspondence with one another did not fear to criticize theological aberrations in their "divine empress," do not charge her with insincerity, though they realize that her success in protecting them depended on a very accurate knowledge of the exact limits of her power. She could give them sanctuary in her own quarters, and help them to establish churches and even monasteries in Constantinople, but in Syria she could not protect them from the vigilance of the Chalcedonian Patriarch of Antioch and the imperial police. Only within limits could she hope to modify the emperor's ecclesiastical policy.

Justinian and Theodora, though they differed in theology, had fundamentally the same aim: to reconcile the Chalcedonians and Monophysite parties in an overriding unity. Neither of them believed the other party to be heretical in the sense in which Arians or Eutychians were heretical. Both were anxious to avoid the establishment of another church, like the Montanist church in the highlands of Asia Minor, which preserved from the second to the eighth century the ancient heresy of the Paraclete. From this point of view it was most important to keep the Monophysite bishops where they could be under no temptation to perpetuate their hierarchy. Monasteries and individual priests were less dangerous, and were seldom molested except in districts where there might be reason to fear disturbance; but bishops who remained in Syria were hunted by the police. Many fled to Egypt or Armenia, or across the border into Persian Mesopotamia. Others found a sanctuary under the protection of Theodora, where they were

[1] Procopius, *Historia quæ dicitur Arcana*, ed. J. Haury, Leipzig, 1906, xvii, 5, pp. 105-6.

accessible to argument, in an atmosphere of comparative comfort, away from their fanatical followers in the Syrian and Egyptian deserts. Especially after 533 conversations between Orthodox and Monophysite theologians played an increasingly important part in Justinian's plans. They had some hope of success if Rome could be persuaded to recognize the authority of the "twelve chapters" of St. Cyril, and of the Scythian formula, "One of the Trinity suffered," which was included by Justinian in the definition of the orthodoxy in the second edition of his *Code*.[1]

In this sense another approach was made to Rome in 533-4 by two of the bishops who had played a part in the conversations between Chalcedonians and Monophysites in 533. This time Pope John II[2] admitted the orthodoxy of the formula, and condemned the *Acoimeti*, who had now gone so far as to object to the term *Theotokos*, Mother of God. They had in their antagonism to Monophysitism returned to the exact position occupied by Nestorius. This does something to explain the changed sympathies of Rome, but something too must be allowed for the effect of resumed relations between Rome and the East since 518. The visit of the Scythians had not been altogether useless. Their discussions with Latin theologians had led to the translation of Greek works into Latin, notably the "twelve chapters" of St. Cyril. The political situation had also changed since the time of Pope Hormisdas. Byzantine armies had already invaded North Africa, and the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, rent by internal dissensions since the death of Theodoric in 526, might well seem to be tottering to its fall. The authority of Justinian in the elder Rome was far greater in 534 than in 519.

In 536 Pope Agapetus came to Constantinople with authority from the Ostrogoths to negotiate for the surrender of their kingdom, or at least for its submission to the imperial protection. There he was drawn into negotiations which had already begun between Anthimus, a new Patriarch of Constantinople, translated from Trebizond the year before; Theodosius, the moderate Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria, whom the government

[1] *VIème siècle*, pp. 89-90; *Codex Justinianus*, i, c. i; *C.J.C.*, ii, pp. 8-11.

[2] See his letter to Cassiodorus and others in Schwartz, iv, pt. ii, pp. 206-10.

were supporting against the fierce opposition of the *Aphthartodocetæ*; and Severus, the ex-Patriarch of Antioch, who had lately been brought to Constantinople to take part in further theological conversations.[1]

Agapetus was warned in time by the Patriarch Ephrem of Antioch. As soon as he arrived in Constantinople he objected to the election of Anthimus on the ground that he was bishop of Trebizond, and that translations were not permitted. When Justinian insisted, he put the Patriarch through his theological paces, and exposed Monophysite sympathies. The emperor's Italian campaign was already under way, and meeting with unexpectedly stiff resistance in some places in the south. It was a bad time to quarrel with the Latin church, and Pope Agapetus won a resounding victory. He consecrated a new Patriarch of Constantinople in place of Anthimus, who took refuge with Theodora. The Pope was about to preside at a General Council of all the Patriarchates when he died suddenly in April, 536. The council was held under the Patriarch Menas, and as a result of its deliberations many of Theodora's Monophysites were removed from Constantinople to be interned at Dercos, thirty miles away. There they were joined soon afterwards by the Patriarch Theodosius of Alexandria. Justinian had at last decided to end the immunity of Egypt, and to impose a Chalcedonian Patriarch among the men of Tanis. Henceforth there were three Patriarchs of Alexandria: a Melkite or "king's man," followed only by the Syrians of Tanis and the Alexandrian Greeks; an Aphthartodocete, who at first had the most popular support; and Theodosius, the exiled Monophysite. Theodosius recovered in his exile the popular sympathy that he lost in 535-7, when he was in alliance with the police and the Chalcedonians against his extremist rival. Severus of Antioch, who was sent back to Egypt in 536, died there in 538. It was some years before the Monophysites in his Patriarchate could provide him with a successor.

Justinian and Theodora had not given up their plan for a general reconciliation. These now turned on an explanation of Chalcedon, to harmonize the *Tome* of St. Leo with the "twelve

[1] See their letters to one another in *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene*, Eng. trans. by F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks, London, 1899, pp. 271-95 (Monophysite account).

chapters" of St. Cyril. To this end it was necessary to find a Pope less aggressive than Agapetus. Theodora's candidate was the deacon Vigilius, who had been with him in Constantinople. When the news of the Pope's death reached Rome the Goths were still in possession, and they insisted on the election of Silverius, in whom they hoped to find an anti-Byzantine. He was a son of Pope Hormisdas, presumably born before his father reached the major orders. In this election we may see a revival of the intransigent Symmachians, displeased at the concessions made since 534 to the point of view of Anastasius II and Laurentius. A few months afterwards the Byzantines occupied Rome, and Silverius naturally came under some political suspicion. By the indirect influence of Theodora he was deposed for treason and interned in Lycia, while Vigilius was elected Pope in his place. Silverius found friends in the East, who persuaded Justinian to order an enquiry, but Vigilius and his friends had the ear of Theodora. Silverius was sent back to Rome, found guilty, and confined on the island of Palmaria, where he died of privation and hunger, if his end was not hastened by more violent means.[1]

Meanwhile Leontius of Byzantium and Theodore Ascidas, Archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, were working out a new Christology, intended to reconcile the moderate Monophysites with the rest of the church. The most important contribution of Leontius,[2] a monk who belonged to the laura of St. Sabbas in Palestine, not far from Jerusalem, was his idea of *enhypostasia*, or the hypostatic union. He insisted that the humanity of Christ had no separate *hypostasis* or centre of personal being distinct from the *hypostasis* of God the Word. It was not impersonal (ἀνυπόστατος), but inpersonal (ἐνυπόστατος), in that it found its own centre in the Word of God. All Christ's human actions, including birth, suffering and death, may therefore be ascribed to one *hypostasis* of the Word, though not to one nature. This doctrine was intended to restate St. Cyril's formula, "One enfleshed nature of the Word," in words which clearly conformed to the Chalce-

[1] *VIème siècle*, p. 154. The more sensational view is to be found, naturally, in the *Historia arcana*, i, 14, p. 7.

[2] See Kidd, *Documents*, iii, 20, summarizing PG 86, pt. i, c. 1275-7; and S. Rees in *Journal of Theological Studies*, xli, Oxford, 1940, pp. 263-80.

donian definition, "in two natures." It was not far removed from the doctrine of Severus,[1] who in his controversy with Julian and the *Aphthartodocetæ* had gone far towards admitting a duality in the one nature of Christ.

A storm naturally arose from the other side, especially from theologians in Syria and Palestine who still cherished the traditions of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Theodore's Christology was under a cloud, and could not easily be invoked, but it was still possible to appeal to his Biblical exegesis. They accused Theodore Ascidas and Leontius, not of Monophysitism, but of the heresy of Origenism. They were tainted with ideas about the ultimate fate of souls derived from the teaching of the great Alexandrian interpreter of Scripture, whose mystical speculations had been constantly abused since he lived and died in the third century.

Origen, in some of his writings, had taught the final absorption of all things in God, including the humanity of Christ and redeemed human souls. The same tendency was latent in the Monophysite idea of the absorption of the humanity of Christ in His deity. Some saw it in the Christology of Leontius. Ephrem, the Patriarch of Antioch, held a council in 542 against Origenists; Justinian in 543 published a long edict against them.[2] Theodore Ascidas and Leontius were ready to condemn particular propositions out of Origen, but they insisted that the emperor's anti-Origenist edict ought properly to be balanced by another against the opposite heresies, in Christology and exegesis, of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the master of literal interpretation.

This was no new demand, for at every conference between Monophysites and Chalcedonians someone had asked them for an anathema on Theodore, Theodoret and Ibas, three friends and counsellors of the heretical Nestorius. To condemn Theodore was not difficult, since most people in the East realized that he was the true author of the heresy called Nestorianism. But Theodoret and Ibas had been accepted as Orthodox at Chalcedon, and an attack on them could be regarded as a flank attack on the authority of the great council. Nevertheless Justinian in an edict in 544, in "Three

[1] See J. Lebon, *Le Monophysisme Severien, passim.*

[2] PG 86, pt. i, c. 945-89, quoted in Kidd, *Documents*, iii, 10.

Chapters,"[1] condemned some of their writings, especially letters directed against the "twelve chapters" in St. Cyril's third letter to Nestorius.

The letter of Ibas had been read at Chalcedon and apparently approved. For this reason, if for no other, the edict of Justinian aroused great apprehension in the West. Pope Vigilius was brought to Constantinople to consider it in an informed atmosphere, where he could be plied with other extracts from the works of the three theologians. There in 548 he issued his *Judicatum*, in which he expressed agreement with the imperial verdict; but when a great outcry arose in the West, that Chalcedon and the *Tome* of St. Leo were being betrayed by a Pope who was suspected of complicity in the death of Silverius, he asked Justinian to summon a general council. The emperor consented, but meanwhile proceeded to enlighten Christendom upon the issues involved in another edict, the *Homologia*,[2] which contained an altogether admirable summary of the new doctrine of the hypostatic union, condensed from the writings of Leontius of Byzantium. This excellent piece of imperial theology was regarded by Vigilius, not without reason, as an interference with the proceedings of the council before it took place. He refused to commit himself to it, and excommunicated the Patriarch Menas of Constantinople, as well as Theodore Ascidas. After this he was put under house arrest, but escaped before Christmas of 551 and took refuge in the basilica of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon, where the great council had given its decisions a hundred years before. This appealed to Chalcedonian sentiment, always strong in Constantinople, so much so that the emperor gave way. The edict and the excommunication were alike withdrawn, and all was again referred to the coming council. There were some further negotiations, designed to minimize the preponderance of Eastern bishops at a council in the East, but neither the Pope nor the government would consent to one another's proposals, and so in 553 the council met in the usual way.

The Pope held himself apart, while Theodore of Mopsuestia

[1] Some quotations from this edict are collated in J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, Eng. trans., vol. iii, London and St. Louis, 1916, pp. 130-1. The text is lost.

[2] PG 86, pt. i, c. 993-1035.

was condemned, and the doctrine of the Incarnation was defined on the lines of Leontius and the *Homologia.*[1] He issued a *Constitutum*[2] of his own, in which he condemned sixty propositions from Theodore's writings as against seventy-one condemned by the council; but he refused to pass judgment on the soul of a bishop who had died in the communion of the Catholic Church, and so left his person free from the taint of actual heresy. He would condemn nothing of Theodoret or Ibas, for fear of a slight upon the Council of Chalcedon, but in five additional anathemas he accepted the doctrine of the hypostatic union and freed himself from any suspicion of Nestorianism. The council went further than he did, not only against the soul of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and "the impious writings of Theodoret and Ibas," but in the way of positive statement. To the Fifth General Council we owe more than three anathemas on dead theologians whose influence within the empire was already in decline. We owe the doctrine of the hypostatic union as it is taught to-day in all Orthodox churches in East and West.

The name of Vigilius was removed from the diptychs, though the council did not wish to stress a difference that was more tactical than real, and protested their continued union with the Apostolic see of Rome.[3] At last, when all was over, and the bishops had gone home, Vigilius accepted their decisions in a new statement, his fourth on the matter at issue, and prepared to return to Rome. He died on the way in Sicily in 555. His friend Pelagius, who so far had been more obstinate than he in opposition to the government's policy, made a profession of faith in accordance with the five general councils, a model for future professions of Orthodoxy made by the Popes to the emperor's representatives between their election and their enthronement.[4] A key to the continuity of parties is provided by his use of the Scythian formula of peace, *passibilem carne, eumdem ipsum impassibilem deitate.* On these terms he was allowed to return to Rome as the emperor's candidate for election to the papacy. There he met his critics with assurances

[1] H-L, III, i, 105-32. [2] PL 69, c. 67-114.
[3] Mansi ix, c. 367; H-L, III, i, 68.
[4] In A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbol*, Breslau, 1877. See also F. Dvornik in *Blackfriars*, Feb., 1945, p. 57.

of his perfect loyalty to all the Popes from St. Leo to Agapetus, and to "the venerable bishops, Theodoret and Ibas,"[1] who had not been personally condemned. He was ready to give explanations to any bishop who came to answer them, but chary of public statement.

The prudent dissimulation of Pope Pelagius did not satisfy everyone. Some in the north of Italy made a schism called the schism of Aquileia, after the city where they established a patriarchal see. In 607 the Byzantine government, in an endeavour to recover these dissidents, established another patriarchate of Grado. Some time towards the end of the seventh century the Patriarch of Aquileia was reconciled with Rome, but the rival lines of Patriarchs continued, and were still at strife in the eleventh century. These schisms cannot be considered Christological. The issue in north Italy was simply one of authority. In the view of its critics, the Fifth Council had cast a slur on the *Tome* of St. Leo by condemning the letter of Ibas, which was on precisely the same footing. For the theology of Theodore and Theodoret the Latins cared nothing.

It was otherwise at the other end of the Christian world, where the condemnation of the "three Syrian doctors" divided the Syrian Christians of Persian Mesopotamia from the Byzantine church. These Assyrians are often called Nestorians, but it was a long time before this name was commonly applied to them. They accepted Chalcedon, but not Ephesus. In the first part of Justinian's reign they were certainly in communion with the Chalcedonian party in the East. But they were loyal to Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose methods of exegesis were followed at their school at Nisibis. Their loyalty was sharpened by controversy with Monophysites who fled from the imperial police into Persian Mesopotamia, and with *Aphthartodocetæ* from Armenia, but they were very slow to condemn the doctrine of the hypostatic union. Whether they ever did so may be a matter of some doubt.[2]

While the "Syrian doctors" were being condemned the Monophysites of Syria and Mesopotamia at last acquired a

[1] PL 69, c. 400.

[2] See J. Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire Perse*, pp. 247-87; and for a more sympathetic view W. A. Wigram, *The Assyrian Church*, London, 1910, pp. 265-98.

hierarchy of their own. Justinian was accustomed to allow Monophysite missionaries to proceed to barbarous regions. The Monophysite historian, John of Ephesus, did good work in Asia Minor under the direct supervision of the government, though he had to permit the proclamation of the Council of Chalcedon in the churches of his foundation. It is probable that this elasticity was in the first place responsible for the consecration of Jacob Baradai[1] to be a missionary bishop for the Ghassanid tribe of Arabs. Their king, Arethas, brought him from Constantinople in 542. But Jacob did not confine his ministrations to the Ghassanids. He used his extraordinary muscular gifts, and capacity for disguising his form and features under different arrangements of one huge horsecloth, to become absolutely ubiquitous in all parts of Syria, Mesopotamia, Sinai and even Egypt. Everywhere he ordained priests and consecrated bishops, who in turn ordained and consecrated others, of all shades of Monophysitism.

Though Jacob went to Arabia in 542, it does not appear that he began to ordain on a large scale until about 547, when he provided Severus with a successor in the see of Antioch. At that time Theodora was dying of cancer, and the negotiations that followed Justinian's condemnation of the "Three Chapters" were hanging fire in the face of Western opposition. On both sides of the Byzantine frontier the Monophysites began to form a separate religious community, afterwards called the Jacobites. They themselves claimed to be disciples of St. James, the "brother of the Lord." The Orthodox saw their real founder in Jacob Baradai, who remained the real leader of the party until his death in 577, though he was never Patriarch of Antioch in the Monophysite line.

Theologically Jacob was by no means an extremist. He was constantly at war with the *Aphthartodocetæ* and other advanced sects, who multiplied as an inevitable consequence of his indiscriminate consecrations. He himself was sometimes prepared to consider terms proposed by the Orthodox—for instance, after the death of Justinian, in 567;[2] but the monks of the Syrian desert, his staunchest supporters, were very obstinate in their

[1] His life, by John of Ephesus, is in PO, xviii, 4, pp. 690-7, with Eng. trans. by E. W. Brooks.

[2] *VIème siècle*, pp. 347-8.

resistance to the hated Council of Chalcedon, and won him over to their views. His significance was not theological, but social and national. He became to the Syrians what St. Athanasius and St. Cyril had been to the Egyptians, a symbol of the revolt of the wilderness against the culture of the Greek city.[1]

Where Greek influences prevailed, in Asia Minor and northern Syria, the Monophysites were gradually absorbed into the local Orthodox community. In Palestine the theology of Leontius of Byzantium was accepted as an adequate translation of the tradition of St. Cyril. There was no Jacobite bishop of Jerusalem before the twelfth century.[2] But on the borders of the empire, in Istria and northern Italy, Armenia and Mesopotamia, Arabia and Egypt, separated churches came into existence to uphold or to resist the Council of Chalcedon. Within the *Œcumene*, the civilized world of the Roman empire, the policy of Justinian was more successful than is sometimes supposed. His legacy to the Catholic Church in the sphere of theology was probably of greater value than the contributions of St. Leo and St. Cyril; for without his support the harmonizing work of Leontius of Byzantium could not have been diffused from Palestine to Rome. If at the end of his life he was suspected of Aphthartodocetism, the suspicion probably arose from some oversubtle move of his in his never-ending task of conciliation.[3] He failed in theology as in politics because he attempted too much. The whole Mediterranean world from Spain to Mesopotamia could no longer be comprehended in one culture and one empire. If the nations were to remain in one church, the church must be distinct from the culture as she had not been since before the conversion of Constantine.

[1] See W. A. Wigram, *The Separation of the Monophysites*, pp. 133-9, 177-81, for an interpretation of Jacob.

[2] See *infra*, p. 158.

[3] Leontius in PG 86, pt. i, c. 1317 disputes with Chalcedonian Aphthartodocetæ. See S. Rees in JTS xli (1940), pp. 265-6.

# V

## THE "WATERY UNION"

AFTER the death of Justinian the Byzantines returned to the caution characteristic of Zeno and Anastasius, who ruled the Western provinces through barbarian princes, and concentrated the regions under their direct rule behind the line of the Dardanelles and the walls of Constantinople. After 568 fresh Lombard invaders were gradually allowed to conquer the interior of Italy, while the Avars, the Bulgars, and their subjects the Slavs spread across the Balkan peninsula, penetrating even into the Peloponnese. In Pannonia, Illyricum and Thrace their work of destruction was most thorough, for in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries almost all the Latin bishoprics in this region disappeared, except along the coast of Dalmatia and Albania, where Dyrrhacium (Durazzo) and Spalato (Split) long remained Latin sees. In Greece and the Greek cities of the coasts of Macedonia and Thrace the tradition of Hellenism survived every shock, and gradually recovered its ascendancy over new Slavonic and Albanian elements, though the mixture of the races must have been very considerable, and Slavonic tribes in the Peloponnese were semi-independent in the tenth century.[1] The Latin culture of Pannonia and Illyricum was less firmly rooted, and never recovered, though the Latin dialects of this region are represented by Rumanian, which is now spoken chiefly north of the Danube. In Bulgaria, Macedonia and Thessaly it is spoken by the mountain Vlachs, who were more numerous in the Middle Ages, though they were already a remnant. The older speech of the Illyrians survives in Albanian.

Latin remained an official language in the army and the bureaucracy until the remains of the system of Diocletian and Constantine were replaced by a new administration of civil and military affairs, probably in the reign of Constans (641-68). When St. Gregory the Great represented the Roman church in

[1] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperi*, c. 50, CB, iii, pp. 220-4.

Constantinople at the beginning of the reign of Maurice (580-602), he did not find it necessary to acquire a working knowledge of Greek. But as early as the reign of Justinian[1] the neglect of Latin gave rise to difficulties in filling high positions in the bureaucracy. After 602 the language was of little use, except in outposts in Dalmatia and Italy. To a great extent these outposts were left to shift for themselves, and to meet their barbarian enemies as best they could with their own local resources. The government never had many troops to spare for Italy, and these were generally employed either in the Exarchate of Ravenna, the seat of the Byzantine governor, or to protect sea communications around the Greek cities of the south. In this way Rome and Naples, and Grado, the original of Venice, became autonomous if not independent. The local aristocracy were allowed to make their own treaties with Lombard dukes, or even with the Lombard king.

Pope St. Gregory the Great (590-604) was a loyal though critical subject of the undivided Roman empire, but he had his own political and spiritual relationships with Lombard kings and queens, the Franks in Gaul, the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, and the Visigoths in Spain, who in 589 turned from Arianism to Catholicism. He corresponded at the same time with the Patriarch Eulogius in Alexandria and with St. Augustine in Canterbury. Pope Vitalian (657-72) was able to provide the English church with a Greek Archbishop, Theodore of Tarsus. In his time the conversion of the Lombards to the Catholic faith "abolished the Arian heresy,"[2] and strengthened the political position of the papacy by providing the Popes with other possibilities of protection. The results are to be seen in the changed situation at Rome between 653, when Pope Martin I was arrested and taken to Constantinople, and 693, when a similar attempt to arrest Pope Sergius I was a total failure. In the interval the Roman nobility had learnt to rely on the Pope as their best protector against the Lombards. His influence could win them help from Constantinople, or for-

[1] See John Lydus, *De Magistratibus*, ed. R. Wuensch, Leipzig, 1893, bk. iii, c. 68, pp. 158-9.

[2] "Rex Haribertus, pius et catholicus, Arrianorum abolevit hæresem," *Carmen de synodo Ticinensi*, quoted in *VIème siècle*, p. 253. The Arian Bishop of Pavia was converted just in time to succeed his Catholic colleague, and so to become "l'evêque de tout le monde."

bearance from Pavia and Spoleto. Without him they would have no better chance to avoid being overwhelmed than any other Latin community on the coast of Italy.

The political independence of the papacy came into existence without any particular design on the part of the Popes, the Byzantine emperors, or the Roman nobles. The Popes, on the contrary, wanted more help from the East against the "infamous Lombards." The Byzantines could not afford to take large risks for so distant an outpost. When friction arose between Rome and Constantinople they were reluctant to impose a Pope of their own choice if he would not be obeyed in northern Italy or in the Western kingdoms, for so they would lose the advantage of a diplomatic intermediary, who was useful in negotiations with the Franks or Bavarians. The isolation of the elder Rome at the very edge of the *Œcumene*, the civilized world, did not increase its intellectual influence in the capital of civilization.

At the other end of the Mediterranean Byzantine influence in Armenia increased during a Persian war from 573 to 591, in which the Byzantines and the Armenians were allies. The Armenian church[1] had never been so intransigently anti-Chalcedonian as the Jacobites and the Copts, though it contained more extremist elements. It was outside the frontier of the empire all through the height of the controversy, and therefore subject to no persecution from the Byzantine government. All its troubles came from the Persians and their friends the Assyrian Christians of Nisibis, who stood for the opposite theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Under the Catholicos Hovhannes (590-611) a union was arranged that proved impermanent so far as Armenia was concerned, but permanent in Georgia. After the Council of Douine in 609 the Georgians or Iberians had their own Catholicos, and lived as an autocephalus church, with their own liturgy in their own language, in communion with the Orthodox Patriarchates. In 622 the union with Armenia was restored at the Council of Garin. In

[1] See John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Eng. trans. by R. Payne Smith, Oxford, 1860, p. 126; and M. Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia*, Eng. trans., London, 1912, p. 41. This Armenian book is useful because it reflects the spirit as well as the letter of its sources, though its point of view is sometimes naive.

most parts of the country, if not in all, it seems to have continued until near the end of the century,[1] when the greater part of the country came under Moslem rule. The Armenians have never been in complete unity with the Jacobites. Attempts to settle differences in 726 were not successful.[2] In the ninth and tenth centuries a great part of the Armenian church again resumed communion with Byzantium that was not broken until a serious schism among them in 969-71.[3]

This intermittent union with Armenia from 590 to 971 illustrates one possible solution of the problem of diversity of cultures in Catholic Christendom. If the Armenians had lived a little further from the Byzantines they might have become as Orthodox and as independent as the Georgians, and other Orthodox nations north of the Caucasus, the Abasgians and the Alans, who had national churches in communion with Constantinople. But the boundaries of Armenia had never been clearly defined, and interpenetration increased, bringing new causes of conflict, as Moslem pressure drove the Armenians southward and westward towards Cilicia, where many of them were settled in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In 629 the union of Garin was extended to the Jacobites in Syria and Mesopotamia, who had obtained possession of most of the churches in Syria and Palestine during a Persian occupation of the whole country from 616 to 628. Their diplomatic Patriarch, Athanasius the Camel-driver, consented to admit the orthodoxy of Chalcedon, safeguarded as it now was by two additional formulæ, the doctrine of the hypostatic union and a doctrine of "one new, human-divine operation in Christ" that the Council of Garin had found in the *Divine Names*,[4] ascribed to St. Paul's companion, Dionysius the Areopagite. (No one at this time suspected that this was a Syrian compilation of the time of the *Henoticon*, specially suitable for reconciling moderate Monophysites and moderate Chalcedonians, and

[1] M. Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia*, p. 44.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 45-6; *cf.* also Bar-Hebræus, *Chron. Eccles.*, vol. i, Louvain, 1872, c. 300-4.

[3] M. Ormanian, *op. cit.*, p. 49, says that Khatchik I (971-92) was the first Catholicos who "consecrated Armenian bishops for those of his co-religionists who dwelt in Greek dioceses. Until then there had been, in accordance with ancient custom, only one bishop in each diocese."

[4] Ch. 2, sec. 3.

used for this end by the friends of Severus in the conference of 533.) On this condition the Jacobites kept their usages, including the interpolation in the *Trisagion*.

In 630 a further attempt was made to draw in the Assyrians of Persian Mesopotamia. Their Catholicos of the East paid a visit to Constantinople, where he was examined, found Orthodox, and received communion. When he returned to his own people, who soon discovered that he had reconciled them indirectly to their real rivals, the Mesopotamian Jacobites, there was a great uproar. He was accused of betraying the "three lights of the church, Diodore, Theodore and Nestorius." He defended himself as best he could and remained Catholicos until his death in 643. Only after the Arab conquest did controversy flame up again between his successor and Sahdona of Ariun, who had really been converted to Chalcedonian Orthodoxy during his sojourn in the Byzantine empire.[1] For a time the heads at least of both the Christian sects in Persia were in communion with Constantinople and Rome.

An attempt to extend the union to Egypt in 633 met with more opposition on both sides. The *Tome of Union*[2] in nine chapters did not satisfy the Monophysites of the desert, who adhered to their own Patriarch Benjamin. On the other hand, it was hotly criticized by the local Chalcedonians, who found in the writings of their own Patriarch Eulogius of Alexandria (580-607) an anti-Monophysite doctrine of two distinct operations or energies in Christ. This was taken up by a monk from Palestine named Sophronius, who in 634 was elected Patriarch of Jerusalem. Palestine, rather than Alexandria or Tanis, was the real stronghold of Chalcedonian doctrine in the East. The Palestinian Christians resented their union with Jacobites who sang Peter the Fuller's version of the *Trisagion*, a watchword of heresy for two hundred years of controversy, but their objections were not all prejudice. Sophronius had a real point behind the somewhat turgid style of the letter that he addressed to the other Patriarchs in 634.[3] He feared lest the humanity of Christ

[1] Bar-Hebræus, *Chron. Eccles.*, vol. iii, Louvain, 1878, c. 113-6; *cf.* also Thomas of Marga, *The Book of the Governors*, Eng. trans., London, 1893, vol. ii, pp. 25-30; J. Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire Perse*, pp. 243-6; W. A. Wigram, *The Assyrian Church*, pp. 303-7.

[2] Mansi, x, c. 564-8; comment in Tixeront, iii, pp. 155-6.

[3] PG 87, pt. iii, c. 3147-3200.

should seem to be no more than a puppet-show of passive attributes, worked from the outside by the divinity of the Word. "One operation," so understood by those in a Monophysite tradition, might prove more Monophysite than Severian Monophysitism.

Before the letter of Sophronius reached Rome Pope Honorius I had received a report on the controversy from the Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople, who had played a large part in all these plans for union since 610. He was an ecclesiastical statesman rather than a theologian, and his great desire was to prevent the ruin of his plans for a general restoration of communion between autonomous churches in the East through a revival of Roman and Western anxiety for the authority of the *Tome* of St. Leo. He therefore made haste to anticipate the more precise theological activity of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and to induce the Pope to support him. He received rather more than he wanted in a dogmatic letter,[1] drafted with the help of Joannes Symponus, who afterwards became Pope John IV. The two Western theologians saw objections to both the two rival doctrines of one or two operations. Both might border on Eutychianism or Nestorianism. They insisted that the true unity in Christ is a unity of person and of will. What is said in the scriptures of an apparent conflict in Him is said "not of a difference of wills but for the economy of the humanity which He assumed." They were spoken for our example, not to show a distinction in Him between the will which obeyed and the will which obtained obedience.

Honorius, like most Westerns, was chiefly interested in moral issues, in problems of predestination and grace, free will and moral effort. It was therefore natural that he should think of the unity of the will of Christ in these terms, which were equally acceptable among the Assyrians at Nisibis and Seleucia and the Syrian Jacobites, but in different senses. The Antiochene tradition of Theodore of Mopsuestia spoke of a unity of will between the word of God and the "heavenly man." The opposite tradition of Severus thought of the unity of will as one relatively uncontentious aspect of the complete unity of hypostasis and nature. To Sergius, therefore, the "one will" formula, stamped with the high authority of Rome, was an ideal in-

[1] Kidd, *Documents*, iii, 37; full text in PL 80, c. 470-4.

strument for "reunion all round." In 638 it was embodied in an imperial *Ecthesis*,[1] which forbade further contention over one or two operations in Christ.

But all these unions were "watery,"[2] as Theophanes said in about 800. In a surprisingly short time a new gale from the desert blew them all away. The Arabs began to invade Syria in 635. In 640-1 they broke into Egypt, where they found the Copts in rebellion against Cyrus of Phasis, the unhappy author of the *Tome of Union*, who combined unsuccessfully the functions of Patriarch and civil governor. Before long he himself came to terms with them and sailed away, leaving the field free for his rival Benjamin. A hundred years passed before there was another Chalcedonian Patriarch of Alexandria, though the Orthodox community did not die out altogether. For seventy years no Patriarch could be elected at Jerusalem, where the Christians were divided between followers of Sophronius and adherents of the union of 629. The like divisions rent the subjugated church in northern Syria and in Persian Mesopotamia, where the conflict between Sahdona of Ariun and his Nestorian adversaries belongs after 643.

In the West the *Ecthesis* was repudiated by Severinus and John IV, the successors of Honorius, and withdrawn by the Emperor Heraclius in 640-1. The next emperor, Constans (641-68), hesitated to depart from it too completely, lest he should alienate the Armenians, under their Catholicos Nerses (641-61), who was a personal friend of his.[3] The Christian cause in Syria and Cilicia was still being maintained by Mardaite and Isaurian mountaineers in Lebanon and the Taurus, who were followers of Jacob Baradai and Athanasius the Camel-driver, and still loyal to the union of 629. Constans therefore published a *Type*,[4] which defined no doctrine at all, but forbade controversy for or against "one will in Christ."

The ablest adversary of the *Type* was a Byzantine archimandrite named Maximus, who had retired from the civil service as the last remains of Diocletian's organization of the bureaux and the army fell crashing to the ground in the Arab wars.

[1] Mansi, x, c. 992-7; Tixeront, iii, pp. 163-4.
[2] CB, i, p. 507. The word is ὑδροβαφῆ.
[3] M. Ormanian, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
[4] Kidd, *Documents*, iii, 38; Mansi, x, c. 1029-32.

In his work we can see a union of Syrian and Egyptian mysticism (he had a great regard for Origen, the Cappadocian fathers, and even for the Pseudo-Dionysius, the original author of "one operation") with the Greek and Roman zeal for the rule of law, the civil administrator's horror of the centralized, military government that was imposed upon the empire by the necessities of the Persian and Arab wars.[1] He and his disciples were accused of denying the priesthood of the emperor.[2] He was also asked, "Why do you love the Romans and hate the Greeks?"[3] In these two charges we see the shadow of later controversies.

Maximus could not conduct his propaganda in the centre of the empire. He worked his way from Palestine and Egypt to Africa, where he held a disputation with Pyrrhus, an exiled Patriarch of Constantinople, and so by Sicily to Italy. There he informed Pope Martin I of the condition of the East, and caused him to summon a council at the Lateran in 649, where he condemned the emperor's *Type* and broke off communion with the church of Constantinople. The Exarch who was sent to arrest Pope Martin joined his party and began a rebellion. Whatever the degree of his complicity, he was naturally regarded by the court as the author of this. Another Exarch was sent with superior forces to arrest the Pope and the Archimandrite Maximus, and to carry them by slow stages to Constantinople. There they were tried in 654, not for heresy, but for treason. The government did their best to avoid a discussion of the dogmatic issue that would have aroused Chalcedonian sympathies in the populace of Constantinople, who were in any case disposed to be sympathetic with the imprisoned Pope. His sufferings were great, and ended only with his death from cold and hunger in the Crimea. They were increased by the news that the Romans had deserted him and elected a new Pope, Eugenius, whose envoys at Constantinople acquiesced in a new evasive formula that seemed to restore the harmony of the Patriarchates. It seemed to Maximus that all the world

[1] His works are in PG 90-1; summaries of his doctrine may be found in Tixeront, iii, pp. 180-4, and A. Neander, *General Church History*, Eng. trans., vol. v, Edinburgh, 1849, pp. 220-5.

[2] *Acta Maximi* in PG 90, c. 117-18.

[3] *Ibid.*, c. 127-8; comment in *VIème siècle*, p. 456.

was against him,[1] yet he refused to accept the communion of the church of Constantinople, even though, if he would only have done so, he might have returned to Rome as the emperor's envoy, perhaps as his candidate for the Papacy. He died in exile in the Caucasus in 662.

His theology triumphed soon after his death, because it had never been effectively banned. The evasive formula, which he himself refused, recognized no less than three wills in Christ, one for each nature and one for the hypostasis. A plurality of wills would not appease a Monophysite, nor would an Orthodox theologian find much to blame except a certain meaningless prolixity. In 655 the Roman clergy found ambiguities in the "systatic letter" of the Patriarch Peter of Constantinople, and persuaded Pope Eugenius I to reject it; but his successor Vitalian sent a profession of faith to the emperor that was received as satisfactory, and exchanged letters with Peter in 657. In 663 he received the Emperor Constans in Rome itself. Though relations were again interrupted from 672 to 679, this may have been due in part to the power of the Arabs in the Ægean, who attacked Constantinople by sea in 668 and again in 673-7. It may also be that there was some political distrust, for the improved relations between the papacy and the Lombards after they abandoned Arianism can hardly have inspired confidence in Constantinople or Ravenna. Some of the Greek and Syrian refugees who flocked to Rome at this time may have been politically suspect. Syrian monks in a Roman convent were convicted of Nestorianism in 677,[2] when relations with the East were being resumed.

The restoration of peace was due to the initiative of the Emperor Constantine IV (668-85). In the East the Patriarch Macarius of Antioch, an exile in Constantinople, opposed a move that would certainly alienate some of his Isaurian and Syrian subjects on both sides of the empire's border. He was still recognized as Patriarch by the fighting Mardaites on Mount Lebanon, though in other parts of Syria and Mesopotamia other Jacobites had submitted to the Arabs and repudiated the union of 629. A "Maximist" party repudiated it for other reasons, following the tradition of Sophronius, which was naturally stronger in Palestine than in the Lebanon or in

[1] PG 90, c. 121-2, 131-4.

[2] *Lib. Pont.*, i, p. 348.

Syria. In the time of the Palestinian Pope Theodore I (642-9) they had some communications with Rome.[1] These continued under Martin I, and their resumption through Syrian refugees may well have served to irritate Macarius. The strength of the Syrians in Rome is shown by the election of two Syrian Popes in 685-7, and three more in 708 and 731. Armenian politics were another argument against abandoning the *Type*; for the Catholicos Chahak III was still in communion with Constantinople in 689-90, and a Chalcedonian party in Armenia were denounced to the Caliph by the more Monophysite Catholicos Eghia in 703.[2] The Patriarch Theodore of Constantinople sought to impede the emperor's negotiations with Rome by removing the name of Pope Vitalian from the diptychs, though he wrote a letter, not a "systatic letter," but one of a less formal kind, to Pope Domnus (676-8).

At Rome the imperial overtures were received with some hesitation, for Agatho, who had succeeded Domnus when the letters arrived, feared lest the little learning of Latin ecclesiastics should entangle them in some subtle compromise that later consideration might not be able to sustain against such criticisms as had been launched against Vigilius and Honorius, and others who modified their theology to please a Byzantine emperor. He drew up a careful statement and submitted it to preliminary councils at Rome and Milan, where he collected the signatures of as many Latin bishops as possible to make it seem sufficiently impressive. He waited long before sending his delegation to the East in the hope that Theodore of Tarsus, the Greek Archbishop of Canterbury, might be persuaded to venture on so long a journey for the good of the whole church; but either pressing business in England detained him, or he doubted his ability to act as a champion of the Latins (his views on the remarriage of divorced persons[3] were most decidedly Greek). The other legates had to go without him.

When they arrived at Constantinople they found that the Patriarch Theodore had been replaced by a more sympathetic figure, who restored Vitalian's name to the diptychs. Syrians

[1] Mansi, x, c. 900; *cf.* J. Pargoire, *L'Église Byzantine*, p. 154.
[2] M. Ormanian, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
[3] See his *Penitentiale* in A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Constitutions and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. iii, pp. 199-201.

and Armenians were not popular with the Byzantines, who favoured a union of the old and the new Rome. The Sixth General Council in the winter of 680-1 accepted the *Tome* of Pope Agatho, and condemned the *Ecthesis* and the *Type*, with the doctrines of "one operation" and "one will." Macarius, who refused to submit, was sent into a monastery in Rome. Theodore, on the other hand, accepted the council's decisions, and two years later he resumed the Patriarchal throne. The treatment of persons by the Sixth Council is especially interesting, for the issues had been more personal and regional than doctrinal. Four Patriarchs of Constantinople, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul and Peter, had to be sacrificed to Roman objections to their compromising doctrines. To these were added Cyrus of Phasis, the author of the Alexandrian *Tome* of union in 633, Macarius, the present Patriarch of Antioch, one Arabian bishop who had played a part in drawing up the original formulas of union in 622-9, and Honorius of Rome, who had proposed "one will." On the other hand, the three Patriarchs of Constantinople, Thomas, John and Constantine (667-77), whose "systatic letters" were accounted Orthodox, though the last two did not address them to Rome, remained in the diptychs. They may be compared to the Patriarchs Euphemius and Macedonius, whom the Orthodox in Constantinople wished to spare at the union of 518. In 681 four heretical Patriarchs were balanced against one heretical Pope.

It is curious that the case of Pope Honorius excited little or no attention in the Middle Ages. When the possibility of an heretical Pope was debated, Liberius and Anastasius II were the instances used. The explanation lies in the text of the *Liber Pontificalis*, which names him in the list of condemned Monothelites without calling him a Pope.[1] At the time it does not seem that his condemnation was resented in the West, though Pope John IV, part-author of his letter, had been at pains to defend his orthodoxy. Pope Leo II, reporting the results of the Council to the king of the Visigoths, sets him among the heretics without demur.[2]

That some in the East regretted the Sixth Council was shown by an episode thirty years later, when the Armenian emperor, Philippicus Bardanes, erased a large picture of it from one of

[1] i, p. 359. [2] See *VIème siècle*, p. 473; H-L, III, i, 515-38.

the palace walls, and imposed upon the Patriarch and the bishops a formal disavowal of its proceedings. This, however, led to a revolution, a rising of the factions against him. The Monothelite compromise was not a doctrine that could sustain for long the loyalty of any large party. It left its deepest traces not in Armenia, where the "one operation" formula had its origin, but in the mountains of the Lebanon. There, around the monastery of Beit Marun, a small community maintained the doctrines of Sergius and Macarius against Monophysite and "Maximist" criticism. In about 780 they made an attempt to use the "one will" doctrine as the basis of a union with the Assyrians or Nestorians,[1] who could not admit them unless they abandoned their many Jacobite customs—for instance, Peter the Fuller's version of the *Trisagion*, which was anathema to the disciples of Theodore of Mopsuestia. These Maronites[2] survived as an independent community until 1181, when they submitted to the Latin Patriarch of Antioch. Though they afterwards broke away for a time, they resumed relations with Rome at the end of the fifteenth century, and ever since then have remained a "Uniate" church.[3]

The learned Jacobite historian, Bar-Hebræus, who was "Maphrian of the East" or primate of the Jacobite church in Mesopotamia from 1264 to 1286, believed that in his time all the churches of the East, Jacobite, Maronite, Greek, Latin and even Assyrian, "think aright concerning the Trinity and the integrity of the natures of which Christ is formed without conversion or commixture; they fight only about terms."[4] It is not easy to say when the Christological controversies became wholly cultural and verbal. Maximus seems to be struggling with real issues, and the story of Sahdona of Ariun shows that it was still possible to pass from one confession to another for

[1] See J. Labourt, *De Timotheo I Nestorianorum Patriarcha*, Paris, 1904, p. 18.

[2] See J. Labourt, art. "Maronites," in *The Catholic Encyclopædia*, ix, New York, 1914, pp. 683-8.

[3] Maronite scholars have defended the "perpetual orthodoxy" of their community against imputations of Monothelitism since the time of J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. i, Rome, 1719, pp. 499-522.

[4] *Candelabrum sanctorum* in J. S. Assemani, *B.O.*, ii, c. 291, quoted by J. N. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy in their introduction to *Chron. Eccles.*, p. xvi. For a like view c. 893 see *B.O.*, iii, c. 513-6, a summary of the *Tractatus de concordia fidei inter Syros*, by the Assyrian Metran Elias of Damascus.

intellectual reasons. But the difference between the Armenians and their neighbours was rather liturgical than intellectual. A Catholicos who objected to union with the Byzantines said that he would not eat "leavened bread or drink hot water"[1] (a reference to the mixed chalice of the Greeks). The same arguments were used against the Jacobites. Both communities might have remained united to the Orthodox Patriarchates if the Arab conquests had not made it preferable that conquered Christians should belong to separated churches, and not suffer the imputation of being Melkites, "the emperor's men."

[1] *VIème siècle*, p. 389, from *Liber de rebus Armeniæ*, PG 127, c. 893 (c. 695). See also the tracts against *azymes* attributed to the Jacobite James of Edessa (d. 708) in W. Wright, *Syriac Literature*, London, 1894, p. 146.

# VI

## THE STRUGGLE WITH ISLAM

FROM one point of view Islam is the most extreme of the Christological heresies, combining extreme Monophysite and extreme Nestorian elements. Like Theodore of Mopsuestia, Mohammed regarded Christ as the great prophet, the Messiah of the Hebrews, who would return to judge the world at the last day. His inspiration, though unique in degree, was not sufficiently different in kind from the inspiration of any other human leader overshadowed by the Word to make a second Messiah inconceivable. This second Messiah, the Paraclete, was now revealed in Mohammed himself. On the other hand, the Christ of the Koran did not die on the cross, for His true body was spirited away.[1] In this idea of a ghost Christ we see something more like Aphthartodocetism than Nestorianism. Arabia contained Nabatæan Arabs evangelized by the Mesopotamian churches, Monophysite Ghassanids, Orthodox Arabs in Transjordania, and also, especially by the Red Sea on the coast of Yemen, unorthodox Jews from Abyssinia. The desert was a refuge for all kinds of extremists rejected by the more Orthodox sects. The Jews in particular seem to have influenced Mohammed, who called his religion a middle way between Christianity and Judaism. But the Judaism of Arabia was the religion of the apocalypses rather than the religion of the Old Testament. From the trance literature of post-Biblical times, more frequently preserved in Abyssinia than elsewhere, and then perhaps equally abundant on both sides of the Red Sea, he derived his idea of revelation as something absolutely direct and immediate in which the human mind does not co-operate at all.

Islam might be called the most advanced expression of the oriental revolt against Hellenism, rejecting and discarding everything of Judaism or Christianity that concurs in any way with the Greek idea of natural law; in this the Moslems may

[1] *Koran* iv. 154-end. See R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, London, 1926.

be compared to other extremists: the Marcionites in the second century, who rejected the Old Testament and three out of the four Gospels; the Manichæans in the third century, who regarded creation as the work of an inferior deity; and the Paulicians.[1] Those who wholly reject the law as seen by philosophers in the natural order eventually come to reject the law in the Old Testament and to denounce the God of Israel as an imperfect God. The strict Moslem did, in fact, come to reject both science and representative art, because both involve some kind of co-operation with the Creator in His work of creation. Moslem artists were commanded to confine themselves to architectural patterns, arabesques, and scrolls, which may assume plant forms, but not the forms of animals. Likewise the scientific investigation of natural causes is forbidden. The authentic Moslem attitude is expressed in the legendary tale[2] (disbelieved by Gibbon) that the Caliph Omar pronounced this verdict on the library at Alexandria: "If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed."

This fanaticism was soon modified in practice, especially in those regions where the agricultural and trading population became Moslem. But at first Islam was primarily the religion of the desert, where everything happens unexpectedly, and no canon or law is binding on nature. The first Moslem converts outside Arabia were the desert tribes of Syria, Egypt, Libya and North Africa, and the highland shepherds of Persia and Bactria. For a long time the Arabs did not much desire the conversion of the settled peoples, which would reduce the yield of the poll-tax paid by unbelievers. The army and the highest posts in the government were reserved for Moslems, but Christians performed most of the administrative routine. Even in the former Persian empire, where the religion of Zoroaster suffered a fatal blow, Assyrian Christianity spread as rapidly as Islam, and converted a larger proportion of the settled population. The seventh and eighth centuries are a great age in the expansion of the Assyrian church across the

[1] *Infra*, pp. 87-8.

[2] Bar-Hebræus, *A Compendious History of the Dynasties*, Oxford, 1663, p. 114, quoted by Gibbon in Bury-Gibbon, v, p. 482.

oases of Bactria and Turkestan into the Tarim basin, and so into China,[1] following the routes of Syrian traders engaged in the caravan traffic that was further fostered by the size of the Arab empire and the relative ease of communications within it. These Mesopotamian Syrians spread westward as well as eastward, founding colonies in Cyprus and even in Spain, where Assyrian influence probably explains an unexpected reappearance of Nestorian ideas at the end of the eighth century. Syrians served their Arab masters as doctors, lawyers, traders and administrators. Their translations of Greek and Indian mathematics, and Greek philosophy, laid foundations for the mediæval culture of Damascus and Bagdad.

In course of time the rigidity of Islam was modified by the inevitable influence of power and wealth. Moslems as well as Christians became interested in poetry, medicine, mathematics, mysticism and even philosophy. Birds and beasts, hunting and fishing scenes appear in the palace art of Iraq and Iran. All this involved a deviation from the strict tenets of the Koran, which could never be reconciled with the philosophic search. The representative Moslem philosopher is the Spaniard Averroës, who taught them what was true in theology might be false in philosophy, and *vice versa*; but when the rulers did come to share in the culture they inevitably took the lead in its development.[2] As a natural result there was a steady leakage of ambitious young men from the Christian communities to the dominant religion. The Christians were forbidden to attempt the conversion of Moslems, and very gradually their numbers dwindled.[3] They suffered more from famine

[1] See A. Mingana, *The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East, John Rylands Library Bulletin*, Manchester, 1925; J. Foster, *The Church of the Tang Dynasty*, London, 1939.

[2] For Islamic culture see C. Dawson, *The Making of Europe*, London, 1932, pp. 148-56.

[3] On the connection between the decline of agriculture and the decline of Christianity in Asia Minor and Syria there are some illuminating passages in the writings of Sir William Ramsay; see especially *The Thousand and One Churches*, by Sir W. Ramsay and Miss Gertrude Bell, London, 1907, p. 37; *cf.* also *Petra*, by Miss M. Murray, London, 1939, for a picture of an impoverished Bedouin community in a valley that once supported a great city. Jewish agriculture is now restoring to parts of Palestine the prosperity that Islam destroyed, not in the seventh century, when the Arabs first arrived, but in the fourteenth century, when the Christian population began to be reduced below the level of safety.

and civil war than the ruling classes, but they seldom had to complain of actual persecution.

Their own ecclesiastical authorities were responsible for their good behaviour, and judged their own disputes by their own laws. The Arabs took over from the Persian empire the principle of a "Millet," a separate cultural community that is allowed to continue its own communal life on two conditions: political submission and a very strict abstention from any attempt to proselytize the adherents of the reigning religion.[1] Under these conditions the Assyrian, Armenian and Jacobite churches had continued under the Persian empire, and the various Christian communities, Assyrian, Monophysite and Orthodox, continued under the Arabs. The Orthodox had the most difficult time, for they were naturally suspected as "Melkites," "emperor's men." Until the eighth century they were not allowed to choose their own resident Patriarchs. All communications with Byzantium were dangerous, but there was not the same objection to Western pilgrims, who brought alms into the country and had no direct connection with the Byzantine enemy. Therefore the Latin monasteries and hospices at Jerusalem became relatively important.[2] Anglo-Saxon kings might go to die at Jerusalem, but envoys from the Eastern Patriarchs rarely and with great difficulty came to Constantinople.

Naturally no more could be done towards union with the Monophysites, except in Armenia, where border princes retained their independence and entered into negotiations from time to time with their Byzantine military allies. Elsewhere the Jacobites and Maronites preferred to stand aloof from the Melkites, from one another, and even from the Armenians, who began to be dispersed in this period, as the Arabs moved them away from the dangerous border regions to Cyprus and Egypt, and Byzantine emperors, equally doubtful of their loyalty,

[1] For the idea of a "Millet" see a useful discussion in W. A. Wigram, *The Assyrian Church*, pp. 225-8.

[2] For the Melkite community in Jerusalem in c. 808 see the *Commemoratorium de casis Dei* in *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. T. Tobler and A. Molinier, vol. i (Latina), Geneva, 1879, pp. 301-5. It contains statistics of hermits classified by their liturgical languages, eleven Greek, eight Syriac, five Latin, five Georgian, and one Arabic. I have discussed the significance of these classifications in an article in ECQ, vi (1945-6), pp. 363-72.

moved refugees and others from Cilicia to Macedonia and Thrace. Sometimes, as at Edessa, they formed one community with the Jacobites. In Jerusalem they seem to have been in communion with the Melkites at the time of the *Commemoratorium*. Elsewhere they would not mix at all, and set up bishops of their own. In this way the Christian nations of the Levant ceased to be associated with particular regions, and became scattered communities more like the Sikhs and Jains in modern India. In and about the holy places were Jacobites and Armenians (later on Copts, Ethiopians and Assyrians). Even the Melkites were divided by language and associations into Latins, Greeks, Syrians and Georgians.[1] All these divisions were fostered by Moslem policy.

As the Arabs swept westwards into North Africa (670-700) they won control of the greater part of the Mediterranean. For long periods Cyprus, Rhodes and Crete were held, and Christian shipping was not safe even in the Ægean, especially during the two great attempts to capture Constantinople in 673-7 and 717-20. In this way the Moslem conquests contributed to the isolation of the Byzantines, not only from the Syrian and Egyptian Christians, but to a large extent from the Latin West. The great Avar invasions, which began in 567-81, cut the land road from Constantinople to Italy. In the seventh and eighth centuries, while Avars, Bulgars and Slavs roamed unchecked over the Balkan peninsula, and Lombard dukes and counts isolated Ravenna from Rome, the Arab conquest of North Africa, Spain and the Balearic islands made the sea route round Sicily dangerous, and Rome became farther and farther from Constantinople. But in the lands that remained to the Byzantine empire there was more homogeneity and a deeper patriotism.

These lands were not all Greek, for in central Asia Minor there were Cappadocians and Paphlagonians, and the non-Greek elements were increased by a large influx of Armenian and Syrian refugees. But it is true to say that the lands where Greek influence was strongest remained most persistently loyal to Byzantium in this time of apparent decline. In Calabria and the heel of Italy, in Sicily and at the entrance to the Adriatic, at the mouth of the Danube and in the Crimea,

[1] *Infra*, p. 158.

old Greek colonies remained faithful to the Byzantine version of Greek civilization.

The loyalty of the Greeks to their own traditions was enhanced by the anti-Hellenism of Islam, a non-Christian Monotheism. Greek theologians had always laid more stress on the distinction of persons in the Trinity than most of their Latin brethren.[1] They taught that each of the three persons has His own hypostasis or ground of being, while the Latins taught that all have only one being, substance, and *hypostasis*. In their struggle with Arianism in Spain and Italy the Latin clergy compiled the creed of St. Athanasius, so named because the Arians called them Athanasians. When in the hour of their victory they adopted the Greek custom of singing the creed of Constantinople and Chalcedon at Mass, first of all at Toledo in 589 or 653,[2] they brought the two creeds into apparent harmony by inserting from the Western "Athanasian" symbol the Latin word *filioque* into the Eastern Nicene creed at the point of the procession of the Holy Ghost.

This was not an important alteration in itself. The Greeks themselves could say, and sometimes said, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *through* the Son. It was important as a symptom of the tendency of Latin theology to make the attributes of the three persons appear as interchangeable as possible at a moment when Eastern Christians, in their struggle with Islam, were more than ever anxious to emphasize the distinct personality of each. In this lay seeds for many future conflicts.

Some Asiatic Christians outside the range of Greek civilization made another response to the Moslem challenge. They accepted the Moslem view that the Christian faith had been perverted by a fusion, not only with Greek art, philosophy and science, but with the polytheism of Greek religion, especially through the veneration of the icons of the saints. This criticism of Catholic Christianity was pressed in an extreme form by the Paulicians, and in a moderate form by the Iconoclasts.

The Paulicians of the seventh century were chiefly found in eastern Asia Minor, though later on the emperors transplanted

[1] For a discussion of this difference, c. 400, see St. Augustine, *De Trinitate*, bk. vii, c. 4.

[2] See A. Palmieri, art. "Filioque," in *D.T.C.*, 5, 2, c. 2311-2.

them in large numbers to Thrace and Macedonia, partly to break up the heresy, and partly to take advantage of their fighting qualities. There Paulician influence gave birth to the sect of the Bogomiles, whose progress through Bosnia into Italy and the south of France kindled the Albigensian and kindred movements of Western mediæval heresy. Like the Marcionites, whom they resembled in some important respects, they regarded the God of the Old Testament as an imperfect God, the creator of the world and of matter, the inspirer of Moses and the prophets, but not the God of the Word. The Word was begotten of the ultimate all-Father, and passed through His mother's human body like water through a pipe, taking nothing from her flesh. His death was as unreal as His birth. In this we may see an echo of Aphthartodocetism. The Paulicians made a special point of rejecting all material symbols. They celebrated the Eucharist in water, not in wine, and venerated their own elders or initiates, "perfect men," who were the only images of God.

The "perfect" Paulician was required to abstain from sexual intercourse and from many kinds of meats. The "hearers" or mere adherents of the sect, who had not yet suffered the *endura* or believers' baptism, hoped at the end of the day to reach such standards, and to be admitted for a few months or years to the vexatious but blessed life of an initiate. So they might be purged from the defilement of matter and from the dominion of "the prince of this world."[1]

The Iconoclasts had the same dread of matter, but they were not primarily a theological, but a cultural movement, a response in the field of religious art to Moslem and Paulician criticisms of the materialism of Orthodoxy. Their roots lie deep in the past, in the old Asiatic resistance to Greek culture that had long vanished from the great towns, but lingered in upland

[1] *The Key of Truth*, ed. by F. C. Coneybeare, Oxford, 1898, is said to be a Paulician text discovered in the Caucasus; but the sect who used it in the eighteenth century had probably modified it very considerably in the course of twelve hundred years. The editor's notes show more enthusiasm than discrimination. Of late critical opinion has become more favourable to an account of the Paulicians written by an Orthodox eye-witness in about 871, the *Historia Manichæanorum* of Peter the Sicilian, in PG 104, c. 1240-1439. See an article by H. Grégoire, *Autour des Pauliciens*, in B, xi (1936).

regions where Hellenism had always remained a foreign thing. Iconoclasm was another symptom of the revolt of Asia against Greece; it found echoes in the Western world, where the spirals and runes on Celtic crosses show the signature of another culture, driven back to Ireland by Rome, and returning to Gaul and Germany with Irish missionaries.

# VII

## ICONODULIA

ISLAM was the last and the most extreme development in the new movement that began some centuries before Christianity away from polytheism towards a unitary conception of the world. The strict Moslem goes as far towards a complete denial of all secondary causes as any man can go. As Islam rose, Greek paganism as a distinct religion, hostile to Christianity, was finally disappearing from all but the most remote valleys of Epirus and the Peloponnese. Pagan rites still confronted the church in the form of customs practised by professing Christians. To these her attitude was critical, but not invariably hostile. St. Gregory the Great advised his missionaries in England to build upon the sites of temples.[1] St. Maximus Confessor, the theologian of the Monothelite controversy, revived an idea of the Cappadocian Fathers[2] that the Christian doctrine of God stands between the extremes of pluralism in the Greek worship of a pantheon and monism in Islam and Judaism.

The council "in Trullo,"[3] which met in a domed hall in a palace in Constantinople in 691-2, was concerned with pagan customs of four kinds: fertility feasts and rituals; offerings of meat, fruit, honey and grain in immediate association with the Eucharist; the invocation of classical deities in the law schools; and various kinds of magic and sorcery. Even sorcery was now practised in a Christian connection. The most favoured kinds of charm were made by cutting up liturgical books, so that rules had to be made against their sale, even when out of repair. The church's attitude to offerings of milk and honey and grapes, and even of animals, was naturally more sympathetic. Rules were made to prevent confusion between such gifts, which might be solemnly blessed, and the Eucharistic elements themselves. The council clearly intended to forbid fertility rites, especially the feasts of Pan and Dionysus, the spring feasts early in March, women's dances, the rioting of

[1] PL 77, c. 1215-7, from Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, bk. i, c. 30.
[2] PG 90, c. 891-6.
[3] H-L, III, i, 560-78.

men in women's clothes or in "comic, satyric and tragic masks," and the burning of fires before houses and shops to be trodden out at the new moon or at the midsummer feast. Nevertheless, these customs continued, and many of them are practised in Greece to this day.[1] They were brought into association with saints instead of gods. St. George assumed most of the functions of Dionysus at the festival of "the drunken St. George." Helios, the sun-god, became the prophet Elijah in his chariot of fire. The midsummer feasts and fires were given to St. John the Baptist. The Mother of God, who was honoured above all the saints, acquired the attributes of many goddesses.[2]

It is interesting to compare the Trullan canons against pagan customs with the commentaries of the twelfth-century canonists upon the Christian forms of the same customs.[3] On the whole these are critical. Monastic canonists still frowned upon the law-students' carnival on "the feast of the three holy writers,"[4] and congratulated the Patriarch Luke (1156-69) on his effort to put it down. They were even more critical of theatricals in church, and of a feast at which men (even priests) got down on their knees and laid the fire and performed other feminine duties.[5] Yet the dances that they deplore continue to this day. At Megara the women still play the part of fishermen on the Tuesday after Easter, dancing to the rhythm of nets drawn out of the sea.

The most illuminating instance of continuity between ancient fertility ritual and Byzantine Christianity is the agricultural history of the Kara Dagh, or "Black Mountain," as it is described by Sir William Ramsay and Miss Gertrude Bell in *The Thousand and One Churches*.[6] The Kara Dagh was an old

[1] See Mary Hamilton, *Greek Saints and their Festivals*, Edinburgh, 1910; and *Incubation*, St. Andrew's and London, 1906, pp. 173-223.

[2] See H. Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, pp. 148-213.

[3] In PG 137, c. 717-36, from the works of Theodore Balsamon, Zonaras, and Aristenus.

[4] St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. John Chrysostom.

[5] *Ibid.*, c. 729-30; *cf.* the customs described in Sir James Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed., vol. ii, London, 1914, pp. 253-64.

[6] Especially pp. 19-38; *cf.* also Sir W. Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, London, 1908, pp. 105-98, chapters on *Asia Minor, the Country and its Religion*; *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire; The Peasant God: the Creation, Destruction, and Restoration of Agriculture in Asia Minor.*

Anatolian sacred city, built round a temple enclosure, on land that was cultivated, despite some very formidable natural obstacles, by "an engineering skill . . . which stored up for use in the dry season every drop" of rain that fell. Sir William Ramsay attributes this skill to a religion "whose rules and practices were the annual events" of the agricultural year.

The church did not destroy these practices; on the contrary, throughout the Christian period cultivation grew more intense. The site remained a "Holy Mountain" covered with hermitages, monasteries and churches. Greek culture, which had missed this part of Lycaonia in pagan times, came with the wider life of the Christian community. From the sixth century to the eleventh Greek inscriptions are common, and all monuments testify to fertility and relative prosperity. In the eleventh century the Turks came, and gradually the Christian agriculturists were killed or fled. The Turks "had not sufficient coherence, or forethought, or education to maintain those works for conserving and supplying water which formed the basis to support civilized life in the Kara Dagh." Moreover, their religion is fundamentally hostile to the observance of natural laws, even for the most purely practical purposes. No good Moslem will keep waterworks in order; only the ruins are left on barren hillsides from Lycaonia to the Persian Gulf.

Fertility ritual is represented in the Greek liturgy by the "great blessing of the waters" on the feast of the Epiphany, a general intercession in the dead of winter for the return of spring, and by the "blessing of the fruits" on August 6th, the feast of the Transfiguration. Other offices for particular occasions—in time of plague and sickness, when children begin to learn their letters, and "when anything unpleasant has fallen into the well"—may be found in the Greek *Euchologion*.[1] They are still increasing at the present day. The Western church never made the same elaborate provision for the hallowing of home and farm, probably because her clergy were more exclusively devoted to the ascetic ideal. The mummers' play and the Plough Monday dance were tolerated horseplay shorn of their pagan religious meaning, but insulated from immediate

[1] A Greek edition should be consulted, as translators are apt to expurgate the agricultural matter.

association with the Christmas festival. At Byzantium, on the other hand, every piece of ritual was brought into its own appointed place in a liturgical scheme.

Each icon of a saint had its own place on the church walls, which were decorated in accordance with a cycle liturgically fixed in an integrated pattern of symbols.[1] In the Byzantine view the church itself was a symbol, like the Tabernacle and the Temple as they are described in *Exodus*[2] and the *Second Book of Chronicles*,[3] for the Byzantines inherited from the early church an idea of art that is unhellenic. Their pagan borrowings were in the details; the frame was Biblical, a representation in earthly, visible materials of an invisible, heavenly pattern, revealed to the eye of faith upon the mount of God. In some Rabbinical interpretations, followed by the author of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*,[4] the pattern is the plan of the heavenly temple. Others saw a symbolic representation of the whole cosmos of "heaven and earth . . . full of Thy glory." The art of the catacombs continues this symbolic tradition. The early Christians did not reject human figures from their symbolism. But instead of idealized representations of the actual human and historical figures of Christ, the Virgin and the twelve apostles, they had the Good Shepherd or Orpheus with his lute as types of Christ, and the Orans or "the praying lady" as a type of the church. As late as the sixth century we see in the apse of St. Apollinare in Classe, outside Ravenna, a picture of the transfiguration of Christ conceived in symbolic terms.[5] Christ Himself is a great patterned cross. Lambs represent the apostles and the heavenly host. A pair of clouds are Moses and Elias. The necessary clues are given in mottoes, but some later artist has painted in the two Old Testament prophets upon their clouds, and broken up the procession of woolly apostles by a human figure of St. Apollinaris.

This kind of imagery may also be found in early Christian literature. A passage in a rhythmical sermon of St. Ephrem the Syrian,[6] who died about 378, is peculiarly interesting as an

[1] *Cf.* C. Diehl, *Manuel*, ii, pp. 484-92.
[2] xxiv-xxxix. [3] iii-iv. [4] viii 5.
[5] C. Diehl, *Manuel*, i, p. 221, and an article, *Mosaiques*, by H. Leclerq in *D.A.C.*, xxiii, c. 221-4.
[6] *Rhythm the Third* in *Homilies of St. Ephrem*, Eng. trans. by J. B. Morris, Oxford, 1847, p. 16.

example of the same imagery that appears again in the Iconoclast art of Asia in the eighth century:

In March when the lambs bleat in the wilderness, into the womb the Paschal Lamb entered. Out of the stream whence the fish came up He was baptized and came up who incloseth all things in His net; out of the stream the fish whereof Simon took, out of it the Fisher of men came up and took him. With the cross which catcheth all robbers, He caught up unto life that robber. The living by His death emptied hell; He unloosed from it and let fly multitudes. The publicans and harlots, the impure snares, at the snares of the deceitful fowler did the Holy One catch. The sinful woman, who was a snare for men, He made a mirror for penitent women. The fig that casteth its fruit, that refuseth fruit, offered Zacchæus as fruit; the fruit of its own nature it yielded not, but it yielded one mystical fruit. . . . As for Iscariot that escaped from His nets, the strangling noose fell upon his neck. His all-quickening net catcheth the living, and he that escapeth from it escapeth from the living.

In a letter[1] of St. Nilus, who lived near Ancyra in about A.D. 400, we find evidence of conflict between the supporters of this type of imagery and advocates of another kind of Christian art. The Eparch Olympiodorus, who had written to consult the saint on a point of church decoration, hesitated between actual representations of martyrs "in the agony of death" and hunting and fishing scenes. In the nave he was inclined "to thousands of crosses, and representations of flying, walking and creeping beasts, and every kind of plant." St. Nilus, following a newer fashion, wanted plain crosses in the nave and Bible stories in the choir.

Here we see the shadow of a great conflict. The "deceitful art of painting" was associated in many Christian minds with a sentimental idealization of physical human nature, which is only too common in Hellenistic art under the Roman empire. The first Christian pictures of miracles and martyrdoms are done in a narrative style with plenty of gesture and movement.

[1] PG 79, c. 577-9, translated and quoted in J. Strzygowski, *The Origins of Christian Church Art*, Eng. trans., Oxford, 1923, pp. 144, 163-4. For designs of this character on mosaic pavements see J. W. Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine*, London, 1941, pp. 116-146, and plates xii-xiii, xxi, xxiii. Many of the birds and beasts are from the Nile valley.

Of late years this style has been traced back to Syrian exemplars in a pagan building at Dura Salihiyah in Mesopotamia, first inspected at the end of the last war by Franz Cumont and J. H. Breasted, who found there some wall-paintings of about A.D. 80 astonishingly like later Byzantine art.[1] Others of the same kind have since been found in Syria. Of this kind of art M. J. Rostovtzeff writes that its "most striking peculiarity . . . is the way in which intense spiritual rather than intellectual life is reflected, especially in the eyes."[2] From some such Syrian tradition Byzantine art probably derived its preference for mural painting and low relief over sculpture in the round. But by the seventh century Greek sculpture itself had been transformed by the new spirit. Its own emphasis changed from the sensual and physical to the spiritual and psychological. It was ready to be the medium of the new religion. The holy image of the seventh and eighth centuries is more often a mosaic or a painting than a statue, but it is recognizably descended on the one side from Greek images of gods and goddesses, and on the other from another tradition that goes back through Syrian pictures to the narrative art of the ancient East.

The image or icon is incorporated in a pattern that is neither Greek nor oriental, but Biblical. The Byzantine church, like the Tabernacle and the Temple, was a symbolic copy of the whole cosmos. The dome and the roof over the apse were the heavens spread out over the earth. The sanctuary behind the iconostasis, the great screen, was the Holy Place, the tent of God, where He came down to tabernacle among men. As He stood in the pillar of cloud at the door of the tent of meeting and spoke with Moses,[3] so He stood in the hands of His priest at the "royal doors," between the people and the sanctuary, while clouds of incense were wafted to heaven. It was therefore right that the roof and upper walls of the church should be filled with similitudes of the heavenly host, with Christ reigning among them, as Lord of all, in the splendour of His glorified human body. It was also right that the church should be seen above and behind the altar, either as the Orans, in an attitude

[1] See *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting*, ed. J. H. Breasted, Chicago, 1924; and *C.A.H.*, plates, v, 26-8, 166.

[2] *C.A.H.*, xi, p. 129.

[3] Exodus xxxiii 9-10.

of supplication, or enthroned, with Christ enthroned on her. In either instance the church was symbolized by the Blessed Virgin, the God-bearer from the beginning, the root of the church in that the Word tabernacled in her before there were apostles. She represented not only the church, but Israel, Man and Nature. In her the whole of creation responded to the creator: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord." To the Christ upon her knee angels, prophets, apostles and martyrs bore witness, each from his own appointed place in the procession on the walls.

The new fashions in religious art were challenged in Asia,[1] where Orthodox Christians were sensitive to Moslem, Paulician, and Assyrian criticisms of "Christian idolatry" or Iconodulia, "the service of icons"; and in parts of the West, where Greek art had never endeared itself to the rural population. The eighty-second canon of the council in Trullo ordered that Christ must be represented in future by a human figure, and not in the form of a lamb. This canon was linked with others of the same council that censured Armenian, Syrian, African and Latin customs. The bishops of the Patriarchate of Constantinople sought to impose their own usage as a universal norm in the matter of fasting, the marriage of clergy and some other disciplinary and liturgical usages. They censured the Armenians for their unmixed chalice, their hereditary priesthood, and certain relics of animal sacrifice. In the ninety-ninth canon the boiling of meat in the sanctuary during the liturgy was forbidden. The Latins, on the other hand, offended by rejecting thirty-five out of the eighty-five canons in the old collection known as "the apostolic canons," probably of the fifth century.[2] One of the rejected rules forbade fasting on Saturdays, except Easter Eve; another the eating of "things strangled" according to the literal interpretation of Acts xv. The sixth apostolic canon forbade priests and deacons to put away their wives "on pretext of religion." The thirtieth canon of the council in Trullo allowed "priests among the barbarians" to do so, according to the Latin rule, adding that "in that case

[1] For controversy in Armenia in c. 600 see S. der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine empire*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1945, pp. xx, 111. I have not been able to consult her article in B, xvii (1945).

[2] See a discussion in H-L, I, ii, 1203-21.

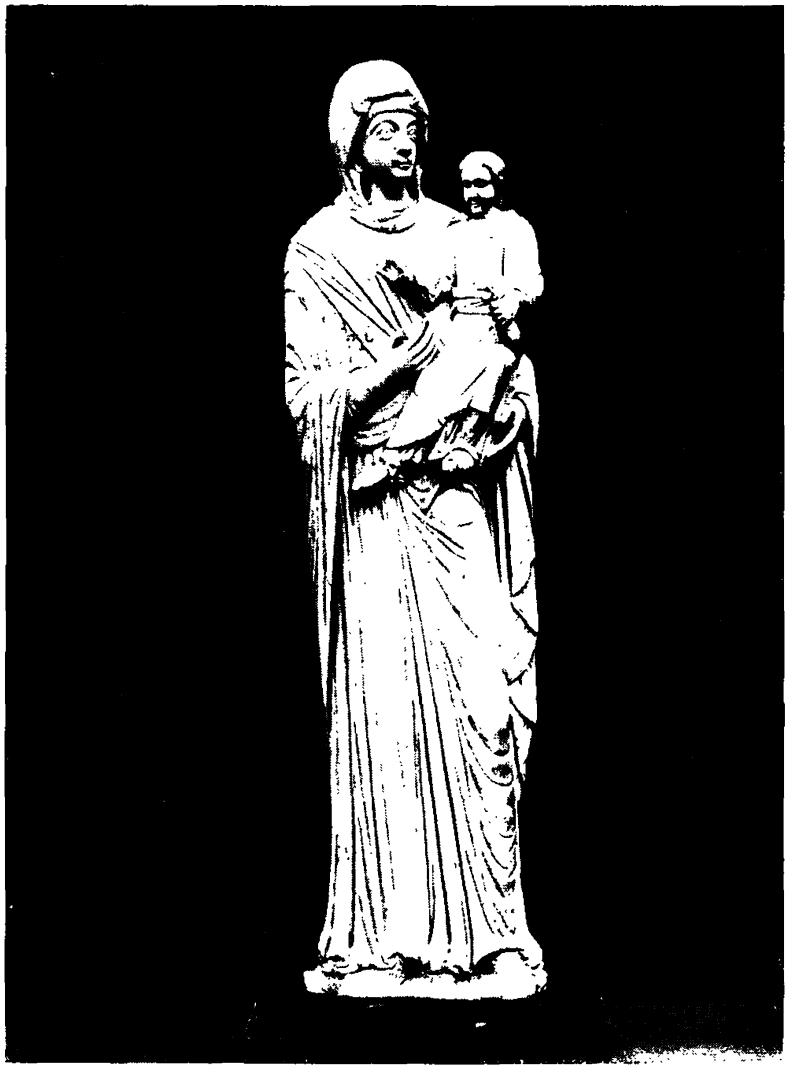
CHRIST'S SPHERICAL BODY.

THE MYSTICAL HUNT.

*Facing p. 96.*

*Facing p. 97.*

A ROBE OF GLORY.



THEOTOKOS IN IVORY.

they may not live again with them." Within the empire the Eastern rule must be observed.

The practical effect of this difference must not be exaggerated. Greeks and Latins agreed that bishops should live in celibacy. Another of the Trullan canons is directed against married bishops, especially in Africa. In practice in the Latin West the rule of celibacy was little enforced in the eighth and ninth centuries. In Italy the wives of priests and bishops were consecrated by a special ceremony, and became *presbyteræ* and *episcopæ*.[1] Whatever the original conditions of their dedication, in practice they generally remained with their husbands. Those in the West who desired to observe a stricter discipline were covered by the exception for "priests among the barbarians." This classification was bound to arouse resentment. It is not surprising that Pope Sergius I refused to sign the canons. An attempt to arrest him in 693 was foiled by the resistance of the Romans, who were much more independent now than in 653 or 546. Political troubles from 695 to 705 postponed any further attempt at coercion. Finally, in 708-9, Pope Constantine came to Nicomedia in Bithynia, and arrived at a compromise with the Emperor Justinian II, who allowed him to sign the canons with some qualifications,[2] presumably reserving the right of the Latin churches to keep their own customs. Henceforth the Greek churches of the Roman Patriarchate in Calabria, Sicily, Greece and Macedonia were more and more drawn into the orbit of Constantinople, with whom they shared a common discipline. The Greek churches of the Ægean, though not of the West, had been well represented at the council in Trullo.

In Asia antagonism to Byzantine culture was more pronounced. Early in the eighth century it took form in the Iconoclast movement. When the Iconoclasts came into power in the reigns of Leo III (717-41) and Constantine V (741-75), they removed all icons from the churches and substituted hunting and fishing scenes, singing birds, musical instruments, baskets and bunches of fruit, flowers, foliage, scrolls, and many large and small ornamental crosses. These designs do not represent a return to naturalism and realism, though here and there in

[1] L. Duchesne, *Les premiers temps de l'état pontifical*, Paris, 1904, p. 104.
[2] *Lib. Pont.*, i, 389-91; H-L, III, i, 578-81.

the palaces the Iconoclast emperors may have favoured a Hellenistic style of secular wall-painting, chariot races and the like, which had persisted almost unaltered from the days of the Roman empire. Byzantine secular painting and secular literature was conservative and classical. To get a clue to the real aims of the Iconoclasts we must turn to accounts of their religious art.

The birds, the musical instruments, the bunches of fruit and flowers all recall the Roman catacombs. The hunting scenes which also scandalized Orthodox controversialists are found, as we have seen, in the sermons of St. Ephrem and in the letter of St. Nilus to Olympiodorus. They may possibly have come into Christian art from Persian religious art, for the hunt would be an appropriate symbol for the everlasting struggle of Ormuzd and Ahriman that lies at the heart of the old Persian religion. Hunting scenes are specially common in the art of Sassanid Persia, and again on great silver plates made in Bagdad in the Arab period, but we do not understand their religious motives. It would be odd and interesting to find that Christians and Moslems who deliberately rejected the naturalism of Greek religious art themselves unconsciously borrowed from the art of another defeated religion.[1]

The Paulicians had at least some sympathy with the religion of Persia. The Byzantines generally identified them with the Manichæans,[2] whose heresy consisted in a conflation of Mazdæan and Christian doctrine. The Iconoclasts were not Paulicians, but they were always suspected of some degree of sympathy with the sect. They themselves complained that icons "insult the saints, who shine in so much glory," by "common dead matter." In this they betray the same distrust of the material world of natural objects that we find in the Manichæans, the Paulicians, and the Moslems, and among all who follow after in the same trail of "spiritual religion."

[1] For theories of Mazdæan or Zoroastrian art see J. Strzygowski, *The Origins of Christian Church Art*, pp. 115-26. For other roots in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia see S. der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-5. Her chapters on Armenian sculpture and painting, pp. 84-116, unfortunately reached my hands only while the proofs of this book were being corrected.

[2] See F. C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, London, 1925.

# VIII

## ICONOCLASM

LEO III, the first Iconoclast emperor, was general of the army of Asia, when in 717 he seized power from the official classes in Constantinople, whose contentions since 695 threatened the military security of the eastern frontier. He won his spurs by defending the city against a great Arab attack in 717-20, and then proceeded to adapt the constitution of the empire to the needs of the situation, as seen from the point of view of a soldier, by a series of legal and administrative reforms, which throw much light on his ecclesiastical aims. His reform of the law, the *Ecloga*,[1] published in 740, is inspired by hostility to the relics of paganism, and by a desire to introduce a more Christian and "philanthropic" spirit into legislation. Divorce was made more difficult, and the position of women was improved. According to Theophanes,[2] the schools of arts and theology in Constantinople were closed. George the Monk[3] goes further, and accuses the Iconoclasts of burning the university, the books, and the professors. Though Theophanes is a partisan, and the unsupported authority of George the Monk (otherwise called George the Sinner) is at no time of much value, some such "burning of the books" would seem to explain the antagonism of the *literati* to the Iconoclasts, as revealed in the repeal of so many of their laws by the classically educated bureaucracy of the age of Photius and Leo VI (877-912).

The bureaucracy probably valued the whole ceremonial scheme of art and liturgy in church and palace as a means to keep the imperial authority in its context in Orthodox dogma and Roman law. If the Iconoclasts had had their way the emperor's image alone would have received the veneration that had been given to saints and angels. The empire would have been gradually assimilated to the Caliphate of the Moslem Arabs, where the Caliph was the only viceroy of God, and the Koran the only law.

[1] Bury-Gibbon, v, appendix 11, pp. 556-61. [2] CB, p. 623.
[3] PG 110, c. 919-22, followed by Cedrenus and Zonaras.

The original authors of Iconoclasm were two Asiatic bishops, Constantine of Nacolia in Phrygia and Thomas of Claudiopolis on the coast of the Black Sea. Their propaganda had much support in the army, which at this time was very largely recruited in Asia; but the very first measures taken by the government in support of their proposals were opposed by riots in Constantinople. In 726 a party of soldiers and workmen demolished the image of Christ enthroned over the Chalke gate of the imperial palace. This was a direct attack on the popular religion of the city, for this particular icon, called "Antiphonetes" or the surety, was a special favourite with mariners, who regarded a prayer towards it as the best form of marine insurance. The first victims of Iconoclast persecution, according to the Orthodox accounts, were women who protested against this violence. Rebellions followed in Greece, the Cyclades, Sicily, and Italy. These may have been directed as much against the political as against the specifically ecclesiastical actions of the government. It was not until January, 730, that the Patriarch Germanus was deposed, and a man of straw, Anastasius, was installed in his place. Protests from Rome against the deposition of Germanus were met, not by anathemas or ecclesiastical censures, but the confiscation of papal property in Apulia, Sicily and the East, and the annexation of the Greek bishoprics of Calabria, the Terre d'Otranto at the heel of Apulia, Sicily, Greece and the Cyclades, and of the few remaining Latin sees in Dalmatia, to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, probably in 732.[1] Rome was too far away to be conveniently coerced, when violence might drive the Romans into the hands of the Lombards; but she could be deprived of her Patriarchal authority within the *Œcumene*. There was no attempt as yet to condemn the making of icons as heresy, and it is on the whole unlikely that they were formally forbidden by civil law.

From the other side of the Byzantine world to Rome and Italy, in the relative safety of Syria, St. John of Damascus, an Orthodox Christian in the service of the Caliph, uttered his three orations in defence of the icons. We now know that there was an earlier controversy between Melkites and Moslems,

[1] J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire Byzantin*, Paris, 1904, p. 13, argues on slender evidence that no action was taken before 753-4.

in 719-20,[1] when the Caliph Omar II attempted to destroy all icons in the Christian churches of his dominions, seven years before the attack upon the "Antiphonetes" in Constantinople. This may have been the occasion which sharpened Asiatic criticism of Greek Iconodulia within the Byzantine world. But St. John's three extant orations are all concerned with the Byzantine controversy. At the time when they were given, in 727-33, he was still a layman and a civil servant of a Moslem government. Later, in about 735, he retired to Palestine and entered the monastery of St. Sabbas, where he composed his *Fountain of Knowledge*, a summary of Christian doctrine which became classical in the East. Translated into Latin in the twelfth century,[2] it was one of the most important sources of the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas.

St. John of Damascus, living right outside the Byzantine state, had unusual opinions about the interference of emperors with ecclesiastical affairs, more natural in a "Millet" than in a Christian society. He wrote words that remind us of later controversies in the West:

> In the ecclesiastical constitution we have our own pastors, who speak the word to us and typify the ecclesiastical pattern. We will not change the bounds which our fathers set for all time, but we will hold fast the traditions as we received them; for if in a small matter we begin to demolish the church's architecture, little by little all will be destroyed.[3]

The conservative emphasis is inevitable, for a Millet can change nothing. It is a fossilized civilization, forced to stand still until the day of liberation.

St. John made more impression on his Byzantine readers with an argument intended to establish distinctions in degrees of reverence. The respect given to icons no more derogates from the worship of God than the respect given to officials, or to the flag, can injure or insult the emperor. Every Christian understands the difference between the relative veneration paid to the icons and the adoration due to God, to whom the whole liturgy is directed. This argument was probably effective in the atmosphere of court ceremonial that pervaded Byzantine

[1] J. W. Crowfoot, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 141-6, 162, and plate xxv.
[2] PG 94, c. 790-1126, with the original translation.
[3] *De Imaginibus Oratio*, ii, PG 94, c. 1297-8.

society. The charge of idolatry is repeated by the Iconoclast "General Council" of Hieria in 754, but it is subordinated to other charges, and is not excessively pressed. In 815 it disappears altogether.[1]

St. John went on to expound the theory of symbolic art that was common to both parties, with illustrations from the worship of the Tabernacle and the Temple, the instruments of the liturgy, and the sacraments themselves. His object is to convince the Iconoclasts that they, too, use and venerate some material symbols, the book of the Gospels, the Holy Cross, the Eucharistic vessels, and the sacramental elements. All these are matter. The Iconoclast charge, repeated at the Council of Hieria, that

> the deceitful colouring of pictures . . . draws down the spirit of man from the lofty worship of God to the low and material worship of the creature,[2]

implies a Manichæan aversion from the created world; but God looked on His creation, and saw that it was good.

The Iconoclasts objected that the second commandment absolutely forbade Christians to frame "the likeness of any living thing." St. John contended that this was composed, like so much else in the Jewish law, in the light of special circumstances.[3] The furniture of the Tabernacle, and especially the Cherubim, are evidence enough that even under the Old Covenant all similitudes were not forbidden. Christians have higher authority for representative art in the example of the Incarnation. If God took flesh and so became the one "natural image of God," other images, from the sacraments downwards, are holy in lesser degree. Because God took flesh, there must be a place in Christian worship for the image of His flesh.

The reply to these arguments is to be found in the definition of faith[4] at the Iconoclast Council of Hieria:

> The only admissible figure of the humanity of Christ . . . is bread and wine in the Holy Supper. This and no other form, this and no other type, has He chosen to represent His humanity. Bread He ordered to be brought, but not a representation of His human figure, so that idolatry should not arise.

[1] *Infra*, p. 109. [2] H-L, III, ii, 698. [3] PG 94, c. 1298.
[4] Mansi, xiii, c. 208-356; H-L, III, ii, 700; see *infra*, p. 203.

The Fathers of the Church "have not left behind them any prayer by which an image should be hallowed or made anything else than ordinary matter." The painter of an icon of Christ "tries to fashion what should be only believed with the heart and confessed with the mouth." If he portrays the Godhead and the manhood together in fusion, he falls into Monophysitism; if the manhood alone, he separates the two natures and paints the manhood as something apart from the Deity, a "fourth person of the Trinity."

This last contention may be compared with Orthodox and Monophysite arguments against the Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius. The Iconoclasts probably shared with Monophysites of the school of Severus and such "Origenists" as Leontius of Byzantium and Theodore Ascidas a disposition to believe that Christ's humanity is so far absorbed into His deity that He cannot be represented in human form as He is in heaven. Some Origenists seem to have believed, with Origen himself in some of his writings, that all human bodies will be spherical (σφαιροείδη) in the resurrection.[1] The Iconoclasts did not object to human figures in earthly scenes. They painted chariot races, hunting scenes, and donors in church, and put the emperor's head upon the coinage instead of Christ or the Virgin.[2] They did not object to the representation of Christ and His glorified saints in human form and appearance. In this they were at one with other orientals, not only Paulicians and Moslems, but even Assyrians, who have no icons except the cross,[3] probably because they cannot share the Greek reverence for the shape of the human body.

The Iconoclasts used symbols drawn from the traditions of early Christian art in the Roman catacombs and at Alexandria, especially those that had some warrant in the Bible. They found one list of Scriptural symbols in the Pseudo-Dionysian writings, which were at this time almost on a level with Scripture. Dionysius wrote of "oxen, lions, eagles, birds, wheels, thrones, many-coloured horses, and spear-bearing

[1] See an anathema against this doctrine in PG 86, i, c. 989 (542).

[2] Vasiliev, i, pp. 381-2.

[3] G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, London, 1852, vol. ii, pp. 132-6. Other references in Adrian Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, London, 1913, p. 137. There is some question as to the antiquity of Assyrian Iconoclasm, which may be due to later Moslem influence.

leaders of the host."[1] To these could be added the trees of King Solomon,[2] "from the cedar that is in Lebanon unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall," his "beasts and fowl, and creeping things, and fishes." The *Physiologus*[3] or bestiary was known to Greek writers of the fourth century, though the first extant manuscript is of the ninth. It was full of stories of mystical and moral animals[4] that probably lay at the base of Iconoclast animal art, just as lore of the same kind lay behind the earlier Christian symbols on the tombstones of Lycaonia,[5] and the mediæval monsters on the *tympana* of Norman door-ways.

This kind of religious art could not become universal. Greece and the islands, Sicily and Italy, revolted against it in 727-9, Constantinople in 741. After this revolt the capital was largely repeopled with fresh settlers from Asia, who were also planted in military colonies in Macedonia and Thrace, while Slavs were sent to take their place in Asia Minor. Many civil officials retired from the world with their whole families, not only because they disapproved of the destruction of icons, but because the Iconoclasts had changed the secular laws. These defeated statesmen brought into the monasteries of Greece and the Ægean a new ardour for church politics that did not always commend itself to monks of an older tradition. They wrote and read books on the theory of the church, while older monks maintained that the ideal of a religious was pure contemplation. The older tradition in the end proved stronger, but for a time the monasteries of Saccudio and St. John of Studios, within the very walls of Constantinople, became the centres of a

[1] *On the Heavenly Hierarchy*, c. 2, sec. i.

[2] 1 Kings iv 32-4. The wisdom of Solomon did not consist in natural history, but in proverbs and songs about symbolic animals, birds, and fishes. These multiplied after his time right down to the time of St. Basil the Great, who tells in his *Hexæmeron*, PG 21, c. 159-60, of a viper that married a conger eel.

[3] See the article (unsigned) on "Physiologus" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition, 1911, vol. xxi, pp. 552-3. *Cf.* also C. Diehl, *Manuel*, i, p. 383; and A. Karnejev, *Der Physiologus der Moskauer Synodalbibliothek*, in BZ, iii (1894), pp. 26-63.

[4] Like the grifon in *Purgatorio*, canto xxix, 106 *ff.*

[5] See Sir William Ramsay on "The Church of Lycaonia in the Fourth Century" in *Luke the Physician*, pp. 331-410; and Miss Margaret Ramsay in *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, ed. by Sir W. Ramsay, London, 1906, pp. 5-92. Lycaonia afterwards became Isauria, the home of so many Iconoclasts.

church party, indeed of a dissident church, out of communion with the defiled Patriarchate.

The Studites, like the *Acoimeti* in the reign of Anastasius,[1] looked to Rome. Many of their allies in Greece and the islands ignored the action of the emperors in transferring the dioceses of Illyricum from the Roman to the Byzantine Patriarchate, and maintained that Rome alone had authority over them.[2] Others fled to Rome itself, which was at this time a semi-independent enclave between the empire and the kingdom of the Lombards. Oriental exiles from Byzantium and Syria, who filled the Roman monasteries, provided the church with an Asiatic, five Syrian and three Greek Popes between 685 and 752. The Romans were intensely interested in Eastern controversies, and hostile to Iconoclasm, which they condemned in local synods in 730 and 769. But they were also reluctant to break with the centre of civilization in the East in order to put themselves under the protection of a barbarous Lombard king. The Iconoclast emperors were almost equally reluctant to proceed to extremes against them. Even in the Italian provinces that they annexed to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, Calabria and the Terre d'Otranto, they only occasionally tried to impose the practice of Iconoclasm. Some attempts were made further afield, but these were even more rare.[3] Calabria remained a refuge for Iconodule partisans, who founded many monasteries there.

It may be that the Byzantine Iconoclasts regarded their legislation against images as primarily a matter for the *Œcumene*. They certainly sought and received some sympathy from the churches of Western Christendom, who were by no means unanimous in the defence of Greek religious art. The Iconoclast schisms of 730-86 and 815-43 were not schisms between East and West, but between an Asiatic party at Constantinople and a Greek and Latin party in Greece, Italy and Rome. On the other hand they led to deeper conflicts within Byzantine society than any that were produced by the Christological controversies.

[1] *Supra*, p. 51.

[2] But their "Romanism" must not be exaggerated. Theodore the Studite in PG 99, c. 1161, calls Jerusalem the first of the Patriarchates.

[3] For an Iconoclast party at Naples see Gay, pp. 17-8.

The extreme Iconodules regarded the beasts and birds of Iconoclast art as diabolical defilements. The extreme Iconoclasts, who were found in the circle of Constantine V, proceeded from antagonism to the icons of the saints to criticisms of the cultus of the saints as such, and especially of the veneration of the *Theotokos*, the Blessed Virgin. According to some accounts they were hostile not only to the numerous Iconodule monks and nuns, but to monasticism. They certainly installed a eunuch and a secular priest as Patriarch of Constantinople in 765. But intermediate parties always existed. The council of 754 professed the Orthodox doctrine that the saints and the Virgin Mother are to be venerated, but not their pictures. The victories of Constantine V over Arab and Bulgarian enemies, by removing immediate dangers, improved the position of the more pacific elements in the community, the citizens and the Greeks who were adverse to Asiatic hunting scenes. Under his son Leo IV (775-80) persecution ceased, and icons were tolerated outside the capital. After his death in 780 his widow, an Athenian lady called Irene, who ruled as regent for their young son Constantine VI, visibly inclined towards Iconodulia, but some years passed before any decisive action was taken.

Irene acted through an able group of civil officials, who played a large part in politics for the next thirty years. One of them, Tarasius, who was promoted to the Patriarchate in 784, began a long line of Patriarchs drawn from the civilian hierarchy, who took monastic vows late in life when it was advisable that their administrative experience should be used in the church's service. This custom was never understood in the West. Tarasius was in sincere sympathy with the policy of restoring icons, but it is certain that he had been in communion with the Iconoclast Patriarchs. He did not share the monastic view that Iconoclasm was a form of devil worship; on the contrary, he was anxious to secure the sympathy of those among the existing bishops who were ready to be convinced that it was a political mistake.

His first effort to hold a council was thwarted by the army, who were devoted to the memory of Leo III and Constantine V. The second, at Nicæa in 787, was attended by some representatives of the churches of Syria and Egypt who had no

official credentials, and by legates from Rome who had come to Constantinople upon other business to ask for the restoration of the papal patrimonies. The decisions of Hieria were formally cancelled, and a new definition of doctrine was framed.[1]

This definition sought to distinguish between the relative reverence due to the icons and divine worship, which is proper to God alone. The icons, like the Cross and the book of the Gospels, are to be honoured with incense and lights, but in a defined order of precedence.[2] First comes the icon of Christ, then His mother, then "the unembodied angels who have appeared to the righteous in human form." Last of all are the holy apostles, martyrs and other saints. If this definition is read in the light of the whole tradition of Byzantine secular and ecclesiastical ceremonial, as it is given, for instance, in the *De ceremoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, its constitutional significance will become plain, and with this its appeal to officials like Tarasius. The censing of icons established the authority of a celestial aristocracy over and above the throne. The natural guardians of the tradition of saints and lawyers were monks and bureaucrats. The army had failed to break the fetters of tradition and to establish the emperor in venerable isolation.

But there was soon tension between bureaucrats and monks. The monks rejoiced in canons forbidding the direct appointment of bishops by the lay power, and commanding annual synods in every ecclesiastical province.[3] But some of them distrusted the leniency of Tarasius towards ex-Iconoclasts, who retained their bishoprics without penance. A schism on this head remained unimportant until 795, when it was involved with a new and serious quarrel between the Dowager-empress Irene and the young Emperor Constantine VI. Constantine grew up to be the hope of the discontented Asiatic soldiers, who saw in him the representative of the traditions of Leo III, discarded by his Greek mother and her monastic and civilian friends. His first attempt to break loose from her leading strings were unsuccessful, but in 794-5 he repudiated the wife that she had chosen for him, an Armenian lady called Maria.

[1] Mansi, xiii, c. 374-9; Kidd, *Documents*, iii, 73.
[2] *Cf.* G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 424.
[3] H-L, III, ii, 778-81.

He accused her of trying to poison him, and immured her in a monastery, where she was compelled to take the veil. He then married one of his mother's ladies-in-waiting, Theodote, a niece of Plato, the Abbot of Saccudio, and a cousin of the great Theodore the Studite,[1] of the monastery of St. John of Studios. It would seem that Irene[2] herself was the original author of this change. She was intensely jealous of power and intolerant of any rival influence with her son, but in a very short time she discovered that Theodote was far more obnoxious to her than Maria. Therefore Maria ought not to have been veiled, or Theodote crowned either as bride or as empress. The priest who had performed the marriage service must be sacrificed to her wrath, but he was the steward of the Patriarch Tarasius, who for the time protected him. Irene promptly transferred her patronage to his monastic opponents, who were joined by Plato and Theodore, because they were honestly anxious to dissociate themselves from their young relative's dubious ascent to the dangerous heights of the imperial throne. From 795 the "Mœchian schism," or the schism about adultery, grew from strength to strength with the aid of Theodore and Irene, until in 797 Irene deposed her son and put out his eyes.

Tarasius unwillingly surrendered to her power, suspended his steward, and healed the schism. Others showed more sympathy with Theodote and the blinded Constantine. After five years another revolution transferred power to Nicephorus, the Syrian minister of finance, who steered a middle course between the Iconoclasts and the monastic party. On the death of Tarasius in 806 he replaced him by a namesake of his own, another Nicephorus, who was an able ecclesiastical historian, but, like Tarasius, a member of the bureaucracy, lenient to the survivors of Iconoclasm. Theodore the Studite disapproved of him, and revived the Mœchian schism in 809 because the offending steward of Tarasius had been restored to the priesthood after twelve years of penance.

In 811 the Emperor Nicephorus was defeated and killed in a battle with the Bulgarians. For the moment Theodore was strong enough to choose his own emperor, Michael Rhangabe,

[1] See A. Gardner, *Theodore of Studium*, London, 1905.
[2] So Theophanes, CB, p. 727.

who refused to make peace with Bulgaria because the Studites disapproved of the return of Christian refugees who had fled from the persecution of the Bulgarian king. Archimandrites acted as military advisers, and naturally provoked hostile reactions in the army. In 813 the Asiatics again rose, as in 717, under Leo V the Armenian, who was personally a moderate man, ready to retain Nicephorus in the Patriarchate, and to make a compromise about icons.[1] Images could remain in the upper stories, the Christ in the cupola, the Virgin Mother over the altar, and the host of heaven in the roof. Only no lights or incense must be burnt before them and none might be venerated at the ground level. But the army insisted on an explicit anathema on the council of 787, and to that the Patriarch would not consent. So in 815, after a delay of two years since the revolution, he was expelled from his see and an Iconoclast was installed. In exile he was once again reconciled to the redoubtable Theodore, who had feared his wavering.

A council at Easter, 815, drew up a moderate definition,[2] disclaiming any intention to charge the other party with idolatry. Though the council condemned "the unauthorized and illegal manufacture of pseudonymous images" it does not appear that mural paintings or mosaics were often broken, at least in the roof or in the upper walls. The later Iconoclasts devoted most of their attention to propaganda against the cult of small, portable icons in private houses; where icon tables were used for private celebrations of the Eucharist, the sacramental elements might be received from the hands of an image, the hair of a first tonsure might be offered to an icon, or paint scraped off into the chalice, or into the water of baptism, to bring a special saint into association with the sacraments.[3] Theodore and others who taught that icons were actual channels of divine grace were specially censured. But there was no attack upon monks as such, and it is clear from Theodore's letters that many communicated with the Iconoclast Patriarchs. Those who refused had a good deal of liberty of action, including freedom to correspond. In 820-1 Theodore used this freedom to defeat another attempt by a new emperor

[1] J. B. Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, London, 1912, p. 62.
[2] H-L, III, ii, 1217-21, not in the German or the English editions.
[3] See H-L, III, ii, 612.

to make peace. He was the real centre of opposition until his death in 826.

These efforts towards compromise are symptoms of the exhaustion of the struggle, especially on the Iconoclast side. Iconoclasm began as a Puritan movement against paganism in Christianity. But the Emperor Theophilus (829-42) was an ardent admirer of the luxurious Persian culture of the Bagdad of Haroun al-Raschid, the Caliph of the Arabian Nights. He loved ingenious devices to mystify rustics and ambassadors, such as disappearing thrones and dishes, and lions that really roared. The two Iconoclast leaders of his day were John Hylilas, Patriarch of Constantinople from 832 to 843, who was chiefly famous for his skill in sorcery, and Leo the Philosopher, Metropolitan of Thessalonica, who scandalized the devout by his successful application of astrological learning to the agricultural problems of his diocese.[1] When the Iconoclasts went out of office he was obliged to resign his see, but almost immediately he found fresh preferment as a lecturer in philosophy and mathematics at the revived University of Constantinople, where he educated the principal leaders of Orthodoxy in the next generation. The successor of John Hylilas in the Patriarchate of Constantinople was another man of moderation, the Sicilian monk Methodius, who in the reign of Theophilus had been allowed to live in the palace, despite his Iconodule views, that the emperor might enjoy his learned conversation.

This revival of secular interests was probably a direct result of Iconoclasm itself. The ban on Greek religious art and legal learning encouraged research into other forms of knowledge, into the forbidden wisdom of magic and sorcery, and the luxurious culture of the Moslem East, as at the time of the Renaissance and the Reformation the rejection of Aristotle and the Schoolmen left the ground free for the new science, but also for a revival of astrology. At Byzantium any revival of learning was bound to lead to a renewed interest in the classical past, in Greek literature and Greek art; and this inevitably led to a revival of representative art in a more Greek and sculptural style, though sculpture itself, by an unwritten agreement, became rare if not unknown.

Theophilus himself was intensely hostile to Greek painting,

[1] Bury, *E.R.E.*, p. 442.

which he strove to repress by torturing icon painters, tattooing iambic lines of "not very good" verse upon their faces.[1] Yet his wife Theodora kept icons in her room, and tales were told of how her little daughter, or the court jester, told her husband how she took them out of a drawer and kissed them. She pleaded that they were only mirrors in which the faces of her court ladies were transfigured and transformed.[2] Theophilus, who professed to believe her, must have known that the icons would return when he was dead. In 842 Theodora became regent for their young son Michael III. A year later, with the aid of Methodius, she restored the icons. Her husband's name was spared any formal condemnation, to the disgust of the disciples of Theodore the Studite.

Neither Rome nor the Eastern Patriarchates were represented at these proceedings. After the Second Council of Nicæa Rome played a small part in the controversy, partly because the council was rejected by the churches of Gaul, Germany and Britain, at the instigation of the kings of the Franks, who favoured a compromise solution, and corresponded with moderate Iconoclasts to that end. In the West the Iconodule definitions were not usually considered authoritative before the eleventh century. But because they represented the mind of Greece and the islands, Sicily and Constantinople, they were in the end accepted as final by Byzantine society, and to-day the Eastern "feast of orthodoxy" is primarily a commemoration of the return of icons.

The issue of the Iconoclast controversy was a second victory for the human image of Christ exalted over the image of salvation through the transformation of humanity into something wholly different, implied in most of the older oriental heresies. The form of the controversy tended to fix Byzantine notions of ritual and church decoration in a more rigid form. This was unfortunate in that it made the Greeks more intolerant, not only of Armenians and Syrians, who might be tainted with older heresies, but of Latins and Franks, who did not venerate icons enough, or venerate the right icons at the right time and in the right way.

[1] *Vita Theodori Grapti* in PG 116, c. 673.

[2] This tale is translated in R. M. Dawkins, *The Monks of Athos*, pp. 239 40, from *Theophanes Continuatus*, CB, pp. 91-2.

# IX

## THE FRANKS, ROME, AND BYZANTIUM

THE party conflict in the Byzantine church between the disciples of Theodore the Studite and three Patriarchs of Constantinople, Tarasius, Nicephorus and Methodius, was from time to time involved with another controversy between the Patriarchates of Constantinople and Rome. Theodore and his followers did not recognize changes in the ecclesiastical boundaries made by heretical emperors. The Patriarchs, on the other hand, maintained their rights of consecration in the enlarged Byzantine Patriarchate, including Greece, Dalmatia, Sicily, southern Calabria, and the two Greek dioceses of Otranto and Gallipoli in the heel of Apulia.[1] They did not try to extend their authority over the Latin dioceses in this region which the Iconoclasts had tried to conquer, but doubtless the numerous Greek churches and monasteries in Naples, Bari and Taranto looked for support in any conflicts with the Latins to the neighbouring Greek dioceses, and through them to the Patriarchate.

In theory Rome maintained her rights. At the time of the Second Council of Nicæa Pope Hadrian I protested not only against the robbery of the papal patrimonies, but against the consecration of bishops by the Patriarch of Constantinople even in suburbican dioceses that were part of the metropolitan province of Rome.[2] In practice in the first half of the ninth century the attention of the papacy was distracted by other interests. The old Roman Patriarchate had included Greek churches in the inner core, in Naples, Calabria, Sicily, even in Rome, and in the outer fringes from the south of Gaul to Greece. Now the Roman sphere and the Latin world were becoming identical, for the Greek churches of Rome and Naples had the aspect of foreign colonies. The Latin churches in Illyricum, once so rich and flourishing, were now confined to the coasts of

[1] See Gay, pp. 185-90.

[2] H-L, III, iii, 751; P. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, vol. i, Leipzig, 1885, 2448, 2449, 2483. Gay, p. 13, exaggerates the silence of Rome from 794-860.

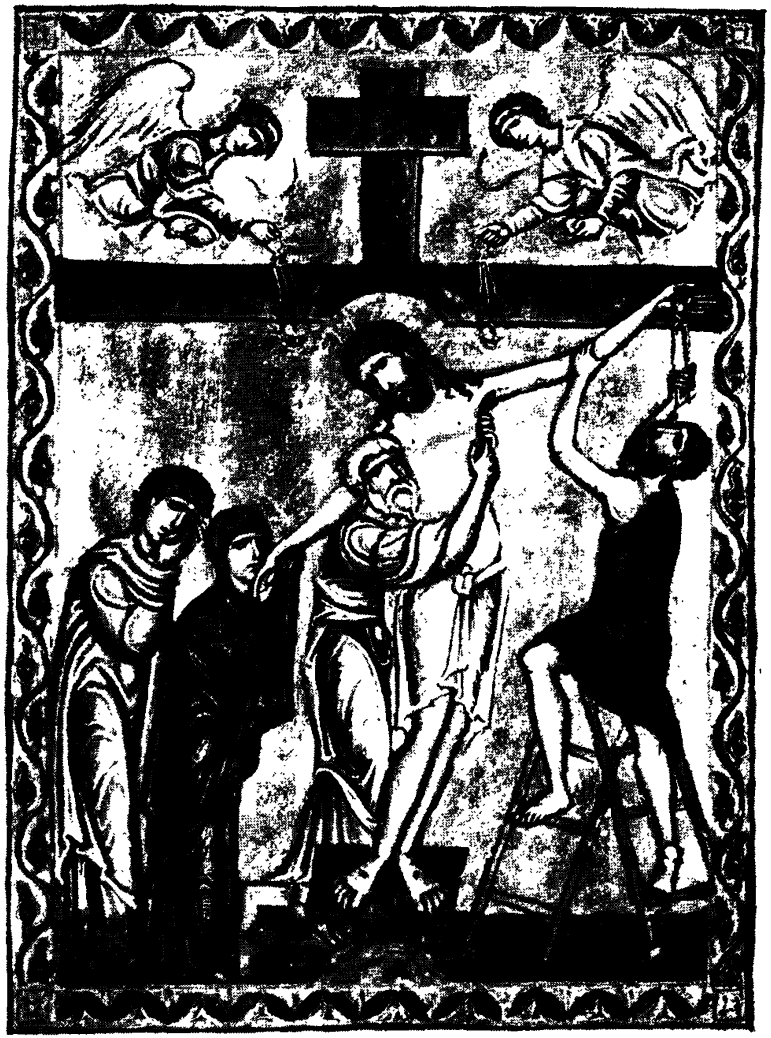
*Facing p. 112.*


FROM SAINT SOPHIA.

FROM MACEDONIA.

*Facing p. 113.*

AT ST. ANGELO IN FORMIS, NEAR MONTE CASSINO.



FROM A LATIN PSALTER MADE IN PALESTINE.

Dalmatia and Albania. Behind them one Latin missionary diocese of Nona in Croatia belonged to the Roman Patriarchate.[1] Sooner or later they would be recovered from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, but this was not a matter of immediate urgency. The Greek dioceses in Sicily and Calabria were less desirable, for Greek monks and married Greek clergy were a source of some embarrassment in the Roman Patriarchate in the ninth century, through the differences between their customs and those of the Latins.

The political centre of the Latin world was now at Aachen in western Germany. The house of Pepin of Heristal had been closely linked with the papacy since a Pope sealed with his authority the deposition of the last of the shadowy line of Merovingian kings of the Franks, and the coronation of Pepin the Short in 751. Pepin in his turn had rescued Ravenna from the Lombards in 754, and given it, not to the representatives of the Byzantine emperor, but to the Pope and "the republic of the Romans." Henceforth he appears in papal letters as "patricius Romanorum," the military champion of an ill-defined "Donation of Pepin" between the Byzantine empire and the kingdom of the Lombards. From 774 Pepin's son Charles united the Frankish and the Lombard kingdoms, and so became the suzerain of all France, western Germany and northern Italy. After December, 781,[2] the Popes ceased to date their documents by the regnal years of the Roman emperor in Constantinople. After Christmas, 800, they had crowned another Roman emperor, more often at Aachen than at Rome, more powerful in Germany than in Italy, the champion of Latin Christianity against the heathen Saxons on the Elbe, and the Moslems in North Africa and Spain, who still strove to invade Italy and Gaul.

It would be a mistake to regard the empire of Charles the Great as a new creation. Charles was at pains to excuse his new title by the femininity and folly of the Greek woman, the Empress Irene. He claimed to be the legitimate successor of Constantine VI, and negotiated with Nicephorus I in 802, and Michael Rhangabe in 812, for the formal recognition of his

[1] See F. Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance, et Rome*, Paris, 1926, pp. 60-99, for the gradual disappearance of Latin culture in this region.

[2] See Jaffé, *Regesta*, note at the beginning of Hadrian II.

title as a colleague in the empire.[1] The Byzantines were naturally unwilling to concede this to a Frank, but when it was politically necessary, as in 812, 824, and 867,[2] they swallowed their pride. When relations cooled, the Western emperor became "the King of the Franks." The Franks always wanted to be recognized as lawful partners in that *imperium romanum* for which all Orthodox Christians prayed at Mass, even in Ireland. On the other hand, they feared a revival of good relations between Byzantium and Rome. They feared the Iconodules of Greece, Sicily and Calabria more than the Iconoclasts of Constantinople and Asia Minor. At the Council of Frankfort in 794[3] the bishops of Gaul and Germany were at pains to anathematize both.

They knew the acts of the Second Council of Nicæa only in a Latin translation,[4] made at Rome by an unpractised hand. His errors illustrate the growing detachment of Rome, as well as of the West as a whole, from Eastern controversies, for he had not even troubled to be consistent in maintaining the distinction (all-important for the argument) between "relative reverence" and "divine worship." The Franks were shocked at the degree of veneration that the Greeks offered to their icons, but we cannot but suspect that they were very ready to be shocked at anything in Greek theology. They were also highly critical of the confession of faith that came with the acts of the council. In this the Patriarch Tarasius declared, in accordance with the theology of St. John of Damascus, that the "Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son." The Franks in their version of the Nicene Creed, which was sung at Mass in the royal chapel at Aachen, read "from the Father and the Son."

Two Popes, Hadrian II and Leo III, did their best to quieten the controversy. In 809 Leo forwarded to the Emperor Charles a letter that he had received from the Benedictines on Mount Olivet,[5] who had offended the other members of the church of Jerusalem by singing the creed in the version familiar to them in the imperial chapel at Aachen. They wished him to tell

[1] Gay, p. 57; Bury, *E.R.E.*, pp. 320-1, 325.
[2] *Infra*, p. 128.
[3] H-L, III, ii, 1061-91.
[4] *Idem*, 1070-85.
[5] PL 129, c. 1257-60, with a covering letter from the Pope.

them whether they were heretics or not. The Pope took the opportunity to impress on the Franks the dangers to the church's peace in the new custom of singing the creed at Mass that had lately spread through the West from Spain, bringing with it the new clause. He did not object to the theology of the *filioque*, which was in line with the Western tradition, but he did think it important to maintain a common creed for all Christendom.[1] He inscribed the older version on silver shields and had them hung up in St. Peter's.[2] There the *filioque* was not officially incorporated in the Nicene Creed until about 1009.[3] In the Stowe missal (Irish of the ninth century) we can see it written into the creed by a later hand.[4]

The Pope did not wish to quarrel with either emperor, at Aachen or at Constantinople. In the same year, 809, he disappointed Theodore the Studite by a polite but firm refusal to take sides in his quarrel with the Patriarch Nicephorus.[5] Nor did he condemn the Franks for their criticism of icons. When the Iconoclasts returned to power in the East in 815 they were not formally condemned by any new Roman council. In 824 the Emperor Louis the Pious, the son of Charles the Great, was even induced by Byzantine diplomacy to favour the compromise that Michael II was vainly trying to impose upon contending parties in the Eastern church.[6] In 825 a council at Paris reaffirmed the decisions of the Council of Frankfort against the breaking and the veneration of images, and representations to this effect were made by a Frankish mission to Rome in 826. So far as we know, no results followed from this combined initiative of the two empires. The Pope could not approve, neither could he condemn. The icons returned in the East without his intervention, as we have already seen.[7] In northern Europe the Seventh General Council was not reckoned Œcumenical until the eleventh century. Rome, with its Greek

[1] See the narrative of Smaragdus in PL 102, c. 971-6, for his address to the Frankish ambassadors.

[2] *Lib. Pont.*, ii, p. 26.

[3] See *infra*, pp. 149-50.

[4] A facsimile was published by the Henry Bradshaw Society, London, 1906.

[5] Theodore the Studite in PG 99, c. 1021.

[6] See E. Amann, *L'époque carolingienne*, Paris, 1937, pp. 236-9; H-L, III, ii, 612; and Mansi, xiv, c. 417-22.

[7] *Supra*, p. 111.

churches and Syrian monasteries, remained a border city between Eastern and Western Christendom, equally remote from the centres of either empire; yet the Western empire was Latin as Byzantium was not. Reformers of the church among the Franks sought to commend their ideas as authentically Roman. They saw visions of the whole church organized about the Pope as the whole empire had been, in former days, under the obedience of a single emperor. The idea is found in the last chapter[1] of Walafrid Strabo's *De rebus ecclesiasticis*, a contemporary treatise on the church and the sacraments. It found support in an older document, *The Donation of Constantine*,[2] probably composed in the eighth century to provide arguments for the real *Donation of Pepin*,[3] out of material partly provided by the older legend of St. Silvester in the Symmachian literature of the sixth century.[4] Here we find the Pope placed in the position of an emperor, reigning over the other Patriarchs. The theory was elaborated still further in the *Pseudo-Isidorean decretals*, composed in this period, almost certainly between 847 and 852, and probably in the north of France.[5] These were primarily intended to clip the wings of metropolitans to the advantage of bishops, not of the Pope. Hincmar, the witty Archbishop of Rheims, called them "circumposita omnibus metropolitanis muscipula" (mousetraps).[6] But their form (decretal letters of very early Popes) helped to popularize the idea of the papacy as the original fountain of canon law. From France they made their way to Rome, where Nicholas I (858-67) and Formosus (891-6) probably knew of them and used them.[7] They did not become a regular part of the papal armoury until the time of the German Popes of the eleventh century (1046-58).

Nicholas I reached the papacy through the influence of Louis II, the one member of the Carolingian family who devoted his energies to the affairs of Italy from 844, when he was consecrated king of the Lombards in the lifetime of his father the Emperor Lothair, until his death in 875. In Rome Louis had trouble with a rival party, who after 843 received encour-

[1] PL 114, c. 963 6.
[2] Bettenson, pp. 135-40.
[3] *Supra*, p. 113.
[4] *Supra*, p. 53.
[5] For a discussion see E. Amann, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-6.
[6] PL 126, c. 316.
[7] See F. Vernet on "Formose" in *D.T.C.*, 6, i, c. 594-8.

agement from Byzantium.[1] In 855 in a disputed election to the papacy he supported the claims of Anastasius, afterwards called Anastasius the Librarian,[2] against the pro-Byzantine Benedict III. When the latter died in 858 the matter was compromised by the election of Nicholas, the ex-anti-Pope being absolved. Under Hadrian II (867-72) he took charge of the papal library. In this conflict lay some seeds of many future controversies. The Roman nobility and clergy were much occupied with the immediate problem of repulsing Moorish forays, since the Moslems had occupied the western half of Sicily in 827, and now had strongholds on the coasts of Campania. For this purpose the Byzantine fleet was more useful than the Emperor Louis II, though both might be combined to advantage. Some therefore sought peace and friendship with the Greeks of the south. Other Roman ecclesiastics with a wider horizon saw the future of the Roman church in her leadership of the nations beyond the Alps. They thought of the Greeks as strangers and foreigners, with married clergy and strange customs that could be quoted in contempt of discipline by Latins who wished to live with their wives or to preserve the local peculiarities of their own churches.

Nicholas I was in no way subservient to the Carolingian family. On the contrary, he showed great daring in his rebukes to kings and to the Archbishops of the north whenever he suspected them of any act of oppression. Louis II was often urged to act against him, but he could never succeed in driving him from Rome, where the local nobility came to see their best hope of outside help against a Moorish attack in his personal reputation and friendships elsewhere in Italy. His dealings with Byzantium are a good deal more complicated. They arose out of the old conflict[3] between the Studites and their opponents.

When Methodius died in 847 the Empress Theodora sought to propitiate his monastic critics by the appointment of Ignatius, a eunuch son of the Emperor Michael Rhangabe, who had spent all his life since his father's fall in a monastery on an island in the Sea of Marmora. As a Patriarch he was wanting

[1] Especially in 853; *cf.* Gay, p. 80.
[2] Already excommunicated by Leo IV, PL 115, c. 665-7.
[3] See *supra*, pp. 107-8.

in tact, especially in his dealings with the court circle and the pupils of Leo of Thessalonica, who had great influence in the university. At the very beginning of his reign he antagonized Gregory Asbestas, Metropolitan of Syracuse, and other Sicilian friends of Methodius, who went so far as to make a schism, urging that Ignatius had been uncanonically appointed by the mere will of the Empress Theodora. At first Roman sympathies seem to have been on the Sicilian side, as might have been expected. Leo IV and Benedict III, who were political allies of the Italian Greeks, pestered[1] Ignatius for more information. He in his turn, with a want of tact that seems to have been typical, sent a *pallium superhumerale*, the usual gift of a Patriarch to his metropolitans, to Pope Leo IV, who refused it politely, pointing out that it was his business to send metropolitans their pallium all over Europe.[2] He could not be expected to receive one from elsewhere. Neither Leo nor Benedict took sides with Gregory Asbestas, or directly claimed him for their Patriarchate. But there was no reason to believe that Rome would support Ignatius when his quarrel with the Cæsar Bardas came to a head in 858. Bardas, who had supplanted his sister Theodora as regent for the young Emperor Michael III, was the real ruler of Byzantium from 856 to 866. Ignatius made charges against his morals which must have had some foundation in truth, for he was certainly overtolerant of the wild and drunken pleasures of his nephew, the young emperor. But Bardas was unquestionably a very able ruler, and a patron of the circle of scholars who followed the lectures of Leo of Thessalonica.

The compulsory resignation of the Patriarch seems to have been accepted without controversy.[3] He was implicated in a conspiracy to restore Theodora to the regency. The validity of his election was also denied by the partisans of Gregory Asbestas. The election of his successor was more controversial. Photius was a learned official, a nephew of the Patriarch Tarasius, a man of mature experience, and by all accounts the ablest scholar and theologian of his day. He had already begun his *Myriobiblion* or *Bibliotheca*, an encyclopædic summary of Greek prose literature in two hundred and eighty articles,

[1] Jaffé, 2629, 2661, 2669.
[2] *Idem*, 2647.
[3] E. Amann, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

containing accounts of many works that have since been lost.[1] His letters[2] reveal him as a real stylist, and his various theological writings bear witness to the subtlety of his intelligence. He had lately sprung a discussion on intellectual circles in Constantinople with a theory of two souls in man, one liable to err, the other immune from error. He afterwards explained this as a *jeu d'esprit*, telling his friend Constantine the philosopher, who afterwards evangelized the Moravians, that he wanted to know how Ignatius would deal with it without the aid of logic, a subject which he professed to despise.[3]

Photius announced his election to the other Patriarchs in carefully worded "systatic letters" to the Pope and to the church of Antioch, both of which have been preserved.[4] His letter to the Pope was supported by another from the emperor, probably composed by his friend Bardas. But the Studites had a rooted objection to the promotion of learned laymen. The relationship of Photius to Tarasius, and his own intellectual interests, did not tend to propitiate them. After a time Nicholas, the Archimandrite of St. John of the Studion, who stood in the place of the great Theodore, Metrophanes, Metropolitan of Smyrna, and others, held a synod in the church of St. Irene and withdrew from the communion of Photius, on the double ground that Ignatius had been illegally deposed and that Gregory Asbestas, a schismatic bishop, had been concerned in the consecration of his successor. Ignatius was then required to repeat his resignation. When he refused to do so he was severely maltreated, to the distress of Photius, who wrote to Bardas to protest against acts of violence that compromised his own position.[5]

In 861 legates arrived at Constantinople from Rome bearing replies from Pope Nicholas I to the letters of Photius and the emperor.[6] The Pope took no pains to conceal his suspicion that

[1] The text, ed. by I. Bekker, is in PG 103.

[2] First edited by Richard Montague, Bishop of Chichester, London, 1651; other editions by A. Vallettas, London, 1864, and by J. Hergenröther in PG 102.

[3] Constantine told Anastasius the Librarian, who recorded the anecdote in PL 129, c. 13-4.

[4] PG 102, c. 579-94 and 1017-24 (*addenda*).

[5] PG 102, c. 617-22.

[6] PL 119, c. 773-80; also, better arranged, in MGH epp vi (*Karolini ævi*, t. iv), ed. Ernst Perels, 1920, pp. 433-40.

the official account of the resignation of Ignatius was incomplete. He disapproved of the election of a "neophyte," a mere layman, to be Patriarch. But at the same time he went on to suggest that these and other matters might be overlooked in the interests of "ecclesiastical utility," if he received back the patrimonies of St. Peter, confiscated in 732, and some of the many and various dioceses uncanonically transferred at that time from the Roman to the Byzantine Patriarchate. The Roman legates were instructed to report on the situation, but to give no definite decision before their return to Rome.

It used to be said that they were isolated from the friends of Ignatius, and bribed to pronounce a decision in favour of Photius; but recent scholarship[1] has called attention to another account of their actions, embedded in a collection of canons made in the eleventh century by Cardinal Deusdedit.[2] This records a different kind of bargain. Photius offered to the legates, instead of the dioceses in Italy and Illyricum that the Pope would have wished to receive, an explicit acknowledgement of their authority to judge a dispute at Constantinople on behalf of the apostolic see of Rome. Bishop after bishop of the Photian party rose to say that they were perfectly willing to see the question reopened that the legates of the apostolic see might judge. Ignatius, on the other hand, denied their power on the ground that he had not appealed to Rome. They upbraided him for his behaviour in the matter of Gregory Asbestas, whom he had condemned without informing the Pope, and challenged the regularity of his own election. He did not deny that it had been irregular, but cited precedents in his defence. Eventually he was formally deposed with the assent of the Roman legates, who may well have believed that even if they had exceeded their instructions they had acted in the interests of "ecclesiastical utility."

The Pope was not satisfied, and in March, 862, he annulled

[1] See a paper by F. Dvornik, "The Patriarch Photius: Father of Schism or Patron of Re-union?" in *Report of the Proceedings at the Church Unity Octave held at Blackfriars, Oxford, January* 15-25, 1942, Oxford, 1942, pp. 19-31.

[2] *Kanonessamlung*, ed. V. Wolf von Glanvell, Paderborn, 1905, bk. iv, c. 328-31, pp. 505-12; *Collectio Canonum*, ed. P. Martinucci, Venice, 1869, bk. iv, c. 162. I owe both these references to the Rev. T. M. Parker of the Pusey House, Oxford.

their decision,[1] but it was not until Easter, 863, that he held a council at the Lateran and declared Photius an excommunicated layman.[2] His consecration was null, since it had been performed by Gregory Asbestas, a bishop under suspension, and all his acts were void.

The arrival in Rome of Ignatian partisans, bringing their own picture of the state of affairs at Constantinople,[3] may do something to explain the Pope's drastic action, but it is difficult not to connect it with recent events in Moravia, that put an entirely new aspect upon the problem of the disputed provinces. The Moravians were a Slavonic people, who at this time occupied not only Moravia and Bohemia, but Slovakia and large parts of what are now Hungary and Austria. For some time they had been visited by German missionaries of the Latin rite from the dioceses of Salzburg and Passau. In 862 their king, Rastislav, recognizing the growing strength of Christianity, but reasonably fearing German political penetration, asked for a mission from Constantinople with missionaries who could speak Slavonic. In 863 such a mission arrived, led by Constantine the Philosopher, a pupil of Leo of Salonica, a friend of Photius, and an expert, not only in philosophy, but in Slavonic and oriental languages. The choice of a man with diplomatic and missionary experience, who had succeeded Leo as a lecturer in Constantinople, showed how much importance the government and the Patriarchate attached to the mission. Naturally political aims were suspected. From the point of view of the Carolingian sovereigns it was a move towards an alliance of Moravia with Byzantium at the expense of Frankish interests in the Adriatic. From the point of view of Rome it must have been seen as a threat to fill up the whole vacant space between the Adriatic and the Black Sea with dioceses of Byzantine rite and Slavonic speech, stretching north as far as Prague or even further, and all attached to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Ecclesiastical Illyricum, which for the last two hundred years had meant a few impoverished sees in Dalmatia and Albania, would in future mean Eastern Europe. The question of boundaries was becoming urgent.

[1] PL 119, c. 785-94; MGH epp vi, pp. 442-51.
[2] PL 119, c. 926-62; MGH epp vi, pp. 454-87.
[3] Mansi, xvi, c. 296-301.

# X

## BYZANTIUM, THE SLAVS, AND ROME

CONSTANTINE and his brother Methodius[1] were natives of Salonica. In their own home country of Macedonia they first met the Slavs and first interested themselves in the problem of preaching to them. Philologists believe that the Old Slavonic language, which they constructed to be the literary speech of the Slavonic race, is based upon the dialect spoken in Macedonia, not in Moravia.[2] The liturgical books that they brought with them to Moravia were written for use among the Slavs in the Byzantine empire, and probably used there, for several Slavonic tribes of Thessaly and the Peloponnesus have bishops of their own in Byzantine lists. Constantine was already known as a master of languages. He had been in 860 on a mission to the Khazars, a tribe on the river Don who patronized Jewish teachers, but tolerated a native church. There, and perhaps elsewhere, he had disputed with Jews and Moslems. He knew Hebrew and Samaritan; it has even been argued that he knew Coptic.[3] In fact, he was the kind of person who learns languages very easily, and composes grammars, alphabets and liturgies out of the most unpromising materials. At the end of his life he changed his name to Cyril, so that in the Slavonic tradition the brothers are St. Cyril and St. Methodius. Cyril he had better be from the moment of his arrival in Moravia.

His liturgical books, translated from Greek and Latin, were acceptable to many Moravians. Naturally they were attacked by the German priests already in the country, who knew of no liturgy in their own tongue, except the Gothic liturgy of Ulphilas, received from Eastern sources by the Goths, Vandals and Lombards, who thereby fell into Arianism.[4] The Arian

[1] See F. Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance, et Rome; les legendes de Constantin et de Methode vues de Byzance*, Prague, 1933; *National Churches and the Church Universal.*

[2] V. Jagic in *Cam. Med. H.* iv, pp. 225-6; *cf.* also Bury, *E.R.E.*, pp. 398-9.

[3] By Snoj in *Staroslovenski Matejev Evangelij*, Ljubljana, 1922, cited by S. Runciman, *The First Bulgarian Empire*, London, 1930, pp. 297-8.

[4] *Supra*, p. 51.

church had now been extinct for nearly two hundred years, but it had left behind an uncomfortable memory. In the West all Orthodox liturgies were in Latin. To honour Slavonic above German would hurt the racial pride of the Germans without satisfying all Moravians. Rastislav the king favoured the new liturgy, but his relation Svatopulk and other chiefs, who saw in Christianity a means to ascend to a higher level of civilization, preferred the sonorous Latin to a Slavonic dialect which was not even their own, though it was intelligible. The German priests argued that the only lawful liturgical languages were Hebrew, Greek and Latin, the tongues used in the inscription on the Lord's cross. Cyril and Methodius pointed to many others, not only Armenian, Syriac, and Coptic, but Georgian, Abasgian, Sugdean, Avar and Khazar.[1] All the tribes north and east of the Black Sea had their own versions of the liturgy of Constantinople. The Germans then added a charge of heresy, accusing the Greeks because they denied the double procession of the Holy Spirit. This was as yet German, not Roman doctrine; the issue was really a political one between Svatopulk, who wished the Moravians to form part of the Holy Roman Empire, and Rastislav, who would have them free from German influence by the distant, diplomatic help of Constantinople.

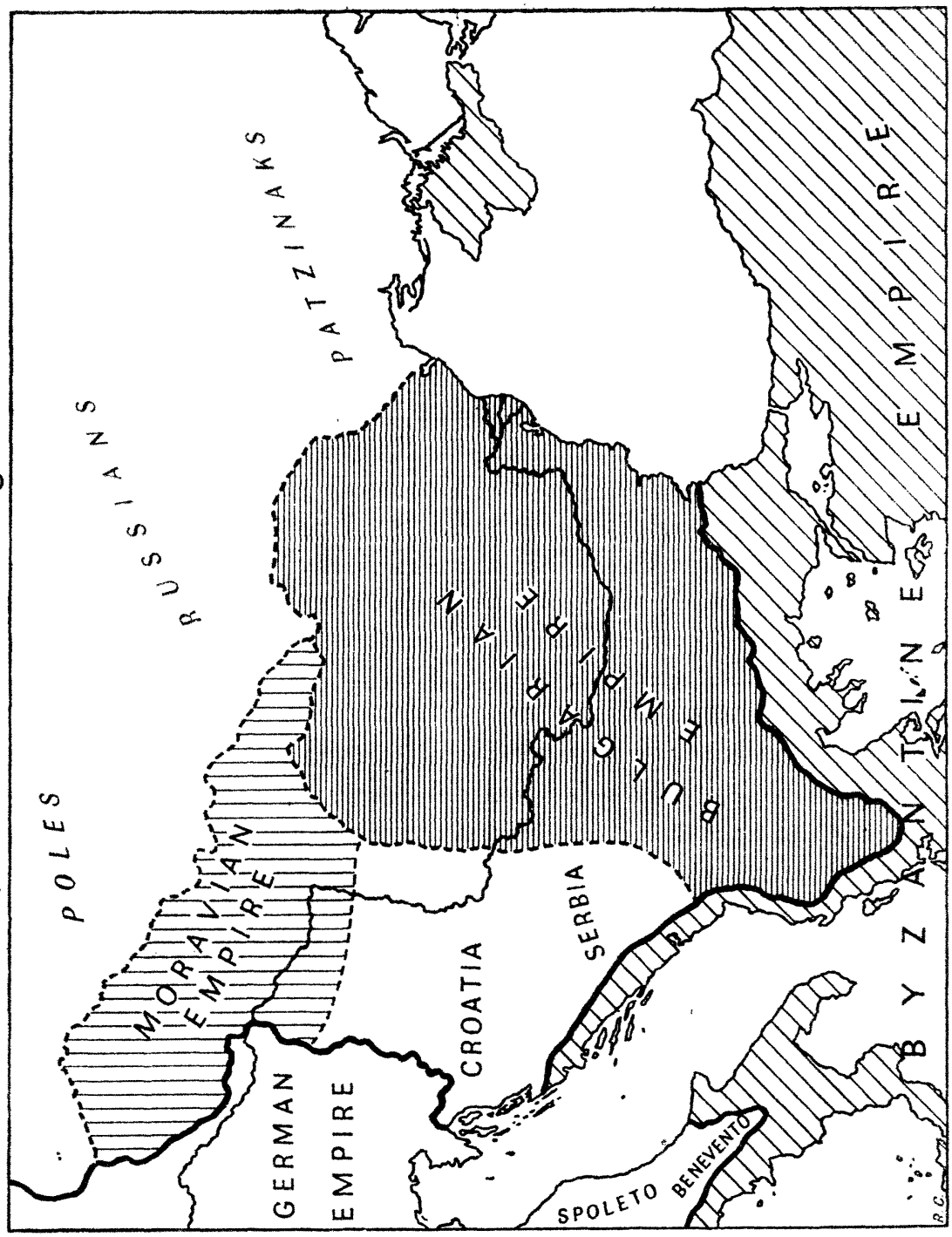
In 865 this battle spread from Moravia into Bulgaria.[2] The Bulgarians, too, occupied a much larger area than they do at present. Their power extended over the whole of the modern Rumania, much of Serbia, and as far as Ochrida in Macedonia, though at the eastern end of their kingdom Byzantine Thrace was larger than the present European Turkey. The nobles were of Hun stock, while the peasants were Slavs, or Vlachs (Rumanians), speaking dialects descended from Latin. Diverse pagan cults were a source of divisions, and many of the common people were already inclined to Christianity. Armenians and Paulicians, from colonies transferred from Asia to Thrace by Justinian II and the Iconoclast emperors,[3] were often found among them, as well as Orthodox[4] mission-

[1] F. Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome*, p. 172.

[2] See map on p. 124 and *First Bulgarian Empire*, pp. 99-130, "The auction of souls."

[3] *Supra*, pp. 68, 104.

[4] *Supra*, p. 109.




The Empire and its Slavonic Neighbours 863 A.D.

aries from Greece and Macedonia. To this Christian penetration was now added an encircling movement in the mission to Moravia.

The Bulgarian king Boris was intelligent enough to see that the future lay with the Christian nations. But he wanted an independent Bulgarian church, so far as possible under his own control. The same reasons that led Rastislav to distrust Germans made him critical of Greeks. In 865 he asked for a mission from the Franks. The Byzantines reacted promptly with an invasion of Bulgaria. About the military results the authorities of either nation do not agree, but Boris capitulated to the combined effects of penetration, encirclement and attack, and he was baptized in September, 865, by a Greek priest under the Byzantine name of Michael.

Photius, however, failed to treat his royal convert with sufficient tact. He wrote him a long letter[1] about the doctrine of the Œcumenical Councils and the duties of a Christian prince, with many details about courtesy to inferiors and dignity in court ceremonial. It was all rather above King Boris's head, and there was nothing in it about a bishop. The Greek and Armenian priests who flocked to Bulgaria had no effective chief, and they were not even in harmony about matters of doctrine. We may suspect that Photius was waiting until Cyril or Methodius, or one of the priests on their mission, could return from Moravia with Slavonic priests and books, which were probably none too common, since the Moravian mission must have drained nearly all the available staff. The king saw no immediate prospect of a Slavonic church of his own, and so he turned again to the West, this time taking the precaution of sending a double mission to the Franks and to Rome.

The Franks sent him a bishop and several priests, but they were turned back at the frontier, for before they arrived the Pope had sent him two bishops and very carefully worded answers to a hundred and six questions. In these *Responsa ad Bulgaros*[2] Nicholas appears at his best, as a bishop who could really understand what a barbarian king wanted. His experience fitted the situation better than the scholarship of Photius.

[1] PG 102, c. 628-96. The Greek occupies thirty-five columns.
[2] PL 119, c. 978-1016; MGH epp vi, 568-600.

He answered the questions as they came, betraying not the slightest impatience at their illogical order and apparent triviality. Some of them were complaints about the Greeks (is all this fasting really necessary?). Others betray a natural anxiety to preserve national customs (may Christians wear trousers?). These gave Nicholas his chance to depreciate the value of Greek culture. In the matter of fasts the Greeks were much too severe. There is no need for a rule against baths on Wednesdays and Fridays, or harm in meat killed by a eunuch. Trousers are permissible, but turbans, like hats, must be removed in church. Monogamy must be strictly observed; no wife may be divorced save for fornication. In matters of civil and criminal law the Pope gave practical advice, again mingled with anti-Byzantine insinuations. He urged the futility of torture and the necessity of sanctuary. At no point did he directly charge the Greeks with heresy, but he implied that they were unsafe persons, much mingled with Armenians and Paulicians. Constantinople should never have been a Patriarchate. Rome was the right place to acquire Orthodox doctrine.

If I am right in my interpretation of his quarrel with Photius, this was the Pope's chance to get all that he really wanted. He was not vitally interested in the wrongs of Ignatius, who had not so far proved,[1] and would not prove in the future,[2] a consistent or reliable champion of the claims of Rome in the East. On the question of jurisdiction in a disputed election at Constantinople Photius and his friends had shown themselves accommodating. The Pope was more concerned about the boundaries of the Patriarchates. If the Bulgarian church were once firmly attached to Rome, he would have won the battle for ecclesiastical Illyricum. The plan of attaching Moravia to Byzantium would fall to the ground, and some satisfactory settlement might be reached in Italy and Dalmatia.

The Pope was not altogether fortunate in his choice of agents. One of the two bishops sent to Bulgaria was Formosus of Porto, a stormy petrel in Italian politics for the next thirty years, who could be relied upon not to enter into any arrangement with the Greeks, since he held especially strong views on the procession of the Holy Spirit, on the celibacy of the

[1] *Supra*, pp. 118-20. [2] *Infra*, pp. 130-2.

clergy, and (if we are to believe Photius) on the invalidity of confirmations performed by a priest with oil blessed by a bishop, not by the bishop himself. This was the normal Eastern custom, and it was seldom assailed in the West, but Formosus seems to have been the kind of person who thought any stick good enough to beat a Greek. He also had personal ambitions; before long King Boris wrote to the Pope to ask whether he could be archbishop of Bulgaria, or even Patriarch. Nicholas did not approve. He pointed out that Formosus was bishop of Porto, and that his own diocese needed attention. He recalled him from Bulgaria.[1]

The proceedings of Formosus were the subject of an encyclical letter[2] from Photius to the church of Antioch, and to the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem, in which he denounced the Latin missionaries on four main grounds. They draw the faithful away to their uncanonical customs, Saturday fasting, and drinking milk and eating cheese in the first weeks of Lent. They deny the validity of priests' confirmations. They call married priests adulterers, and their children bastards. What is worst of all, they teach a new and strange version of the Nicene Creed. Photius found in the *filioque* two possible heresies. The doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Ghost must imply either a "Manichæan" division of the godhead into two sources, out of whom the third agent proceeds; or a Neo-Platonic scale of being, in which the Holy Spirit is one degree further removed from the Father than the Son. He also wrote a more popular attack upon Latin customs in a letter to Boris of Bulgaria, in which he was at pains to keep on a level which the king could understand, since his lengthy treatise in 865 had completely missed the mark. He attacked the Latins for shaving their beards, to the injury of the image of God in man, and for bringing a Paschal lamb into church on Easter day. Boris, who so far preferred bishops with shaven chins to priests with beards, forwarded the letter to Rome, where the Pope used it to good effect in his correspondence with Hincmar of Rheims.[3] Nicholas had also seen the encyclical of Photius to the Eastern Patriarchs, where he spoke of com-

[1] Anastasius, Life of Nicholas PL 128, c. 1375-7.
[2] PG 102, c. 722-41.
[3] PL 119, c. 1152-61; MGH epp vi, pp. 600-9.

plaints against the Pope that constantly reached Byzantium from the West. He feared a combination between the Patriarch of Constantinople and some French and German archbishops who objected to his many interventions in the controversies of their provinces. This he could avert if he did his best to publicize the views of Photius on shaving and the *filioque*, and his lies about lambs. In this campaign he was successful; for at least two treatises "against the Greeks" were written at this time by Ratramnus of Corbie and Æneas of Paris,[1] and councils were held at Worms and other places in France and Germany in the spring of 868 to condemn Greek errors.

These councils have often been taken as replies to a large council held at Constantinople in the summer of 867, where representatives of the Eastern Patriarchs joined in the excommunication and deposition of the Pope, who was charged with "excesses" in the interpretation of his powers. But there is no reason to believe that this council condemned any list of Latin errors. On the contrary, a party in the Roman church were represented at it. According to one of the enemies of Photius, he wrote a letter to Engelberta, the consort of the Western Emperor Louis II, in which he hailed her as another Pulcheria, and promised her that she and her husband would be recognized as emperor and empress at Constantinople if they would drive the unjust Pope from Rome.[2] According to another enemy,[3] he at first appeared reluctant to condemn the Pope in his absence, and only gradually yielded to the pressure of his supporters. This would be in line with his own defence against his excommunication at Rome. No acts of the council

[1] PL 121, c. 223-340, c. 686-762. Ratramnus took a liberal view of merely disciplinary differences, but argued that the Latins fasted, day for day, as long and as severely as the Greeks. He was specially ardent in defence of the *filioque*. Neither notices the basis of Photius's accusation about a Paschal lamb, in the common Western practice of offering and eating joints of lamb at Easter, mentioned, with disapproval, by their elder contemporary Walafrid Strabo in *De rebus ecclesiasticis*, PL 114, c. 938-9.

[2] Nicetas, *Vita Ignatii*, in PG 105, c. 537; Bury, *E.R.E.*, p. 203.

[3] Metrophanes of Smyrna in a letter to Manuel the Patrician, cited by H-L, IV, i, 448, from Mansi, xvi, c. 5, in the acts of the council of Constantinople in 869. This letter has probably been doctored, but this particular detail, out of accord with the general picture drawn by the Ignatian partisans who assembled our sources, seems certainly genuine.

survive. Before they reached the West Pope Nicholas was dead, Photius was in exile, and the ecclesiastical policy of the Byzantine government had been completely reversed. The Frankish synods of 868 were held in anticipation of an attack that never came. Photius had no quarrel with the Latin church as a whole, but only with a party in the church. In an illuminating passage in his *Replies to Amphilochios*[1] he defended diversity in rites, especially the different icons of Christ made by Romans, Indians and Ethiopians in their own image and fashion. It is a mistake to imagine that he resented every detail in the Latin ritual.

In September, 867, the Emperor Michael III was murdered by Basil "the Macedonian," an Armenian groom whom he had married to his mistress, and raised to the place that Bardas had occupied until the summer of 866. The position of Photius, as a friend of Bardas, had been shaken by the Cæsar's fall the year before. He now refused to give communion to the usurper, and on November 23, ten days after the death of Pope Nicholas, Ignatius was restored to the Patriarchate. Meanwhile, at Rome Louis II was master of the situation without a battle, and promptly installed Hadrian II, a more compliant Pope from the point of view of Frankish policy.

Hadrian must have been a married man, for a great uproar arose in Rome in 868,[2] when Eleutherius, the brother of Anastasius the Librarian, first abducted, and then murdered, the wife and daughter of the Pope. It is small wonder that some supporters of Nicholas, especially Formosus, regarded him with some distrust. In January, 868, he received Cyril and Methodius, whom Nicholas had invited to Rome, possibly in the interests of his Bulgarian policy. At first they were universally welcomed, for they brought the relics of St. Clement. Mass was celebrated in Slavonic at several Roman basilicas. Formosus, who still hoped to return to Bulgaria, ordained some of their disciples. Later their influential German adversaries arrived and accused them of heresy. Formosus, who was particular about the *filioque*, then deserted them, but Anastasius the Librarian, who read Greek, and found Cyril a mine of information, did his best to defend their Orthodoxy. His influence, however, was diminished by his brother's scandalous

[1] PG 101, c. 949-51.

[2] See *Premiers temps*, pp. 247-9.

crimes. Between the two parties Hadrian hesitated. He did not send Formosus back to Bulgaria, or appoint the deacon Marinus,[1] who was the second choice of Boris, to be archbishop in that country. On the other hand, he did not send Cyril or Methodius, or any of their disciples, to introduce the Slavonic liturgy. He waited for a final settlement of outstanding issues between Rome and Constantinople. Meanwhile King Boris lost his patience, and approached the Patriarch Ignatius.

Ignatius gave him a sympathetic reception. He was neither so powerful nor so papalist as they believed at Rome, where they trusted too much in the reports of his exiled partisans,[2] who had fled thither in the time of Pope Nicholas. Photius had many admirers, who accepted Ignatius unwillingly, because political circumstances left them no choice. At the council held at Constantinople in November, 869, after a significant delay, only twenty-three bishops at first attended. The Roman legates, in accordance with their instructions, asked them to sign a *libellus* on the lines of the famous formula of Hormisdas, accepted by the bishops of Illyricum in 515-8, "the Catholic faith is always kept inviolate in the apostolic see."[3] So they would accept the verdict of Nicholas I in the cause of Photius, as their spiritual ancestors had accepted the verdict of Rome in the cause of Acacius, Euphemius and Macedonius. But at that time, it will be remembered, the Roman formula was subscribed reluctantly, if at all. In 869 Rome's prestige was not so high as in 518, when Latin influence was strong in Illyricum, and the memory of the *Tome* of St. Leo was still young. The emperor's representative at the council, a lay minister called Baianes, objected that the decisions of Rome required confirmation by five Patriarchates. This was the normal Eastern doctrine, for even Theodore the Studite, who laid exceptional stress on appeals to Rome, regarded them as an emergency measure, to be used when the "fivefold strength of the church,"[4] the five Patriarchs acting jointly, could not

[1] Anastasius, Life of Hadrian in PL 128, c. 1395-6.
[2] For instance, the *Libellus* of Theognostus, Mansi, xvi, c. 296-301.
[3] *Supra*, p. 54.
[4] PG 99, c. 1417; but *cf.* also his appeal to Jerusalem, *ibid.*, c. 1121, cited *supra*, p. 105.

reach agreement. In Eastern treatises the five Patriarchates correspond to the five senses.[1]

According to Anastasius the Librarian, the government used underhand means to recover possession of all copies of the *libellus* that had been signed.[2] It seems probable, though it is nowhere stated, that other bishops who joined the council never signed it at all, for after this controversy numbers slowly rose from twenty-one to sixty-five, no very impressive figure. Photius was allowed to appear, but refused to speak, preferring to protest in silence against the papal claim to judge him unheard at Rome. For the avoidance of future controversies, canons were passed against lay interference in episcopal elections. The use of these canons in the investiture controversy of the eleventh century was mainly responsible for the return of this council, never confirmed by Rome,[3] and repudiated by Pope John VIII in 879,[4] to the Western lists of Œcumenical Councils.

Meanwhile King Boris of Bulgaria, impatient at the delays of Hadrian II, was changing his mind about the relative advantages of Greek and Latin Christianity. At the very end of the council his ambassadors were introduced, and asked the fathers to decide whether their country belonged to the Roman or to the Byzantine Patriarchate.[5] The old boundaries, fixed at Chalcedon, divided Thrace from the Prefecture of Illyricum along a line that split Bulgaria in half. The boundaries of 732, confirmed by the usage of the eighth and ninth centuries, assigned the coastal dioceses around Bulgaria, from Dalmatia to the mouth of the Danube, to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Against this Rome could claim recent occupation and

[1] Even Anastasius the Librarian uses this comparison, culled from his Greek learning, in his defence of the œcumenical authority of this "Eighth Council," PL 129, c. 16.

[2] PL 129, c. 9-24. Eventually every copy except the one belonging to Anastasius himself, who was in Constantinople on other business, was stolen by Dalmatian pirates, who also stole the council's acts. It does not necessarily follow that this robbery was arranged by the government, as Anastasius supposed.

[3] See F. Dvornik, *L'œcumenicité du huitième concile* (869-70) in *Bulletin de la classe des lettres*, Académie royale de Belgique, xxiv, Brussels, 1938, pp. 445-87, cited by T. G. Jalland, *The Church and the Papacy*, pp. 387-8.

[4] *Infra*, p. 134.

[5] See Anastasius in his life of Pope Hadrian, PL 128, c. 1391-6.

present possession; but the Byzantines could point out that they had baptized King Boris. Many Christians of their rite had lived in the country in the last hundred years. The legates of the Eastern Patriarchates supported them. The council referred the matter to the emperor, as the natural arbiter of questions of organization. He had lately quarrelled with the Roman legates, and policy and passion alike dictated his decision in favour of Constantinople.

Ignatius immediately consecrated an archbishop and several bishops for Bulgaria. If the Roman legates expected that gratitude for Roman patronage would make him support their claims, they might profitably have reflected on his correspondence with Rome[1] in the matter of Gregory Asbestas. Accident had made him appear as a Roman partisan, but like every loyal Byzantine he resented Roman interference in Bulgaria.

In an effort to retrieve something from this disaster Hadrian II sent Methodius back to Moravia (Cyril had lately died in the odour of sanctity) with full authority to command his German opponents, and with metropolitan jurisdiction in an immense archdiocese, centred in the old Latin see of Sirmium, a few miles above Belgrade.[2] This was to include all the inland parts of the old Prefecture of Illyricum, and so, on paper at least, half of Bulgaria. The Pope probably hoped that if the Slavonic churches in Moravia and Croatia could be strongly established, they would soon draw away the Serbs, and then the Bulgarians, from the Greek episcopate in Bulgaria to the Slavonic version of the Roman liturgy. He reckoned without the Germans, who had increased their influence in Moravia in the absence of Methodius. Their patron Svatopulk, who soon overthrew Rastislav, the older patron of the Slavs, handed Methodius over to the Bishop of Salzburg, who kept him in prison for two years. When he was released in 873 a new Pope, John VIII, ordered him not to use the Slavonic liturgy.[3] It was more important to appease Germans than to win Bulgarians. He and his missionaries disobeyed; they lingered in outlying parts of Moravia, where Svatopulk was not so powerful. They won protection from chiefs in Croatia, and even in Poland.

[1] *Supra*, pp. 118-20.
[2] See F. Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance, et Rome*, p. 207. [3] Jaffé 2978.

Disavowed by the Pope, and at odds with the Latin and German clergy, Methodius remembered that he was a Greek.

Meanwhile the Greek hierarchy strengthened their hold on Bulgaria; and the position of Ignatius at Constantinople was improved by a reconciliation with Photius, who returned to court as tutor to the young princes. In the world of learning he had no rival. On the death of Ignatius in October, 877, he quietly resumed the Patriarchate, though a small party remained irreconcilably opposed to him, under the leadership of Stylianos, Archbishop of Neo-Cæsarea. From 877 to 886 the power of Photius in church and state was at its height. Basil, despite his early enmity, leaned upon him more and more even in political matters.

At Rome the death of Louis II in 875 left Italy without any resident central authority. The only possibility of aid against the ravages of the Moors lay in the Byzantine fleet, which had co-operated with Louis II, despite some misunderstandings, since 867. In 876-80 Byzantine land forces occupied Benevento and much of Campania, as well as their usual strongholds in the far south.[1] Pope John VIII could not afford to quarrel with Byzantium. Moreover, he had lately had a great deal of trouble with Formosus, who probably aspired to the papacy on the death of Hadrian II in 872. At the Easter synod of 876 he excommunicated him and other members of the circle of Nicholas I.[2] A reaction was taking place in Rome against the Frankish tendencies of the last few years. Though Charles the Bald, King of the West Franks, was crowned emperor at Rome at Christmas, 875, he was not encouraged to remain in Italy. Carloman, who came from Germany to take the place of Louis II, was rejected. Even Anastasius the Librarian became a partisan of peace with the Greeks.

Photius saw in this a return to Leo IV and Benedict III. He was prepared to be diplomatic, and resigned all claims to Bulgaria. Elated by this concession of the main point at issue, John VIII sent legates to absolve and instal him. The "Photian" Council of Constantinople in 879-80 was attended by no less than three hundred and eighty-three bishops, in marked contrast with the poor attendance at the "Ignatian"

[1] Gay, pp. 109-28.

[2] See Jaffé, 3040, and *Premiers temps*, pp. 269-72.

Council ten years earlier. Most of these were ardent admirers of Photius, and many of them had been consecrated by him during his first Patriarchate. They insisted on the validity of his consecrations and ordinations, and refused to condemn the Byzantine custom of raising lay officials to the episcopate. They regarded him as Patriarch already, apart from any decision that might be made by John VIII.

The few extreme Ignatians, like Stylianos of Neo-Cæsarea, who still refused to recognize Photius, were anathematized with the assent of the papal legates, who also agreed to cancel the council of 869, never properly confirmed by Hadrian II, since the acts were lost on the way back to Rome. The letters of John VIII to Photius, admitting him to communion if he gave way over Bulgaria, were revised in this sense either before or during the council. The effect of these alterations was to transform them into a kind of apology for the Roman church. In future, the council decided, the old Rome and the new would not receive exiles from one another. They would recognize the force of one another's excommunications. In a final session all additions to the creed were condemned, without any particular mention of the *filioque*. The Bulgarian question was again referred to the emperor, who this time decided in favour of Rome.[1]

All contemporary evidence shows that John VIII accepted these decisions, and died in communion with the church of Constantinople.[2] The story that he repudiated his legates, after sending Marinus, the next Pope, on a mission of investigation, bears every sign of being a later fabrication, devised when it was necessary to clear Rome of all suspicion of having consented to an anathema on the *filioque*. The Pope gave way for

[1] The Greek acts are in J. Hardouin, *Acta sacrorum conciliorum*, Paris, 1715-25, vol. vi, pt. 1, c. 214-341. See E. Amann, *L'époque carolingienne*, p. 492. In the later Greek tradition as given by Theodore Balsamon in PG 137, c. 1003, 1085, the councils of 861 and 879 are both œcumenical.

[2] The decisive texts are to be found in the writings of Photius himself in PG 102, c. 380-1 and 820. For recent discussions see V. Grumel, *Y-eut-il un second schisme de Photius?* in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, vol. xii, Paris, 1933, pp. 432-57; as well as *Le second schisme de Photius*, *B*, viii (1933), pp. 425-74; and *Études sur Photius*, *B*, xi (1936), pp. 1-10, and *On the Study of Church History*, in ECQ, vi (1945), pp. 17-36, all by F. Dvornik, whose forthcoming book on Photius should complete the elucidation of the mystery.

the sake of Bulgaria. For the sake of Bulgaria he removed the ban that he himself had placed on the Slavonic liturgy at the instigation of the German and Moravian opponents of Methodius.[1] The Bulgarian dioceses were removed from the lists of the Byzantine Patriarchate,[2] but the embassy which King Boris sent to Rome bore only a polite message of greeting. He liked his Greek bishops, and had no anxiety for a change.

Yet in the course of the next few years a change came, very much on the lines that John VIII intended, without the co-operation of Rome. In 882 Methodius paid a visit to Constantinople.[3] Photius welcomed him as an old friend, and received from him the gift of some Slavonic liturgical books. He left behind at least one disciple to study in the city, and to impart to Greek priests a knowledge of the Slavonic language and liturgy. This "school of Slavonic studies" was the last and best contribution of Photius to the development of the Eastern church. In 884 it became a refuge for Slavonic priests from Moravia, who were sold as slaves at Venice by the order of Svatopulk, but bought by the Byzantine ambassador, who knew that Photius would be interested in them. In the previous year Methodius had died, and his missionaries were being scattered in the more remote parts of Bohemia, Croatia and Poland, as in the former time of troubles from 871 to 880. Pope Stephen V repudiated them in 885.[4] Many went straight to Bulgaria, which soon became the promised land of Slavonic Christianity. The use of the Slavonic liturgy was universal by 896, but this time it was the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, written in Cyrillic[5] script, that is obviously based on Greek.

Slavonic missions continued in Bohemia until the twelfth century, and left behind powerful memories that were revived by reformers at the end of the Middle Ages.[6] In Croatia the Glagolitic version of the Roman Mass, forbidden at the Council

[1] PL 126, c. 904-6 (to Svatopulk), c. 928-9 (to Methodius).
[2] Gay, p. 124. [3] *First Bulgarian Empire*, p. 124.
[4] PL 129, c. 801-4, a letter to Svatopulk, taking the German point of view on the *filioque*.
[5] For the difference between Cyrillic and Glagolitic see the note *infra*, p. 136-8.
[6] John IX (898-900) again favoured them. See E. Amann in *D.T.C.*, 8, 1, c. 616.

of Spalato in 924,[1] except where priests knew no Latin, survives in a few parishes to the present day. But Roman patronage of the Slavonic liturgy was intermittent and uncertain, because vernacular liturgies were not her idiom. The Byzantines were accustomed to them.

Photius was interested in missions to the Slavs, not only outside the empire, but on the northern shores of the Black Sea, where Greek missionaries had always used the vernacular languages of the Avars, Alans, Khazars and Abasgi.[2] He had no particular desire to extend his own Patriarchate beyond the *Œcumene*, the sphere of Byzantine civilization and good manners, though he wished to see barbarous tribes receive the gospel from the right quarters. In 926-7 a Bulgarian Patriarchate was established with the good-will of Constantinople, and very possibly with the blessing of Rome.[3] In this we may see a fulfilment of the promises made in 877-9. The Bulgarians got what they wanted, an autocephalous church.[4] Except for two unhappy intervals of Byzantine and Turkish conquest, they have been autocephalous ever since.

## Note on the Slavonic Alphabets

There are two Old Slavonic alphabets, the Glagolitic, used by the few Slavonic Roman Catholics of Croatia and Istria, who have the Roman Mass in Old Slavonic; and the Cyrillic, used by all the Orthodox Slavs and the Ukranian Uniate Roman Catholics, who follow the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. The Cyrillic alphabet is obviously based on the Greek, with a few extra letters. The Glagolitic has a much greater appearance of originality. As Glagolitic manuscripts and inscriptions of the early Middle Ages have been found in Serbia and Bulgaria, it has been argued that this is the older script,

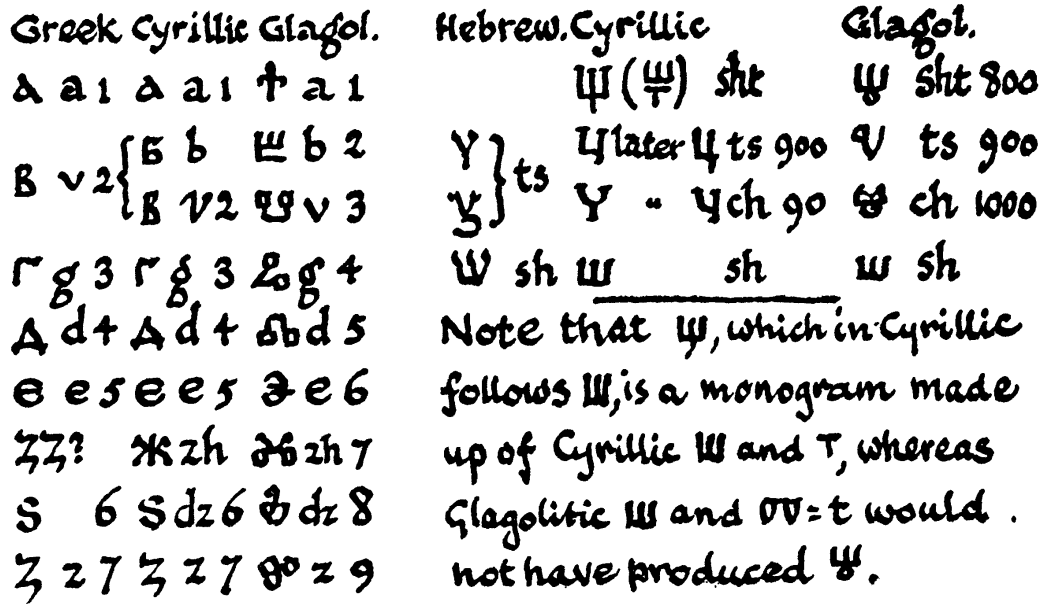
[1] Jaffé 3571-2, and *infra*, p. 141.

[2] Russian missionaries went on translating the liturgy into new dialects from the fourteenth to the twentieth century. See *Birkbeck and the Russian Church*, ed. A. Riley, London, 1917, pp. 210-4; *St. Sergius, Builder of Russia*, by N. Zernov, London, 1939, p. 109; S. Bolshakoff, *The Foreign Missions of the Russian Orthodox Church*, London, 1944.

[3] See *infra*, pp. 141-2.

[4] For the further development of autocephalous churches in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see *infra*, pp. 194-5.

and that Cyrillic is a later simplification under Greek influence. But Sir Ellis Minns,[1] followed by Professor S. Runciman in his *History of the First Bulgarian Empire*, argues convincingly that Cyrillic is the alphabet that Cyril himself invented before he went to Moravia. Some of the supplementary letters are ligatures, some are modified from the Greek and some deprived from the Hebrew, a language that he knew well enough to put a Hebrew pun into a sermon; finally, some letters seem due to sheer caprice. But "when he arrived in Moravia he found that an alphabet so closely akin to Greek met with




powerful opposition; so he disguised it, reversing most of the Greek letters, but retaining most of the invented letters, and he tidied it up into a vague uniformity with a free use of loops."[2] So he obtained Glagolitic, an alphabet that looked like nothing on earth. His disciples indeed claimed that it came to him by revelation from heaven. The two alphabets were then used side by side, Cyrillic triumphing by its superior simplicity and usefulness for the instruction of Greeks in the school at Constantinople, except among the Croats, who wished to avoid any taint of Greek influence.

[1] "St. Cyril really knew Hebrew," in *Mélanges publiés en l'honneur de M. Paul Boyer*, Paris, 1925, cited by S. Runciman, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-9.

[2] S. Runciman, *ibid.* This is in substantial agreement with J. B. Bury, *E.R.E.*, p. 398.

The diagram on p. 137 gives: A, the first nine Cyrillic letters, all derived from the Greek, either unmodified and agreeing with the Greek in numerical values, or modified and not used for numbers, confronted with the corresponding Glagolitic letters with their independent numbers; and B, the four later letters which may go back to Hebrew, clearly belonging to both alphabets, but with different numerical values.

For the diagram and this explanation I am indebted to Sir Ellis Minns.

# XI

## ROME AND CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE TENTH CENTURY

THE settlement of 879-80 had adversaries in the East and in the West: in the East among the implacable opponents of Photius, the Studites and their allies, who had always been unwilling to recognize Patriarchs chosen from civilian hierarchy; and in the West among the champions of the *filioque*, especially Formosus. But between the two oppositions the connection was accidental rather than essential. Photius again retired from the Patriarchate in 886 for political, not ecclesiastical reasons. The new emperor, Leo VI, called the "philosopher" for his learned interests in theology, law and military science, was a pupil of Photius; but he feared the overwhelming influence of his master, and replaced him by his own younger brother, Prince Stephen, another pupil, whom Photius had himself ordained deacon. In a letter to Pope Stephen V, Leo insisted that the Patriarch's retirement was voluntary. Although such explanations are commonly regarded with scepticism, this one may be true, for on any calculation it is difficult to make him less than seventy in 886.[1] He was still writing books in 897,[2] when he may well have been a centenarian, but it is not improbable that he should wish to retire from the responsibilities of administration.

Stylianos of Neo-Cæsarea and the other extreme Ignatians were naturally unwilling to accept his successor, a royal Patriarch of seventeen, whose orders were tainted by the imposition of the intruder's hands. They consulted Pope Stephen V, who would not judge without more information.[3] Pope John IX, writing to them in 900,[4] told them that the whole Roman church recognized the Patriarchs Ignatius, Photius, Stephen, and Antony Cauleas (the successor of Stephen) in

[1] A. Papadopoulos Kerameus in BZ, viii (1899), p. 658, cited (incorrectly) by Bury, *E.R.E.*, p. 186.

[2] In PG 102, c. 377, he appears to refer to the "cadaverous council" of 897. *Cf. infra*, p. 143.

[3] PL 129, c. 795-6; Mansi, xvi, c. 437-8.

[4] *Idem*, c. 458.

that order. In this he claimed to be in the tradition of Nicholas, John VIII and Stephen V. He respected the decisions of 879-80, but tried at the same time to avoid condemning the decisions of 862-3 and 869, to which Stylianos and his friends were devoted. On these terms East and West, Ignatians and Photians were reconciled, according to the life of St. Antony Cauleas.[1] From a passage in the *Clerotogion* of Philotheus,[2] assigned by Bury to this year, it has been inferred that a permanent papal embassy was re-established in Constantinople.

Troubles continued during the Patriarchate of Nicholas Mysticus, another bureaucrat ("Mysticus" simply means "the private secretary"), a foster-brother of Leo, and a pupil of Photius. He wielded great political influence from 901 to 925, corresponding freely with the King of Bulgaria, Lombard and Armenian princes, and even Moorish emirs, as well as with monks and missionaries, Popes and Patriarchs.[3] Like Photius, he grew too powerful for Leo VI, his rival in learning. When in 906 he refused communion to the emperor, who had uncanonically contracted a fourth marriage to secure the legitimacy of his only son, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Leo appealed to the other Patriarchs, especially Pope Sergius III, who had not the same objections to the re-marriage of widowers.[4] A council of the five Patriarchs in February, 907, dispensed the emperor. Nicholas Mysticus went into exile, and a monk named Euthymius,[5] who seems to have had some connection with the tradition of opposition to bureaucratic Patriarchs,[6] took his place for the next five years. If we are to see in this a revival of the alliance between the Studites and the papacy, the circumstances were not auspicious for the success of such a combination. In principle Byzantine opinion continued hostile to fourth marriages. Euthymius himself, though he allowed

[1] PG 106, c. 191, quoted by J. M. Hussey, *Ch. and Learning*, pp. 135-6.

[2] Incorporated in the *De ceremoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus as bk. ii, c. 52-3. The passage is PG, 112, c. 1341, CB, i, p. 727. For a revised text of the *Clerotogion*, see J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*.

[3] His letters are in PG 111, c. 27-392.

[4] See C. Diehl, "The Four Marriages of Leo VI," in *Byzantine Portraits*, pp. 175-204.

[5] See two articles by M. Jugie in EO, xvi (1913), pp. 388-95, 481-92, based on *Vita Euthymii*, ed. C. de Boor, Berlin, 1888.

[6] Vasiliev, i, p. 441.

the legitimacy of the young prince, refused to crown the empress. Pope Sergius III, who had supported the dispensation, was a bitter adversary of Formosus, and a supporter of the settlement of 879-80. The effect of his intervention was rather to loosen the ties between the Byzantine monks and Rome. When in 912 the emperor died, Nicholas Mysticus returned, and according to his partisans Euthymius was much maltreated. But in the next year it became necessary to accept Constantine Porphyrogenitus as the one legitimate representative of the Macedonian house. Nicholas had the wisdom to make peace with Euthymius, and in a *Tome of Union*, accepted by both parties in 920, conditions for second and third marriages were laid down on a sliding scale. Older men with more children were subjected to heavier penances.[1] In future, fourth marriages were absolutely forbidden, but the legitimacy of Constantine Porphyrogenitus was allowed as a special case, and the name of Euthymius was restored to the diptychs.

In 923 this settlement was approved by legates from Rome, who came to Constantinople on their way to Bulgaria. So the danger of a new schism was avoided, for Nicholas on his return had removed the name of Sergius III from the diptychs, and spoken hard words about Western laxity in the matter of second, third and fourth marriages.[2] In 923 relations between the Patriarchates were excellent, if they may be judged by a letter[3] of recommendation which Nicholas wrote for the Roman legates to carry to the King of Bulgaria. On their way back from Bulgaria to Rome they held a council at Spalato in 924, where the Dalmatian dioceses were restored to the Roman Patriarchate, and the Slavonic liturgy was forbidden, save under exceptional circumstances, as we have already seen.[4] This decision was opposed by Gregory, Bishop of Nona in Croatia, and had to be renewed at another Council of Spalato in 927; but we hear of no opposition from the Greeks, and it seems reasonable to assume that the transfer of Dalmatian dioceses from Constantinople to Rome was the direct result of the conversations in 923. More mystery surrounds the establishment of the Bulgarian Patriarchate, which was recognized

[1] Mansi, xviii, c. 336-41.
[2] In a letter to Anastasius III, PG 111, c. 208-20.
[3] PG 111, c. 176-89.
[4] *Supra*, p. 136.

at Constantinople in 927.[1] Pope John X certainly sent an imperial crown to the Tsar Simeon of Bulgaria in 926. According to a letter of King Kalojan, a later Bulgarian sovereign, to Pope Innocent III in 1202,[2] he also sent a "patriarchal benediction." At that time the Bulgarians clearly believed that Rome, as well as Constantinople, recognized their Patriarchate. Mr. Runciman thinks it improbable that so active a Pope as John X would have made so great a concession. The matter may appear in a different light if we consider the fortunes of the settlement of 879-80 in Italy.

John VIII, its original author, had much trouble with Formosus from the very beginning of his pontificate. It is very probable that this trouble ended only in his death. According to the author of the *Annales Fuldenses*,[3] he was first poisoned, and then beaten to death with hammers, by "those who desired his high position as well as his treasure." His successor, Marinus (882-4), immediately removed the anathema on Formosus.[4] He was a personal enemy of the Emperor Basil, and it is possible, though not certain, that he was regarded as an anti-Pope in Constantinople. Afterwards the validity of his election was impugned, on the ground that he had been Bishop of Cære before he was translated to Rome. Hadrian III (884-5), on the other hand, sent a "systatic letter" to Photius, who seems to have regarded him as the immediate successor of his friend Pope John.[5] Stephen V (885-91) certainly recognized Photius as the lawful Patriarch at the time of his second retirement in 886.[6] Formosus (891-6) was recognized in Constantinople,[7] in spite of the fact that opposition to his election was widespread in Rome. Like Marinus, he was already a bishop. Some time previously he had taken an oath not to seek the

[1] *First Bulgarian Empire*, pp. 174, 182. *Cf.* also E. Amann and A. Dumas, *L'église au pouvoir des laïques*, Paris, 1940, p. 433 and note.

[2] PL 215, c. 287, 290, and *infra*, p. 188.

[3] MGH sgus, p. 109.

[4] *Premier temps*, p. 284.

[5] Photius, *De Sancti Spiritus Mystagogia*, PG 102, c. 381-2. In c. 380 he describes John, "our own John," as "virile" three times over. This has led some to conjecture that John VIII was being accused of "feminine softness" on account of his peace with Photius in 879, and that he may even be the original of Pope Joan. See J. Hergenröther's note on PG 102, c. 380.

[6] *Supra*, p. 139.

[7] *Invectiva in Roman pro Formoso Papa*, PL 129, c. 833.

papacy. As Pope he offended Italian parties by his alliance with the German Arnulf, King of the East Franks, whom he summoned to his aid in 893,[1] and crowned in 896 as Holy Roman Emperor. After his death his body was exhumed and condemned to an excommunicate's lot at the grim "cadaverous council" of 897. Bitter strife between rival parties followed until the triumph of Sergius III[2] in 904. He belonged to the party who denied all validity to the ordinations and consecrations of Formosus.[3] John IX (898-900), on the other hand, tried to discriminate between his lawful and unlawful acts, as he tried to combine the attitudes of Nicholas I and John VIII towards Photius. Christopher (903-4) is accused of heresy by a Byzantine author of the eleventh century[4] on the ground that he put the *filioque* into his "systatic letter" to Nicholas Mysticus. Sergius deposed him in 904 and made him a monk.

After 904 the situation in Rome became more stable. For nearly seventy years power was in the hands of one family.[5] The Senator Theophylact, his wife Theodora, his daughter Marozia and his grandson Alberic were not all in favour with the ecclesiastical historians of later generations. They may not have been so black as they were painted. The contribution of this local dynasty to the history of the papacy was to preserve its political independence in an age of disorder in Italy. They did so by holding at arm's length intruders from the north who might come to Rome to claim the imperial crown of Charles the Great. During the time of their power they crowned only two Holy Roman Emperors: Berengar of Friuli in 915, who

[1] Jaffé, 3486.

[2] He was first elected in 898. See his epitaph in H-L, IV, ii, 729.

[3] They were defended by Auxilius and others in treatises which may be found in PL 129, c. 1053-1112, and elsewhere. See *Premiers temps*, pp. 313-4. The Latin writings against Formosus have perished, but echoes may be found in three Greek tracts of the Middle Ages, printed by J. Hergenröther in *Monumenta Græca ad Photium . . . pertinentia*, Regensburg, 1869, esp. pp. 160, 167-8, 179. (I owe this reference to Fr. Alexis van der Mensbrugghe.) In the legends of the Russian "Old Believers" Formosus is an heresiarch, whose body was mutilated and insulted because he was the first to make the sign of the cross with the wrong number of fingers. See A. P. Stanley, *The Eastern Church*, London, 1862, p. 397.

[4] In J. Hergenröther, *idem*, p. 161; see A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, Paderborn, 1924-30, vol. i, pp. 21-2.

[5] *Premiers temps*, pp. 308-27.


ECCLESIASTICAL ITALY IN THE TENTH CENTURY

came to rescue Rome from the Moors; and Otto of Saxony, who came from Germany and forced himself upon John XII in 962. They preferred the more distant protection of Byzantium. John XII even dated his acts by the regnal years of the Byzantine emperor.[1]

We have already seen how Sergius III and John X (914-28) maintained good relations with Constantinople, despite the mistake of Sergius in supporting Leo VI against Nicholas Mysticus in the matter of fourth marriages. In their time Rome was within the sphere of influence of the Byzantine empire in Italy. There is therefore nothing incredible in the idea of a new boundary agreement between the Patriarchates in 923 on the basis of the settlement of 879-80. Whether the agreement was made or not, western Illyricum returned to Romé and eastern Illyricum (Bulgaria) became autonomous. The organization of two Byzantine provinces around the metropolitan sees of Reggio and St. Severina in Calabria, about 900[2] does not seem to have been the subject of any protest from Rome, though Gay believed that some of their dioceses had Latin bishops, while others occupied territory that had once belonged to Latin sees before the devastation of Calabria by the Moors. In the middle of the tenth century Greek monks from Sicily spread their monasteries and churches beyond Calabria up the coast of Campania towards Rome.[3]

In 933 the real ruler of Rome was Alberic, Prince of the Romans, who kept under lock and key his half-brother, Pope John XI, described by the semi-official *Liber Pontificalis*[4] as the son of Sergius III and Marozia. In that year he sent four legates to Constantinople to assist in the consecration of the Patriarch Theophylact, the young son of the co-emperor, Romanus Lecapenus. Theophylact was not only under age, but a eunuch, who grew up into a disreputable character.[5]

[1] Gay, p. 223, citing PL 133, c. 1025. The custom had been dropped by Hadrian I in 781 (*supra*, p. 113), and its revival implied a protest against the ideas associated with the Holy Roman Empire.

[2] Gay, pp. 185-91. [3] See the long study in Gay, pp. 254-86.

[4] ii, 243; see *Premiers temps*, p. 316.

[5] See John Scylitzes in the chronicle of George Cedrenus, CB, pt. ii, pp. 332-3; PG 122, c. 68. Two admirable cartoons of him, from the fourteenth century MSS. of Scylitzes in the National Library at Madrid, are reproduced in R. Byron, *The Byzantine Achievement*, London, 1929, p. 250; and H. Peirce and R. Tylor, *Byzantine Art*.

His election was vigorously opposed by the monks in the tradition of the Studites, and probably by the respectable officials who had admired Photius and Nicholas Mysticus. It did less harm to the Byzantine church than might have been expected, for the disgruntled took refuge on Mount Athos,[1] which began to be "the holy mountain" during the Patriarchate of Theophylact. But the part played by Rome helped to shatter her old alliance with the Studites. The next Patriarch, Polyeuctes (956-70), was a warm champion of Athonite monasticism, but his proceedings in Apulia[2] were viewed with alarm in the West.

In the middle of the tenth century the influence of the Byzantine church in East and West was at its height. According to the contemporary testimony of the Patriarch Eutychius of Alexandria,[3] the name of the Patriarch of Constantinople appeared in the diptychs at Jerusalem and Alexandria in 937 for the first time since the Arab conquest. In 944 the Byzantine armies recaptured Edessa, and in 969 Antioch. In that year there was a schism in the Armenian church between the pure Monophysites and a party suspected of Chalcedonian tendencies. Ever since 860 Armenian princes had been in correspondence with Constantinople,[4] and the many Armenian settlers and soldiers who lived in the empire communicated in the Orthodox churches. Georgians came constantly to the capital, and founded one of the very early monasteries, Iviron, on Mount Athos.[5] The missions to Russia that began in the time of Photius had converted the Grand Princess Olga by the middle of the tenth century. Similar Slavonic missions continued in Poland and Bohemia, and among the Slav subjects of the Magyars in Hungary. In Italy the *Œcumene* extended as far as Rome. In 968 a new Byzantine province, with five new

[1] See P. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athoskloster*, Leipzig, 1894; Kirsopp Lake, *The Early Days of Monasticism on Mount Athos*, Oxford, 1909.

[2] Gay, p. 352.

[3] PG 111, c. 1156, in Latin translation. His continuator, Yah'ya of Antioch, agrees, PO, xviii, 5, pp. 710-1, and says that no Pope of Rome was commemorated from 685 to 999, for want of information.

[4] *E.g.*, the letters of Photius, PG 102, c. 703-14; and Nicholas Mysticus, PG 111, c. 362-6; M. Ormanian, *The Armenian Church*, pp. 47-9.

[5] See A. Riley, *Athos*, London, 1887, pp. 133-5; and R. M. Dawkins, *The Monks of Athos*, pp. 196-8.

dioceses, was formed in Calabria and Apulia, probably at the expense of the Latin churches.[1] In 972 the Byzantines occupied Bulgaria, where the empire and Patriarchate had collapsed before a Russian invasion in 969. They advanced their own frontier to the Danube, and attempted to annex the Bulgarian church to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, retaining the Slavonic liturgy.[2]

But already these moves were provoking counter-moves. Otto of Saxony, who came to Rome from Germany in 962 and compelled Pope John XII unwillingly to restore the Holy Roman Empire, was urged by his north Italian friends, especially Bishop Liudprand of Cremona, to defend the Latin churches in south Italy against Byzantine aggression. The Byzantines, on the other hand, resented his assumption of the imperial title, and his claim to purge the Augean stables of the church of Rome. In 972 there was a reconciliation in a marriage treaty between his son Otto and the Byzantine princess Theophano; but this led to fresh trouble, since Otto II and his Greek wife spent more time in Italy. Otto aspired to conquer the "Western regions" of the Roman empire, Apulia, Sicily and Calabria.

In 974 the rival empires supported rival Popes.[3] Boniface VII, the candidate of the Crescentii, who represented (through the female line) the family of Theophylact and Theodora, was obliged to take refuge at Constantinople. His rival, Benedict VII, the nominee of the German party and of Otto II, revenged himself upon the Byzantines by reviving the Roman claims in Bulgaria. According to the Bulgarian tradition[4] he, like John X before him, sent an imperial crown and "Patriarchal benediction" to the Tsar Samuel, who in Western Macedonia preserved the traditions of the Bulgarian empire. Samuel certainly revived the Bulgarian Patriarchate in about 980,[5] with or without the approval of Rome, and continued to resist Byzantine arms until he was finally defeated by Basil II, the "Bulgar-Slayer," in 1014.

[1] Gay, pp. 352-3.
[2] *First Bulgarian Empire*, pp. 215-6, 255-6.
[3] Gay, pp. 387-8; *cf.* Michel i, pp. 11-2.
[4] PL, 215, c. 287, a letter to Innocent III in 1202; *cf. supra*, p. 142.
[5] *First Bulgarian Empire*, p. 226.

In 983, on the death of Otto II, Pope Boniface returned to Rome with Byzantine support, and succeeded in getting rid of his rival, the immediate successor of Benedict. Next year he was killed by other adversaries, but his patron, John Crescentius, remained in power, and probably in alliance with the Byzantine empire, from 983 to 995. Until 991 the Byzantine princess Theophano ruled in Germany and northern Italy as regent for her young son Otto III, who had the beginnings of a Byzantine education from a Calabrian Greek, John Philagathos, afterwards Bishop of Cremona. In these years the conversion of the Grand Prince Vladimir of Russia in 988-9 enhanced the prestige of the Byzantine church. According to the Russian tradition,[1] he had to choose between Islam, the religion of the "Black Bulgars" on the middle Volga; Judaism, patronized by the Khazars on the Don; and the two forms of Christianity, Latin and Byzantine. Certainly his grandmother Olga had tried to obtain missionaries from Germany.[2] The foundation of a Latin see at Prague[3] in 974, and of German missions in Poland and Hungary,[4] shows that the German church was beginning to take an active interest in the spiritual destinies of eastern Europe. Of late M. Jugie[5] has propounded a theory that Russian Christianity was as much Latin as Greek until 1051. This drastic reversal of tradition does not seem to be supported by sufficient evidence. At Novgorod, which is much nearer the Baltic end of the trade route than Kiev, the early architectural monuments are Byzantine of a very fine kind. It is clear that Bohemian Christianity was as much Greek and Slavonic as Latin in 1037. Through Bohemia as well as Russia Byzantine cultural and artistic influences spread north and west towards Sweden, Denmark and England.

In 996 the half-Byzantine Western emperor, Otto III, imposed upon the Roman church its first German Pope, his young

[1] See the quotations from the *Codex Colbertinus* in G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée Byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1925, pp. 632-4.

[2] See refs. in W. H. Frere, *Links in the Chain of Russian Church History*, London, 1917, p. 9.

[3] Jaffé, 3778. See article on Prague, by C. Wolfsgruber, in *Catholic Encyclopædia*, xii, p. 339.

[4] See F. Dvornik, "The First Wave of the Drang Nach Osten," in *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vii, (1943), pp. 129-45.

[5] In *Les origines Romaines de l'église Russe*, EO, xxxvi (1937), pp. 257-70.

cousin, Bruno of Carinthia (Gregory V). The Crescentii rebelled against him and set up John Philagathos as an anti-Pope. Dr. Michel[1] has shown that he was recognized at Constantinople. Otto III turned fiercely on his old tutor, who was seized by the partisans of Gregory V and cruelly mutilated, despite the intercession of St. Nilus, the Calabrian saint of Rossano, who founded the Greek monastery of Grotto-ferrata, not many miles from Rome.[2] When Gregory died in 999, Otto found him a successor in Gerbert of Aurillac, who had been Archbishop of Rheims. Gerbert so far had chiefly distinguished himself by bitter invective against the Roman church[3] from the point of view of the movement of ascetic reform that was at this time arising beyond the Alps, especially at Cluny in Burgundy, but also in other centres in Germany, France and England. He took the title of Silvester II, in memory of Silvester, the Pope of the *Donation of Constantine*. The choice was probably significant of a new stress on the universal mission of the elder Rome. But Otto III, the new Constantine, was seeking a bride from Byzantium at the time of his death in 1002. His own sympathies might have led him to seek a reconciliation with his uncle, Basil II. After his death the Crescentii recovered their power at Rome. John XVIII (1003-9) was commemorated on the diptychs of St. Sophia, where the last Pope was John Philagathos.

According to a Byzantine tradition that can be traced back to about 1100 Pope Sergius IV (1009-12) included the *filioque* in his "systatic letter" to the Patriarch Sergius II of Constantinople, who promptly removed his name from the diptychs.[4] A Latin tradition connects the singing of the Nicene Creed at

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 16.

[2] See the life of St. Nilus in PG 120, c. 8-165. He had great spiritual influence among Latins as well as Greeks.

[3] See Gay, p. 308, citing MGH ss, iii, p. 671; *cf.* PL 139, c. 265-8.

[4] See Michel, i, pp. 20-40. He cites two texts, one of the eleventh century in three versions, connecting the *filioque* with Christopher (this is the version in J. Hergenröther, *Monumenta ad Photium . . . pertinentia*, p. 161, cited *supra*, p. 143), Christopher and Sergius III, and Sergius IV; another of the early twelfth century, by Nicetas Chartophylax, in two versions. Both of these speak of a "schism of the two Sergii," though one, in PG, 120, c. 717-20, professes ignorance of the reason, while another, in a manuscript at Munich, says that Sergius IV put the *filioque* into the Roman creed.

Mass, a custom generally associated with the *filioque* in the West, with the coronation of the emperor Henry II by Pope Benedict VIII in 1014.[1] In either case the change must be associated with the influence of this Holy Roman Emperor in Italy. Henry II was a genuine partisan of the northern reformers of the church, who called him Henry the Saint. His ideals came, not from Byzantium, but from Cluny and the like houses of reformed Benedictines, where all were accustomed to the longer form of creed.

Henry II and Benedict VIII were alike allied with the Lombard Melo, who raised a rebellion against the Byzantines in Apulia in 1017-9, and finally in 1020 took refuge at the German court, where the emperor Henry gave him the title of Duke of Apulia. In this revolt the Normans intervened—Latin pilgrims on their way back from Jerusalem who, some years before, had entered into the service of the Lombards of the south in their warfare with the Moors. These soldiers of fortune were continually joined by new arrivals, until numbers, skill and organization enabled them to challenge both empires at once in 1053. At this time they strengthened the hands of the Lombards and the Germans against the Byzantine governors of Apulia and Calabria.

The Counts of Tusculum, who controlled the papacy from 1012 to 1044, were another Roman family, like the Crescentii and the house of Theophylact. John XIX (1024-33) and Benedict IX (1033-48?) were certainly not lights to the church or patrons of ecclesiastical reform. They were, however, more pro-German than pro-Greek. Since neither of them appears on an Eastern list of Orthodox Roman Patriarchs composed by John, titular Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1156, and John XIX was not in the *synodicon* at Constantinople in 1025,[2] it is to be presumed that they kept the *filioque* in the creed. According to Raoul Glaber, John XIX was

[1] Berno, *Libellus de officio missæ*, PL 142, c. 1060-1, does not mention the change in the form of the creed, though he does say that the custom of singing it was introduced into Rome from the north in 1014. A. Palmieri, in the art. *filioque* in *D.T.C.*, 5, 2, c. 2317, says that in some places the older form was still sung in 1240, and cites as his authority for Paris Alexander of Hales, *Summa Theologica*, pt. 1, q. 43, m. 4, in ed. Cologne, 1622, vol. i, p. 218.

[2] Michel, ii, p. 25.

approached in 1024 by ambassadors from Basil II and the Patriarch Eustathius, who wished him to consent to a formula, "that with the consent of the Roman pontiff the church of Constantinople in her sphere (*in suo orbe*), as Rome in the world (*in universo*), might be called and accounted universal."[1] He was inclined to agree, but a great outcry was raised in the West. William, Abbot of St. Benignus at Dijon, wrote a letter of protest that gives the counter-formula of the reformers:

Although it may be that the power of the Roman empire, which once upon a time flourished monarchically in the whole world, is now wielded in diverse places and lands by innumerable sceptres, the power to bind and loose in heaven and earth belongs to the *magisterium* of Peter.

The days of reforming Popes were not yet. William could only express a demand for one, a desire

that in other matters, as in fitting in a universal bishop, you should act with more vigour for the discipline and correction of the holy and apostolic church, and be in Christ eternally and joyously strong.

He assumes that the Greeks "have obtained by asking the things which we have heard." We have no Byzantine account of this affair. It is possible that the negotiations broke down on some other issue of boundaries or the *filioque*, or that they led to a temporary reconciliation, too late for the publication of the *synodicon* of 1025; but the formula given by Raoul Glaber is convincing. It does express the Byzantine point of view.

Within the sphere of the *Œcumene*, the Byzantine empire, the Œcumenical Patriarch should be accounted a sufficient judge for all purposes. Persons excommunicated by him should not be entertained at Rome. Outside the *Œcumene*, the civilized world or *orbis terrarum*, as seen from Constantinople, were autocephalous churches—Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Georgia and Bulgaria before the Byzantine conquest. Among all these, within and without, Rome was *prima inter pares*. She might be used as a court of reference. She might reasonably ask for information about any matter of universal concern. Her legates might come to Constantinople to decide a controversy, but her decisions should not be pronounced at a distance,

[1] PL 142, c. 671.

nor could they be regarded as final. Both the Studites and their opponents appealed to her. Neither had any scruple in rejecting her decisions if they did not satisfy them.

Most Popes in the tenth century acquiesced in this interpretation of their powers. Another view came from "beyond the mountains." The idea of the universal *magisterium* of Peter was first elaborated in Rome at the time of Pope Symmachus in defence of the condemnation of Acacius of Constantinople in 484.[1] It was developed much further by Roman missionaries in the barbarous lands, where Rome was regarded as the one symbol of culture and order. Twice it was brought back to Rome in a new form, by Nicholas I and Formosus, and by the German Popes of the eleventh century. Each time it met with opposition from those who desired to preserve the harmony of the Patriarchates and the friendship of Greeks and Latins in Apulia, Calabria and Campania. Ultramontanism could not triumph until the Germans controlled Rome and the Normans Sicily.

This narrative has now reached the point at which the "period of the undivided church" is commonly supposed to end. In the present state of knowledge it is hardly possible to continue in the same way through the history of the schism; for the change in our ideas about the ninth and tenth centuries, to which reference has so many times been made in this chapter and the last, has not yet led to a thorough revision of the history of relations between Rome and Constantinople in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Yet in a book of this kind it seems unfair to conduct the reader to the threshold of 1054 and there to abandon him without any interpretation of the significance of that date in church history, when he already realizes that the schism began some years before. I have therefore attempted a double outline of the period from 1009 to 1204, a discussion of the nature of the schism between Rome and Constantinople, its character and the limits of its effect; and then a more tentative sketch of its development from a political and cultural tension to a deep difference on the nature of the church and the operation of the Holy Spirit in the world. In a final chapter I shall consider the influence of this divergence on the later history of Eastern and Western Christendom.

[1] *Supra*, p. 53.

# XII

## THE NATURE OF THE SCHISM

WHAT may be called the received view of the schism between East and West is that it began with Photius, and reached a climax in the excommunication of the Patriarch Michael Cerularius by papal legates in 1054. But the researches initiated by A. Lâpotre,[1] and completed by V. Grumel and F. Dvornik,[2] have proved that the settlement of 879-80 between Photius and Pope John VIII was accepted not only by the church of Constantinople, but by the greater part of the church of Rome. This settlement regulated relations between East and West in the tenth century, and remained authoritative in the West until the end of the eleventh.

If the significance of Photius has been misunderstood, the importance of Michael Cerularius has been exaggerated. In the light of the researches of M. Jules Gay,[3] Dr. Anton Michel,[4] and M. Jugie,[5] it is no longer possible to believe that a new schism between Rome and Constantinople began in 1054.[6] The mission of the Roman legates to Constantinople in that year must rather be conceived as an attempt to restore normal relations. In the view of Western chroniclers[7] in the next period it was partly, though not wholly successful. The emperor was restored to communion with Rome and the Patriarch removed from his favour, though not from the Patriarchate.

[1] *L'Europe et le Saint-Siège à l'époque carolingienne: le pape Jean VIII*, Paris, 1895.

[2] *Cf.* refs. *supra*, pp. 120, 131, 134.

[3] *L'Italie méridionale*, pp. 484-500.

[4] *Humbert und Kerullarios*, i and ii, *passim*.

[5] *Le schisme de Michel Cérulaire* in EO, xxxv (1937), pp. 440-78.

[6] 1043, on the other hand, is a possible date for a new schism, supported by one MSS. of Cedrenus. See H-L, IV, ii, 1091. If this is not a late interpolation, we might suppose that the negotiations of 1024 succeeded, but that the schism revived in connection with a triple schism in the Roman church in 1044. See *supra*, p. 151; *infra*, p. 170.

[7] H-L, IV, ii, 1084-6; *e.g.*, Sigebert of Gembloux (1100-3) in PL 160, c. 211, based on *Brevis et succincta commemoratio*, the legates' report in PL 143, c. 1001-4.

I am convinced that a new interpretation of the schism between East and West has become necessary, and that its starting-point must be the limited effects of the breach in 1009-12. Dr. Adrian Fortescue, who in *The Orthodox Eastern Church*[1] presented a highly simplified account of "the Cerularian schism," made some interesting admissions in 1917 in another book on *The Uniate Eastern Churches*,[2] on which he was engaged at the time of his death. It must be remembered that he was writing from the Roman Catholic point of view.

To begin with, the matter of the schism of the East is not so simple as many people think. Indeed, it is very difficult to say when the Orthodox, outside Constantinople, became schismatics. . . . The final test would be when they removed the name of the Pope from their diptychs. But we do not know when this happened. Probably for a long time none of them realized that a permanent state of schism between East and West had broken out. Hitherto they had been in communion with both the Pope of Rome and the Patriarchs of Constantinople. They knew, of course, that these two were now quarrelling, but, presumably, they thought that this quarrel was no business of theirs. They, no doubt, hoped that it would be made up in time; meanwhile they intended to keep out of it and to remain in communion with both.

As Dr. Fortescue points out, the Eastern Patriarchs had done the same in the schism of 862-7 between Nicholas I and Photius. The action of their representatives at the Photian council of 867 was repudiated as unauthorized at the Ignatian council of 869.[3] Moreover, there are several instances of schisms within Eastern and Western churches in which other churches did not feel obliged to take a side. Such, for instance, were the Mœchian schisms between the Studites and the Patriarchs Tarasius and Nicephorus.[4] In schisms between Popes and anti-Popes whole kingdoms sometimes stood aloof for a long time.

[1] London, 1908, especially pp. 172-98.

[2] London, 1923, pp. 189-90

[3] So Anastasius in PL 129, c. 45-6; *cf.* Bury, *E.R.E.*, pp. 202-3. Better evidence of the neutrality of Jerusalem is provided by the "Itinerary of Bernard the Wise" (c. 867-70) in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, No. 23, vol. iii, London, 1893, pp. 3-11.

[4] *Supra*, pp. 107-8; *cf.* also the schism between Nicholas Mysticus and the Euthymians from 907 to 920, *supra*, pp. 140-1.

As late as 1398-1403 the French church, with the moral support of the University of Paris, tried the experiment of a withdrawal of obedience from the anti-Pope at Avignon to induce him to come to terms with the Pope at Rome. The French did not join the Roman obedience, but hung suspended between the two contending parties.

In Western Europe schisms of this nature ceased after the Reformation. In the East they continue to this day: for instance, the Bulgarian church, excommunicated by Constantinople from 1872 to 1945, yet remained in communion with Russia, Serbia and Rumania. All the time Bulgarians who wished to join their own monastery on Mount Athos, where the Patriarch's authority was acknowledged, had only to abjure the schism in Constantinople.[1] And of late years individual Bulgarians have often been admitted to communion in Greece and Greeks in Bulgaria. Schisms in the Russian church do not divide the parties from the ancient Patriarchates, nor do they altogether divide them from one another. For some time the Russian church in London was used alternately by two communities, each acknowledging a different bishop. This was not modern tolerance, for the feeling between the parties ran high. But in their scale of values community in Orthodox dogma is more fundamental than any differences about ecclesiastical or civil polity. So in the Middle Ages those who believed that dogma in East and West was still fundamentally the same were prepared to receive Latins at the altar, despite differences about authority and ritual, and even about the form of the Nicene Creed.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries no formal decision of the Eastern Patriarchs had yet pronounced judgment upon "the errors of the Latins." Though all Greeks agreed that the addition of the *filioque* to the creed was forbidden by the Council of Constantinople in 879-80, and ought never to have been made, it was another matter to pronounce the Latin doctrine heresy. In 1089 at Constantinople itself the synod answered an imperial enquiry:

Not by a synodical judgment and examination was the Roman church erased from communion with ours, but as it

[1] M. Choukas, *Black Angels of Athos*, London, 1935, p. 307.

seems, through our want of watchful care (*ἀσυντηρήτως*), the Pope's name was not commemorated in the holy diptychs.[1]

The same argument, that "this has never been decreed synodically," was used in 1190 and even later in defence of giving communion to Latins.

No one, so far as I know, has ever denied that the Patriarch Peter III of Antioch was in communion with Rome and Constantinople in 1054. But the significance of his neutrality was missed so long as it was generally believed that Michael Cerularius began a new schism. In that case it would be merely an instance of "delayed action." L. Bréhier in *Le schisme oriental du xième siècle*[2] assumed that the schism took effect at Antioch under the Patriarch Theodosius III, a political ally of Cerularius, in 1057, and at Jerusalem and Alexandria either just before or just after. If, however, the Pope's name was removed from the diptychs about 1009, as Dr. Michel seems to have proved in *Humbert und Kerullarios*, Peter's neutral attitude is more likely to have been deliberately adopted in the hope of making peace. In a letter to Michael Cerularius in 1054 he defended his commemoration of the Pope in the diptychs by the example of John of Antioch (997-1022) and Sergius of Constantinople (1000-19), who still commemorated Pope John XVIII in their diptychs in 1009, forty-five years before. To this defence he added two sentences, whose significance escaped comment until fresh attention was called to the crisis of 1009:

> In what manner the commemoration was afterwards excised, and for what reason, I am in ignorance. And so long as I remain in this state about these things, I do not wish to take further action in the matter of the Pope's commemoration.[3]

These sentences seem to me to imply that Sergius II of Constantinople had removed the Pope's name from the diptychs without any formal consultation of the other Patriarchs. Patriarchs of Antioch who came from Constantinople may have followed his example, but Peter did not feel himself

[1] British Museum MSS. add. 34060, f. 570, printed with an introduction by W. Holtzmann in BZ, xxviii (1928), pp. 60-2; *cf. infra*, p. 177.

[2] Paris, 1899, pp. 237-41.

[3] PG 120, c. 799-800.

obliged to do so. Most of his subjects were Syrian Christians, like the chronicler Yah'ya of Antioch, who wrote *Annales* in Arabic in continuation of those written in the tenth century by Said Ibn Batrik (the Patriarch Eutychius of Alexandria).[1]

The Syrian and Egyptian Melkites had their own distinctive traditions, and would not automatically follow a lead from Constantinople. Michael Cerularius, writing to Peter of Antioch in 1054 to complain with pained surprise at the incredible rumour that even he commemorated the Pope in the diptychs, seems to give more credit to circumstantial reports that the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem "not only commemorate the Pope, but receive men who eat *azymes* (unleavened bread), and themselves sometimes celebrate in *azymes*."[2] He professed himself unable to verify this information, and asked Peter to make enquiries. As the emperor had lately been in communication with the Patriarch of Jerusalem about the restoration[3] of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, we may presume that the reports came from court circles well disposed to a reconciliation between Constantinople and Rome. Intrinsically they are in no way incredible, for the use of *azymes* was common in Armenia[4] before it reached the West. Some Syrians, Egyptians and Georgians, who had other Armenian customs, used it in the eleventh century, when it had not yet become a badge of Latinism.[5]

Roman Catholic historians very easily overestimate the influence of Constantinople among the Orthodox churches of the Middle East, partly because they unconsciously assimilate the position of the Œcumenical Patriarch in Eastern Christendom to that of the Pope in the West, but also because they exag-

[1] Arabic edition of both, ed. P. L. Cheikho and others, 2 vols., Beirut and Paris, 1909-12. Two parts of Yah'ya have appeared in PO, xviii, 5, and xxiii, 3; and Eutychius in Latin in PG 111, c. 903-1156.

[2] PG 120, c. 787-90; *cf.* Cardinal Humbert in PL 143, c. 951-2.

[3] William of Tyre, PL 201, c. 450.

[4] This has been disputed, but see *supra*, p. 81, and *infra*, p. 180. Other references to controversy about *azymes* may be found in Matthew of Edessa, ed. by E. Dulaurier in *Bibliothèque historique Arménienne*, Paris, 1858, pp. 145-6.

[5] Michel ii, pp. 116-8. For the unmixed chalice in Georgia see Theodore Balsamon in PG 137, c. 621.

gerate the Greek and Byzantine character of the Melkites in Syria. Because in modern times the Syrian Orthodox, and Roman Catholic Melkites whose ancestors were Orthodox, use Greek or Arabic in their liturgy they imagine that all Christians of Syriac liturgy in the Middle Ages must belong to one or other of the heretical churches. But in Palestine outside the Lebanon most Syrian Christians were Melkites of Orthodox dogma. Many of their Syriac liturgical manuscripts are known.[1] The Jacobites had no bishop in Jerusalem from the sixth to the twelfth century, and then he did not rank as a Patriarch. They had only one monastery of St. Mary Magdalene.[2]

The Orthodox community consisted of Syrians, Greeks, Latins and Georgians. Dr. Michel[3] has investigated references in Latin and Greek chronicles, and finds no conclusive evidence of a schism between Rome and Jerusalem in the first half of the eleventh century. This gives rise to no difficulties, as no one has ever supposed that there was one. The evidence for the period between 1054 and the First Crusade is another matter that needs careful investigation by someone much more familiar with all the possible sources of information, Latin, Greek and oriental, than I can hope to be. This much can be said, that the prevailing assumption that Jerusalem and Alexandria followed Constantinople into schism with Rome seems to rest more on evidence of their continued communion with Constantinople than any record of their breach with the West. If they remained in communion with both parties from 1009 to 1054 they may have continued neutral for many years afterwards. This indeed seems to fit the evidence of chroniclers writing in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem in the twelfth century. William of Tyre, a careful historian, gives an account of the Patriarchate in the eleventh century[4] without betraying

[1] For Palestinian Syriac see F. C. Burkitt in JTS, ii (1901), pp. 183-5. Some Edessene Syriac MSS. are also Orthodox, and one at least is from Palestine. See my own article on "Syrian Christians in Palestine in the Middle Ages," in ECQ, vi (1945-6), pp. 363-72.

[2] See the list of Jacobite sees by E. Rey in *Revue de l'orient Latin*, viii (1901), p. 150. Bar-Hebræus in *Chron. Eccles.*, ii, c. 653-4 (1237), notes as remarkable the presence of seventy Jacobite monks in Jerusalem.

[3] *Humbert und Kerullarios*, ii, pp. 24-40.

[4] PL 201, c. 448-50.

any consciousness of a breach between Latins and Greeks. Unfortunately no complete pilgrim narrative or description of the Holy Places[1] can safely be assigned to this period, but pilgrimages from the West continued to be numerous, and references to them in the Latin chroniclers[2] do not seem to point to any particular quarrel between the Latin churches and monasteries and the Greek Patriarchate. As we shall see in the case of Constantinople, the removal of the Pope's name from the diptychs would not necessarily involve the excommunication of the local Latins, but it seems unlikely that they would have ignored it altogether. The leaders of the First Crusade regarded the Patriarch Simeon as the lawful ruler and representative of the church of Jerusalem. Some of their appeals for reinforcements were dispatched in his name.[3] At his death[4] in July, 1099, in exile in Cyprus, whither the Turks had driven him on the approach of the Crusading army, they elected first an administrator of the see, and then, after some delay, a Latin Patriarch, Daimbert of Pisa. It is clear from more than one list that the Patriarchs of the Latin line[5] from 1099 to 1187 regarded themselves as lawful successors to all previous Patriarchs of Jerusalem. They made no distinction between Patriarchs before and after some supposed general schism between East and West about 1054-8.

Moreover, there is much evidence that the Orthodox Christians of Jerusalem acquiesced in this point of view. First of all a number of narratives, Latin, Armenian and Russian, give accounts of the Easter vigil in the Holy Sepulchre in 1101[6] and 1115.[7] From these it appears that Latins, Syrians and Greek

[1] Except the very brief *Qualiter sita est Jerusalem*, in PPTS, No. 23, vol. iii, and possibly another anonymous narrative in PPTS, No. 24, vol. vi, pp. 1-5.

[2] *E.g.*, in Lambert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, PL 146, c. 1081-5; *cf.* Vasiliev, ii, p. 31.

[3] Epistles vi and ix in H. Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, Innsbruck, 1901, pp. 141, 146; PL 155, c. 469-70.

[4] See his obituary in Albert of Aix, PL 166, c. 556.

[5] *E.g.*, in PL 155, c. 1054, at the end of Fretellus. See also M. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, vol. iii, Paris, 1740, c. 498.

[6] Three Latin accounts were printed by H. Hagenmeyer in *Hist. Hier.*, Heidelberg, 1913, pp. 831-7. In one, by Bartolf de Nangeio, *ibid.*, p. 836, the Latin Patriarch is "re-elected by all with common consent." *Cf.* Matthew of Edessa in *Bibl. Arm.*, pp. 233-4.

[7] By the Russian Abbot Daniel, in PPTS, No. 6, vol. iv, pp. 74-82.

monks of the monastery of St. Sabbas prayed together in their own languages, but the principal part in the service was taken by the Latin Patriarch in 1101 and by his representative, a Latin bishop, in 1115. References to special chapels for Georgians, Latins and Syrians appear in the rule[1] of St. Sabbas under the Latin dominion. That the monks continued to receive pilgrims from Russia by way of Constantinople is clear from the very interesting narrative of the Abbot Daniel, who stayed with them in 1113-5, and visited all the Holy Places. He lays great stress on their excellent relations with the King of Jerusalem, a Latin. He himself accepted hospitality from the Latin monks and clergy, and refrained from any but the mildest criticism of their ritual. He thought they mumbled in church,[2] and once he lets out a depreciatory remark about unleavened bread.[3] But he is full of praise for the Latin king, and a passing reference to "where the Patriarch lives"[4] seems to show that he regarded the Latin Patriarch as ruler of the church, at least *de facto*. Another Russian pilgrim who visited the monks of St. Sabbas in 1173 recorded her reception by the Patriarch as well as by the king. On her way she had seen the emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople.[5]

At about the same time a deed of sale refers to fields possessed by the Abbot and convent of St. Sabbas as an endowment for masses on behalf of the Latin Queen Melisenda.[6] An inscription of 1169[7] in the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem refers to the making of mosaics by the Syrian artist Ephrem in the reigns of the Emperor Manuel (of Byzantium) and King Amaury of Jerusalem. In a commemoration[8] of the second œcumenical

[1] In a *τύπος*, ed. E. Kurtz in BZ, iii (1894), pp. 167-70.

[2] In PPTS, No. 6, p. 77.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 13. In some Russian MSS. the past tense is found.

[5] The Abbess Euphrosine, Princess of Polotsk. She died in Jerusalem. Her narrative, translated into French by Mme. B. de Khitrovo, is in ROL, iii (1895), pp. 32-5. For comment see R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, vol. i, Paris, 1934, pp. 312-3.

[6] PL 155, c. 1229; the date is established by another reference in a charter of King Amaury (1174), *idem*, c. 1235.

[7] H. Stern in B, xi (1936), pp. 100-52.

[8] Quoted in B, xiii (1938), p. 422.

Council of 381 the divinity of the Holy Ghost is defined in Eastern fashion. Moreover, the narrative of John Phocas in his *Description of the Holy Land*,[1] a very full account of the Greek and Syrian monasteries in 1185, describes in loving detail the gifts of the Emperor Manuel, his old master, to the church of the Holy Sepulchre and other churches in Palestine. He speaks respectfully of the Latin Bishop of Bethlehem, though he calls the Bishop of Ramleh an intruder. His evidence with regard to Manuel's personal generosity is supported by William of Tyre,[2] who mourned in him "the most generous benefactions all the churches of the saints declare." William at least once went to stay with him on the business[3] of his own church of Tyre, as well as on diplomatic business for the King of Jerusalem.

A German writer of 1160-70, John of Wurzburg, puts the Greeks before the Latins in a list of nations who have places of worship at Jerusalem.[4] He sets the Ruthenians, who can only be Russians, between the English and the Czechs, and the Armenians,[5] whom the Latins often treated as if they were Orthodox, between the Georgians and the Syrians. At the end are the heretical churches, Jacobites, Syri (Maronites ?), Nestorians, Indians, Egyptians, Copts and "Capheturici," who may be Abyssinians[6] or more probably Tartars from the Assyrian (Nestorian) missions. This does not look as if the Greeks and Russians were considered heretical.

If the Greeks and Syrians in Jerusalem had been out of communion with the Franks we should expect to hear in pilgrim narratives of such scenes of discord as are unhappily common in the Holy Places in modern times. That jealousies of this kind between Melkites and Armenians were not by any means unknown is only too clear from the narrative of Matthew of Edessa, who gives a dramatic picture of the *Dzrazadik*, the

[1] PG 133, c. 927-62; PPTS, No. 11, vol. v, is a bad translation.
[2] PL 201, c. 851.
[3] *Ibid.*, c. 849-50.
[4] PL 155, c. 1088; Eng. trans. from another text in PPTS, No. 14, vol. v, p. 69; *cf.* a similar list of 1172 in Theodorich, PPTS, No. 17, *ibid.*, p. 14.
[5] See M. Ormanian, *The Armenian Church*, pp. 60-1, for an Armenian view of the friendly relations between Armenians and Latins in the twelfth century. *Cf.* also *infra*, pp. 180-1.
[6] Theodorich has "Nubians." All Latin writers get confused when they deal with the more obscure communities, very much as travellers do to-day.

"erroneous Easter" of 1102, when the Easter fire descended from heaven in response to the supplications of the Armenians while "the inhabitants of Jerusalem" were engaged in a Palm Sunday procession.[1] I know of no such picture of an open clash between Greeks and Franks before 1187. Matthew of Edessa regards the Franks as auxiliaries of the Greeks. Even Anna Comnena, so apt at discovering grievances, does not complain of their occupation of Jerusalem.

In the second half of the twelfth century Greek Patriarchs of Jerusalem began to appear in the proceedings of councils at Constantinople,[2] but no success has hitherto attended the attempts of Greek controversialists[3] to prove that they represent the true line of Simeon, or of another Patriarch Sabbas, who took refuge at Constantinople from the Turks or from the Latins. It seems to me much more probable that Lequien[4] was right in believing that Patriarchs "of all the churches of Sion" were established at Constantinople by the Byzantine government as a move in their struggle for the restoration of the Patriarchate of Antioch to the Greeks.

When the Crusaders first arrived at Antioch in 1098 they supported the Greek Patriarch John V, who seems to have been on the best of terms with the papal legate, Adhemar du Puy. Difficulties arose from a local political issue, when the Byzantine emperor claimed the city as having been imperial from 969 to 1085, while the Crusaders, especially Bohemond of Taranto, a Norman and his personal enemy, regarded it as their own conquest from the Turks. Bohemond might have consented to rule as a vassal of the empire, but he would not

[1] *Bibl. Arm.*, p. 251. Michael the Syrian, Jacobite Patriarch from 1166 to 1198, gives an account of the same affray in his *Chronicle*, ed. and trans. J. B. Chabot, vol. iii, Paris, 1911, p. 190. The disagreement about the date of Easter has taken place once in every ninety-five years from 1007 to the present day.

[2] Nicetas Choniates, *Thesaurus Orthodoxæ fidei*, PG 140, c. 180, 257. They are commemorated in diptychs framed in Sinai, on territory controlled by the Moslem rulers of Egypt, about 1166. See F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. i, Oxford, 1896, pp. lii, 500-1. No Patriarchs are mentioned between 1099 and 1156.

[3] *E.g.*, Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem from 1672-1707, in his *History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem*, published at Bucharest in 1715, and the Archimandrite Kallistos Meliara, *The Holy Places and the Rights in them of the Greek Race*, Jerusalem, 1928 (both in Greek).

[4] *Oriens Christianus*, iii, c. 502-3.

give up the city to a Greek governor, and repudiated his former oath of allegiance to the emperor on the specious ground (from the feudal point of view) that he had failed to assist the Crusading army when they were in serious straits earlier in the year.

At first this led to division among the Latins. Raymond of Toulouse maintained the rights of the emperor. When by his influence a Provençal priest, Peter of Narbonne, was chosen to be bishop of the neighbouring city of Albara, "a Roman bishop in an oriental church, for its administration,"[1] he was brought to Antioch and consecrated there in September or October, 1098, presumably by the Patriarch John, in whose province he was.[2] At the same time, however, Bohemond and other lay princes, at a loss for ecclesiastical leadership since the death of Adhemar du Puy in August, wrote a letter[3] to the Pope in which they complained of heretics, "Greeks and Armenians, Syrians and Jacobites," whom they could not overcome. They summoned him to come and occupy St. Peter's chair at Antioch. In this we may see more than a hint of serious trouble with John V.

By December, 1099, this trouble had come to a head, for Radolf of Cadom, a partisan of Bohemond, records the consecration[4] of four Latin bishops to Syrian sees, including Edessa and Tarsus, by Daimbert of Pisa, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. Some months later in the same source[5] Bernard of Valence appears as *recently* elected Latin Patriarch of Antioch. According to William of Tyre, who reflects the Latin defence of their proceedings in the second half of the twelfth century, John had peacefully retired, "seeing himself that he could not

[1] Raymond de Agiles (Provençal historian) PL 155, c. 624; *cf. Anon. Gesta Francorum*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, 1890, pp. 393-4.

[2] The evidence for this consecration is collected by H. Hagenmeyer in *Chronologie de la Ièr Croisade*, ROL, vii (1899), pp. 324-5. F. Mas-Latrie in *Les Patriarches Latin d'Antioch*, ROL, ii (1894), p. 193, accepts the consecration of Peter at Antioch by a Patriarch, and argues that therefore a Latin Patriarch had already been installed.

[3] Fulcher of Chartres, *Hist. Hier.*, pp. 258-64. Albert of Aix in PL 166, c. 513, gives a Provençal view favourable to John V, who is represented as a confessor of the faith, hung in chains by the Turks. He speaks of the common worship of Latins and Greeks.

[4] PL 155, c. 579 (*Gesta Tancredi*).

[5] *Idem*, c. 584.

usefully preside as a Greek over Latins."[1] We may conjecture that he objected to the consecration of Latin bishops in his Patriarchate by virtue of a special commision to Daimbert from the Pope. He remained at Antioch as long as there was hope of a political compromise between the Byzantines and Bohemond, and then left, as William of Tyre says, "just two years after" the Latin occupation began.

From time to time under Byzantine pressure the Latins promised to restore John, or to admit another priest from St. Sophia, sometimes as sole Patriarch, or sometimes by an uneasy compromise as joint ruler of the church with the Latin.[2] For many years they succeeded in postponing the execution of these pledges, which were vigorously criticized by the local Latin clergy. But in 1159 the prince at last consented to receive the Greek Patriarch Athanasius, who arrived after 1164 but before 1167. In 1170 the Latin Patriarch returned in triumph, for an earthquake avenged him of his rival and killed more of the Greek clergy.[3] According to a Greek tradition another Patriarch was murdered by the Latins in 1182-3. But in 1207-13 Prince Bohemond IV restored the Greek Patriarch Simeon, despite the strongly expressed displeasure of Pope Innocent III.[4] The schism in the church of Antioch was even then communal and political. Latin nobles could make a treaty with the Greeks, or take their side in the local controversy, without conscious disloyalty to the Catholic church of the West. They did not regard the enthronement of a Greek Patriarch as treason. It was an unfortunate necessity, to be resisted as long as possible on political grounds, but

[1] PL 201, c. 377. *Cf.* Ordericus Vitalis, who in PL 188, c. 775-6, gives conflicting reports on the causes of John's retirement, without attempting to reconcile them. His evidence is earlier, but vaguer and more distant from the scene.

[2] So it seems from PG 140, c. 297 (*infra*, p. 190), and from William of Tyre, PL 201, c. 377: " lest two Patriarchs should occupy one and the same throne . . . against the sacred canons." This apology would hardly be necessary if a double reign had not been proposed.

[3] Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, vol. iii, pp. 332, 339.

[4] See A. Luchaire, *Innocent III: la question d'orient*, Paris, 1907, pp. 37-42, 50-2; E. Rey in ROL, viii (1901), pp. 139, 147; *Letters of Innocent III* in PL 215, c. 1322, 1345; PL 216, c. 434 (to the Sultan of Aleppo). Simeon was probably locally elected, as he does not figure in the tradition of Constantinople, given in an English translation at the end of J. M. Neale, *The Patriarchate of Antioch*, London, 1873, pp. 174-5.

yielded when absolutely necessary in order to withstand the Turks.[1]

The same Pope who objected to the reception of a Greek Patriarch at Antioch was prepared to recognize the Patriarch Nicholas of Alexandria,[2] who ordained a Latin deacon with his consent. He was represented at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. His church had been accustomed to give communion to Latin captives when the Patriarch Mark, in 1190, addressed a series of questions on this and other subjects to the canonist Theodore Balsamon, who was titular Patriarch of Antioch. On the matter of the communion of the Latins he replied as follows:

Because for many years the Western church has been divided in spiritual communion (πνευματίκης κοινωνίας) from the other four Patriarchs . . . and become alien to the Orthodox, for which reason the Pope is not mentioned in the relation of names . . . no Latins should be communicated unless they first declare that they will abstain from their doctrines and customs and be in subjection to the canons, and be made like unto the Orthodox.[3]

According to Demetrius Chomatenus, who was Metropolitan of Ochrida in Macedonia in 1207-22, Balsamon's answer was criticized by many

as showing too great harshness and bitterness, and an unjustifiable tone, in blaming the Latin forms and customs, "because all this," they said, "has never been decreed synodically nor have they ever been rejected as heretics, but both eat with us and pray with us."[4]

It is important to observe that neither party proposes to excommunicate Latins as such without examination. The discord is between those who would admit them unconditionally

[1] See their letters to the King of France in PL 155, c. 1269, 1273, 1278 (1164).

[2] Letters in A. Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, vol. ii, Berlin, 1873, Nos. 1430 (1201), 4365, 4726 (1212-3).

[3] PG 138, c. 967. In the same set of replies Balsamon urges Mark to Byzantinize his church by purging it of all distinctively Egyptian customs, including the "Liturgy of St. Mark." See also PG 137, c. 621.

[4] PG 119, c. 956-60.

if they wish to come and those who insist on the strictest conformity to the diocesan regulations. I believe that these two standpoints can be traced back to the time of Michael Cerularius.

It has always been something of a mystery that in this Patriarch's quarrel with the Latin churches in Constantinople there should be so much said about *azymes* and so little about the *filioque*. The tracts of Nicetas Pectoratus[1] and Leo of Ochrida,[2] written in direct connection with the controversy, probably in 1053, say nothing about the *filioque* at all. They are mainly concerned with the use of leavened bread, Saturday fasting, and Lenten usages; the right days on which to celebrate the mass of the pre-sanctified gifts, and the wrongness of the Latin custom of omitting alleluia after Septuagesima. Nicetas has a little to say in defence of married clergy, and Leo of Ochrida against eating things strangled. Otherwise the whole of their argument has to do with *azymes* and Lent.

I think this concentration upon minor issues can be explained on the hypothesis that the Patriarch's real object was to induce the Latins in his diocese to conform to some diocesan regulations, especially those contemned by the Armenians, who used *azymes*, and began Lent at Septuagesima. (The annexation of Armenia to the empire in 1046 was bitterly resented, and must have inflamed controversy.) That the Latins desired to remain in his communion is clear from the example of the Lombard Argyrus, whom he himself repelled four times from the altar.[3] That he closed their churches, which had not hitherto suffered through the schism between Rome and Constantinople, is clear from the Latin and Greek sources. In his letters to Peter of Antioch he seems to me to be trying to induce him and the other Eastern Patriarchs to prohibit Latin usages in their own Patriarchates. In this connection he gives a very long list of errors.[4] The Latins eat things strangled; their monks eat suet; they shave; recite the Gloria in a form that reeks of Sabel-

[1] PG 120, c. 1011-2; PL 143, c. 974-84.

[2] PG 120, c. 835-44; PL 143, c. 793-8.

[3] So he says in his letter to Peter of Antioch, PG 120, c. 787-8. The date is fixed by Lupus Protospatarius, who gives 1046-51 as the years when Argyrus lived in Constantinople, PL 155, c. 135-6.

[4] PG 120, c. 789-94.

lianism; allow two brothers to marry two sisters; celebrate masses where the priest alone communicates. Not only do they add to the creed and fast on Saturdays; they put salt in the mouths of the baptized, and some say that they baptize with one immersion "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." All this seems equally scandalous; yet it is not easy to believe that Michael Cerularius regarded beards as the pre-condition of any peace between Rome and Constantinople.

Historians have often been puzzled by the letter that he wrote to Pope Leo IX in 1053, offering to restore his name to the diptychs in all the churches of his Patriarchate if his own name were commemorated in the one church of Rome.[1] At the time his Latin adversaries were scandalized at the discrepancy between this friendly gesture and the tone of Greek propaganda, not only in Constantinople but in Apulia.[2] Modern writers have explained it by political pressure from the imperial court. But Michael showed himself on other occasions not at all a yielding person. It seems to me more likely that there was a real discrepancy between his attitude to Latins outside his Œcumenical (civilized) Patriarchate and his view of Latin settlers within. If the Latins claimed to practise all their usages in his diocese, while at the same time they persecuted Greek married clergy all along the Italian coast from Campania to Sicily,[3] he was ready to launch a counter-offensive, not only in Constantinople, but in Italy. But his aims would have been fulfilled if he had induced the Latins of Constantinople to use leavened bread and to fast on the right days, and if he had preserved intact the Italian boundaries of the Byzantine Patriarchate.

We know that he failed in both these aims. Even in his own lifetime he had difficulty in keeping the Latin churches in Constantinople closed, and after his fall in 1058 they were soon reopened. But the idea of inducing the Latins to conform to some Byzantine rites was not altogether abandoned. In 1107-11

[1] Known only through references in letters of Leo IX to Michel, PL 143, c. 773-5, and Michael to Peter of Antioch, PG 120, c. 784. M. Jugie in EO, xxxv (1937), suggests this interpretation.

[2] The letter of Leo of Ochrida was addressed to John of Trani, a Greek bishop of a Latin diocese in Byzantine Apulia.

[3] Cardinal Humbert, in his *Adversus Nicetam*, PL 143, c. 983-1000, makes no distinction between Greek and Latin married clergy.

a letter[1] of Bruno of Asti, Abbot of Monte Cassino, to the Benedictines of Constantinople warns them against the "soft persuasion" and "furious elocution" of "the bishop of the diocese and his clergy," who asked them "Is Christ divided in His body, that He is one in the sacrifice at Rome and another in the sacrifice at Constantinople?" "But" says Bruno,

"we truly hold, and from the heart firmly believe, that although the customs of the churches are distinct, nevertheless there is one faith, indissolubly united to the head, that is Christ: and that He Himself is one and remains the same in His body."

The monks are told to plead the example of St. Gregory the Great, who celebrated in the Latin fashion when he lived in Constantinople as *apocrisarius* in the time of the Emperor Maurice. They are to claim toleration from their diocesan.

That Greek propaganda was not always unsuccessful is suggested by a much later letter[2] of Innocent III to the Latins of Constantinople in 1199 forbidding priests to confirm children according to the Eastern custom. This seems to show that some of them carried their conformity with the institutions of the local church to the extent of "taking chrism" from the Œcumenical Patriarchate. Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, writing in the reign of John Comnenos (1118-43), petitioned the Patriarch for the restoration of a closed Cluniac priory. In his letter[3] he addressed him as "the venerable and great high-priest of God," and expressed his great desire "in you to venerate the blessed pontiffs of your city." Thus he recognized him as the legitimate successor of all previous Patriarchs, with power to close and open even Latin churches.

Latin settlements in the empire were not confined to Constantinople. In 1164 the Abbot of St. Mary in Adrianople and the Prior of the Hospital of St. John in Constantinople acted as intermediaries between the emperor and the King of France.[4] The monastery of the Amalfitans on Mount Athos, flourishing in 1046,[5] was still in existence in 1196, when the superior

[1] PL 165, c. 1085-90.
[2] PL 214, c. 772.
[3] PL 189, c. 262.
[4] PL 155, c. 1275-7.
[5] P. Meyer, *Haupturkunden für . . . Athoskloster*, p. 157, a *typikon* of Constantine IX, allowing the monks to have a ship, not to be used for trade. I owe this reference to Professor R. M. Dawkins; *cf.* also references given by Dom Romanus Rios, O.S.B., in ECQ, iv (1941), p. 249.

witnessed, in Latin, a deed of one of the other monasteries.[1] Other evidence suggests that it was still there at the end of the century, when the Serbian monastery of Chilandiari was founded. In the remoter parts of the diocese of Durazzo priests of the Latin rite were still ordained by a Greek metropolitan even after 1200.[2]

The survival of these Latin institutions in the Patriarchate of Constantinople is one among many signs that in the twelfth century there was as yet no clear line between Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox. Greeks and Syrians in Calabria, Sicily, and Palestine, who obeyed the Latin secular authorities, still received priests and pilgrims from Constantinople[3] and from Russia. Latins were still admitted to communion at Alexandria, Durazzo, and probably elsewhere. Euthymius Zigabenus the expert on heresy, writing his *Panoplia Dogmatica* in the first quarter of the century, has a section on "the errors of the Latins," but it is nothing like so large as the one on Armenians. It merely reproduces a summary of the *De Sancti Spiritus Mystagogia* of Photius,[4] and this is mainly concerned with Popes who opposed the *filioque*. Anna Comnena, the learned lady, writing a little later, has nothing to say of the *filioque*, and very little about the canonical errors of the Latins, though her strong political prejudice leads her at one place[5] to overstate the normal Byzantine argument against the claims of the papacy, and to write as if the primacy had been transferred to Constantinople. The schism was still mainly cultural and political.

[1] A. N. Mouravieff, the Russian church historian, quoted in *The Christian Remembrancer*, xxii, Oxford, 1851, p. 338. See also his *Letters from the Orient* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1851, vol. i, p. 246.

[2] John of Citra, replying to Constantine Cabasilas, Metropolitan of Durazzo, in PG 119, c. 959-64.

[3] *E.g.*, Nilos Doxipatres, who served first at Constantinople, then at Palermo, and then at Constantinople again. See V. Laurent in EO, xxxv (1937), pp. 5-30. His book *On the Order of the Patriarchal Thrones* (1143) in PG 133, c. 1083-1114, is dedicated to the Latin King Roger of Sicily, but his point of view is distinctly Byzantine. For other anti-Latin controversialists among the Greeks of Italy see K. Lake in JTS, v. (1904), pp. 35, 39-40.

[4] In PG 102, c. 392-6, not reproduced with the rest of the *Panoplia* in PG 130.

[5] *Alexiad*, bk. i, c. 13.

# XIII

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHISM

THE insertion of the *filioque* into the creed at Rome[1] was originally a political gesture, a symbol of allegiance to the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. A custom that had prevailed at Aachen since before 794, despite Roman criticism, was adopted at Rome in 1014. The removal of the Pope's name from the diptychs at Constantinople was a protest not only against a breach of the undertaking given by the legates of Pope John VIII in 879 to maintain the harmony of the Patriarchal sees in one version of the common symbol,[2] but also against German infiltration into central Italy. Sergius IV was reckoned with Benedict VII, Gregory V, and Silvester II, other pro-German and German Popes who had not figured in the diptychs, though they were not accused of ecclesiastical or theological errors.

In 1046-58 German influence in Italy reached its climax after the synod of Sutri, where the emperor Henry III deposed three Italians who had been contending for the papacy. In the next ten years he imposed four German Popes upon the Roman clergy. A fifth was elected after his death, and ruled until 1058.[3] The rule of German and Burgundian reformers meant war upon the married clergy of central and southern Italy, who were worried in synods[4] from Pavia and Vercelli to Salerno and Siponto, within the limits of Byzantine Apulia. Many of them were Latins, but some were of the Greek rite, and many in such cities as Naples and Milan defended their unions by the example of the Greek custom. As we have already seen, this warfare spread from Apulia to Constantinople. When the Latins charged the Greeks with "the heresy of the Nicolaitans,"[5] they in turn denounced them as breakers of the "apostolic canons,"[6]

[1] See *supra*, p. 150. [2] See *supra*, p. 134.

[3] Two of these five Popes came from Lorraine; in 1050 Lotharingia was as much a part of the "East Frankish" kingdom as Bavaria or Franconia.

[4] H-L, IV, ii, 1039.

[5] Revelation ii. 6. See *supra*, p. 167.

[6] See *supra*, p. 96.

not only in the matter of separating married clergy from their wives, but on other points on liturgy and discipline.

So long as the German emperor remained at the head of the movement for reform in Italy, the scope of the reformation was limited by his political interests and aims. He was not intimately interested in the struggle of Greeks and Lombards in Calabria and Apulia. It was possible to hope that he might consider a new treaty of peace and friendship between the emperors and the Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople. Such a plan found an ardent sponsor in the Lombard Argyrus, who represented Byzantine interests in Italy from 1051 to 1055. He was a Byzantine subject of the Latin rite in Byzantine Apulia, who wanted to unite the Pope with both the emperors in a common campaign against the Norman marauders who for the last fifty years had infested the coasts of Campania and Calabria, fighting sometimes for the Byzantines, sometimes for the local Lombard chiefs.

In the spring of 1053 these Normans captured the person of the Pope, but they lacked the power,[1] and perhaps the determination, to intercept his communications with Argyrus, which had begun some time before. He was able to receive letters from the Byzantine emperor, and from the Patriarch Michael Cerularius. The replies to these, with other comments on Greek propaganda in south Italy, and on the grievances of the Latin churches in Constantinople,[2] were conveyed to the East by three papal legates in January, 1054. The emperor received the legates with all honour, but the Patriarch refused to recognize their credentials. L. Bréhier and others have assumed that he was bluffing. J. Gay, on the other hand, argued with considerable force that he may have been in good faith.[3] He had every reason to doubt whether Argyrus really possessed reliable means of communicating with the captive Pope. He claimed[4] to possess information about this from his friend John, the Greek Bishop of Trani, who probably fed his strong sus-

[1] It must be remembered that they could not read.

[2] Jules Gay, in *L'Italie méridionale*, pp. 492-4, argued convincingly against L. Bréhier, *Le Schisme Orientale*, pp. 97-104, that the Pope's comments on the tract of Leo of Ochrida (PL 143, c. 744-69; see *supra*, p. 166) were sent at the same time as his other letters.

[3] *L'Italie méridionale*, pp. 498-9.

[4] Letter to Peter of Antioch, PG 120, c. 788.

picions that Argyrus was making use of the situation for the advantage of the Latin rite in Byzantine Apulia and of the Latin churches in Constantinople.[1] Dr. Michel has shown that the papal letters were probably drafted by one of the legates, Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida,[2] who may well have seemed to be their sole author. An intermediate view might be suggested, that the Patriarch was in real doubt about the legates, and sought, by refusing them any recognition, to avoid a definite anathema upon the representatives of Rome. Before they had been long in Constantinople[3] he heard of the Pope's death in April, 1054, which in any case impaired their authority. He wanted to keep his hands free for negotiations with the next Pope, who might not be a German at all, but an Italian nobleman friendly to the married clergy. In fact, some months passed before another German Pope could be imposed upon Rome.

The legates, on the other hand, chose to bring matters to a crisis in the hope of driving a wedge between the emperor and the Patriarch and forcing his deposition. In July, they placed a bull of excommunication[4] upon the altar of St. Sophia. This was directed only against Michael Cerularius and his personal adherents. The legates carefully affirmed the Orthodoxy of "the honourable and wise men" of this "most perfectly Orthodox and Christian city." The ten heresies that they ascribe to the Patriarch include but two practices that were universally approved in the Byzantine church, the excision (not the omission) of the *filioque* from the creed, and the toleration of "carnal marriage" for "the sacred ministers of the altar." Of the rest three were customs open to objection, not at all uncommon in the East, but never formally authorized,[5] and five were probably implications drawn from the Patriarch's strong language about Latin baptisms and Latin eucharists. It is a curious irony that this bull of excommunication, which was

[1] See *supra*, p. 166. [2] *Humbert und Kerullarios*, i, pp. 45 *ff.*

[3] See his letter to Peter of Antioch, PG 120, c. 783.

[4] PG 120, c. 742-6, in the Patriarch's *Edictum Synodale*, c. 735-48; also in PL 143, c. 1002-4.

[5] The promotion of eunuchs "even to the episcopate," and the refusal of baptism to infants, and of communion to their mothers, until the eighth day after birth. This may be an answer to Byzantine accusations against the Latin ritual of baptism (*supra*, p. 167).

never confirmed by Rome, has been commonly taken for the final act that divided the Eastern from the Western church.

The Patriarch and his synod condemned the bull as the work of three unknown individuals. In their own synodal edict they do not denounce the Roman church or any Latin errors except the *filioque*, the persecution of married clergy, and (in passing) the refusal of communion to priests who wear beards. The conflict in Constantinople was dramatic and colourful, but it left things very much as they were before. The Patriarch continued his struggle to keep the Latin churches closed until he fell foul of the emperor Isaac Comnenus, and was deposed for high treason,[1] in March, 1059. The Pope's name was not restored to the diptychs at St. Sophia. On the other hand, no more formal action yet divided the churches from one another.

Nevertheless an opportunity had been lost which would not return. After the death of the emperor Henry III in 1056 the German imperial court lost control of the reforming movement in Italy. According to Professor Gustav Tellenbach, the latest German historian of the Investiture controversy, "in 1058 a great revolution in world history took place which even those most closely concerned had only dimly foreseen."[2] The moving spirit in this revolution was one of the legates of 1054, Humbert of Silva Candida, who in the third book of his *Libri adversus simoniacos* launched

> the first frontal attack on the whole position of laymen within the church, especially the ideas of royal theocracy which had held the field for centuries. The sacred character of the kingship was ignored, and for Humbert the king was a layman pure and simple.[3]

In this we may see a reaction against all the Western imitations of Byzantium since Charles the Great. Professor Tellenbach

[1] See the speech of Psellos against him in REG, xvi (1903), pp. 375-416, and xvii (1904), pp. 35-76; also in *Orationes et Dissertationes*, ed. E. Kurtz and F. Drexl, Milan, 1936. This gives circumstantial details, which have some support in other authorities. His political ambitions provide the real clue to his whole career. He aimed at the empire and received the Patriarchate as a consolation prize. He then tried to use it as a means of making and unmaking emperors.

[2] *Church, State, and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. by H. F. Bennett, Oxford, 1940, p. 111.

[3] Tellenbach, p. 109. The text of the third book is PL 143, c. 1139-1212.

believes that Humbert had "penetrated to the heart of Catholic thought," and that his friend Hildebrand "embodied the essence of Catholic tradition." These claims are only true in a limited sense. It is true that the Western church, unlike the Eastern, had long emphasized the distinction between the clergy, who alone ought to manage all ecclesiastical business, and the mere laity, who should be passive in church affairs. In the Western tradition Humbert and Hildebrand were radical rather than revolutionary. They explored new implications in the received theory. Especially they developed the idea of the Pope as "universal ordinary," that "the Pope is bishop everywhere; the bishops are merely his representatives in their own particular dioceses."[1] The Pope took the place of the Roman emperor as the effective head of the church. From the point of view of the Byzantine tradition this was a complete revolution, not only because it threatened to destroy the traditional autonomy of four out of the five Patriarchates, but because it reversed the traditional relation between the clergy and the lay power. Imperial interference in ecclesiastical business might be anomalous in the West, though even there it found ready defenders,[2] but in the East it was normal.

Humbert found a political and military basis for the independence of the papacy through the *Donation of Constantine*, a document that he constantly used in political argument.[3] On this he founded the regalian rights of St. Peter in all the Western regions, especially in Campania, Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. These rights were used to bind the Norman chiefs, who had imprisoned Leo IX in 1053-4, in close allegiance to the papacy. At the synod of Melfi[4] in August, 1059, Robert Guiscard became Duke of Calabria and Apulia, "and hereafter of Sicily," "by the grace of God and St. Peter." Richard of Aversa, another Norman, became Prince of Capua. They undertook to recover for Rome her regalian rights and her lost patrimonies, confiscated by the Isaurian emperors in 732. In practice they

[1] Tellenbach, p. 142. On the previous pages he traces the development of this theory from the Symmachian forgeries at the end of the fifth century (*supra*, p. 53) through the false decretals to the time of Leo IX.

[2] As, for example, the Anglo-Norman author of the *Tractatus Eboracensis*, MGH, *Libelli de lite*, iii, who defends the primacy of Jerusalem, p. 659. I owe this reference to Dr. Eugene Lampert.

[3] Tellenbach, p. 111.

[4] Gay, pp. 516-9.

restored her Patriarchal authority in Calabria, Sicily, and the Terre d'Otranto, and in many places, though not in all, they replaced Greek bishops and priests by Latins, who were naturally more willing to acknowledge their authority.

By 1071 the conquest of Apulia and Calabria was practically completed, though in isolated towns the local authorities maintained their allegiance to the Byzantines for many years, and in the independent cities of the Campanian coast imperial suzerainty was still recognized in the twelfth century. The Norman passion for conquest was not satiated, as they looked across the sea at other islands, Corfu and Cephallonia, and at the mainland of Albania and Greece. There too were "patrimonies of St. Peter," and provinces that had once received metropolitans from Rome. For the next fifty years Norman ambitions were intimately bound up with the revival of Roman claims upon Illyricum and Greece.

The papacy hoped to obtain satisfaction for these claims by negotiation. The weapon of conquest was held in reserve. On the two occasions when it was openly used, in 1082-4 and 1107-8, it was unsuccessful. The Normans could overwhelm Byzantine outposts, but not the Byzantine empire. On other occasions the Popes tried to combine peaceful persuasion with military pressure. When Hildebrand himself became Pope Gregory VII in 1073 he offered to come to Constantinople to preside over a General Council, but he would come with an army at his back, raised in the West to deliver the Eastern Christians from the peril of the Turks.[1] This plan came to nothing at the time, but it influenced the idea of the First Crusade.

The Byzantines had two defences against the reformed papacy and the Normans. They might combine with the Germans, as they did in 1062, when the emperor Constantine Ducas recognized Bishop Cadalus of Parma as Pope Honorius II, "the Patriarch of Rome raised by the royal constitution over the universal church."[2] At the time this anti-Pope was sup-

[1] See his letters, bk. i, epp. 46, 49, in PL 148, c. 325-9; or MGH, *Epistolæ selectæ*, ed. E. Caspar, t. ii, fasc. i, pp. 69-76.

[2] Letter in Benzo, Bishop of Asti, narrative in MGH, ss xi, c. 622. For a critical judgment on this source (sympathetic to Cadalus) see F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, vol. ii, Berlin, 1925, No. 950; and Gay, p. 527. Some details in the letter are probably spurious, but there seems no reason to doubt that the Byzantines did take this initiative.

ported by many Roman nobles, by the citizens of Amalfi, and by the dowager-empress of the West, the widow of Henry III. The Byzantines may well have regarded him as the representative of the German Popes, but before the propaganda of Hildebrand his party melted away. Although he is supposed to have retained his claims until his death in 1072, long before then he must have been a serious embarrassment to his Byzantine supporters, especially if his name was in the diptychs, as is not altogether unlikely.[1]

This did not encourage the Byzantines to support Guibert of Ravenna, who was set up as Pope Clement III by the supporters of the emperor Henry IV in 1080, though a letter[2] from him to the metropolitan Basil of Reggio shows that he expected sympathy from his "holy brother, the Patriarch of Constantinople," whose right to consecrate a metropolitan for Calabria is implicitly admitted. The schism in the Western church lasted until 1106, and seriously impeded negotiations between Constantinople and the Roman reformers; but there was never any real chance that the two empires would join forces against the Popes of the Hildebrandine party. The Byzantines were not unfriendly to Henry IV, but their first object was to prevent the Normans from crossing over the straits of Brindisi and attacking Albania or the Ionian islands. They were not in a position to take the offensive in Italy. Therefore Byzantine diplomacy, instead of co-operating with the Germans against Rome, rather sought to separate the Romans from the Normans.

This is especially obvious in the long career of Alexius Comnenus, a master diplomat, who reigned from 1081 to 1118. He began by repulsing a Norman invasion of Albania and Macedonia. He met a papal excommunication by forbidding

[1] There is no direct evidence of this, but the statement of the Byzantine *synodos endemousa* in 1089 (*supra*, p. 156 and *infra*, p. 177) that the Pope's commemoration was dropped "by our want of watchful care" suggests that the last commemoration was of the wrong Pope by mistake.

[2] Jaffé, 5326*a*, printed in BZ, xxviii (1928), pp. 59-60, with the other documents published by W. Holtzmann. *Cf.* also a letter to Clement III from the Metropolitan John of Kiev, discussing differences in a friendly way. This is quoted in W. H. Frere, *Links in the Chain of Russian Church History*, p. 41. Extracts from a Latin trans. are in the notes to A. N. Mouravieff, *The Church of Russia*, Eng. trans. by R. W. Blackmore, Oxford, 1842, pp. 368-70. There it is mistakenly attributed to another Metropolitan John, in 1164.

Latin churches in Constantinople, to offer eucharist in *azymes*.[1] But when in 1089 a more politic Pope, Urban II, with the leave of Count Roger of Sicily, the cautious brother of Robert Guiscard, removed his excommunication, he opened the Latin churches again, and advised the synod to place the Pope's name provisionally in the diptychs, since no "synodical judgment and examination"[2] could be pleaded to justify its absence. The synod decided to ask the Pope for a "systatic letter." If it did not come within eighteen months "the position will be clarified with ecclesiastical accuracy." Meanwhile Jerusalem and Alexandria were to be consulted.

The Patriarch Nicholas III wrote a letter[3] to the Pope in which he took the responsibility of assuring him that the Latin churches of Constantinople had full liberty to follow their own usages. He named the Greek Archbishop of Rossano in Calabria as his reference, and asked that the metropolitan Basil might be restored to the see of Reggio. Of the *filioque* he said nothing, though he asked the Pope to clarify his attitude to the canons of the church. From this we may gather that he was prepared to concede his rights in Calabria, Sicily, and the Terre d'Otranto, now irretrievably lost to the empire. Basil of Reggio was not so willing to admit the claims of Urban II, whom he regarded as an anti-Pope. In a letter to the Patriarch, also found in the same collection of documents, he hotly protested against the proceedings of the Latins in Calabria.

The subsequent history of the negotiations is very obscure. A treatise by Theophylact of Bulgaria fills in the details of a Greek point of view.[4] He made light of minor differences, and discussed the *filioque* reasonably, insisting on the necessity of a common symbol, but finding a justification for Latin theology in the poverty of the Latin language, that left them without words to distinguish between the communication of the Holy Spirit by the Father and the Son and the underlying cause of His being. If such views were common, it is hardly likely that the canonical grievances against the Latins or even the charge of heresy in the symbol were the main obstacle to the progress

[1] See Gaufredus Malaterra, *Historia Sicula*, PL 149, c. 1192.
[2] See *supra*, p. 156; and BZ, xxviii (1928), p. 60.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 62-4.
[4] PG 126, c. 222-50.

of the negotiations.[1] It is more likely that they were delayed on a point of procedure. The proceedings of the synod show that at Constantinople a council of all the Patriarchates was contemplated at the end of eighteen months. By dispatching a "systatic letter" the Pope might appear to submit himself to the judgment of his colleagues. On such a point the reformed papacy was very sensitive.[2] In 1090 Byzantine ambassadors[3] appeared before the Pope in Campania, and in 1095 at the Council of Piacenza. This last embassy has always been connected by Western historians with the First Crusade. But in modern times it has been shown[4] that in 1094 Alexius was in no immediate need of aid against the Turks. If he wished to raise Western mercenaries, it would be to fight the Patzinaks on his northern frontier. The background of the Crusade must therefore be sought, not in an appeal from Byzantium to the West, but in the needs of papal policy.

More research is probably needed before the negotiations of 1089-90, which are yet very imperfectly known, find their true place in the story. It may be permissible to contribute a conjecture that the Pope's mind was turned to Jerusalem by the prospect of a council of all the Patriarchates. If the Eastern Patriarchs believed that their best hope of succour from the Turks lay in the numerous chivalry which the Pope could raise in the West, they would be more prone to condone than to condemn "Latin errors."[5] So Constantinople could be isolated and induced to admit the Roman primacy in the sense demanded, perhaps even to cede the disputed provinces. The Crusade would also help to demonstrate the power of Urban and the weakness of his rival Clement.

The designs of the Pope can only be conjectured. The actual effects of the Crusade are concrete and undisputed. It did

[1] Malaterra says that Alexius insisted on one bread in the eucharist.

[2] F. Dvornik, reviewing T. G. Jalland, *The Church and the Papacy*, in *Blackfriars*, Feb., 1945, pp. 57-8, lends the weight of his authority to the view that Gregory VII abandoned the traditional custom of making a profession of faith before his coronation. He sees the final form of this profession in the "systatic letter" of Leo IX to Peter of Antioch, PL 143, c. 770-1.

[3] *Chronicon Bernoldi*, PL 148, c. 1403, 1423.

[4] *E.g.*, by F. Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier Commène*, Paris, 1900, p. 116.

[5] This suggestion is plausible if we suppose that Jerusalem and Alexandria were still in communion with Rome; *cf. supra*, p. 159.

demonstrate the superiority of the reformed papacy to its German imperialist adversaries. Henceforth no one in the East could doubt that the Pope was the real emperor of Western Christendom. It did unite Jerusalem and Antioch with the church of Rome, but in such a way and under such conditions that the harmony of the Patriarchates was made more remote instead of nearer. Even if the Byzantines, like the Syrian Christians, could recognize the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem as the inevitable head of the church in the Latin kingdom, they could not admit the right of the Latins to instal a Patriarch in the Greek city of Antioch. Urban II's name may possibly have remained in the diptychs at Constantinople while his legate, Adhemar du Puy,[1] was pursuing a policy of conciliation in the East in collaboration with John of Antioch, and probably with Simeon of Jerusalem. But after Adhemar's death in August, 1098, the crisis at Antioch developed rapidly until, before the accession of Pope Pascal II in 1099, there was open war between Greeks and Latins in Syria and Cilicia. In October, 1098, at the Council of Bari the Greeks of Calabria and Sicily were finally induced to accept the authority of the Roman Patriarchate and the orthodoxy of the Roman creed on the condition that they were allowed to retain their old usages, including the old version of the symbol. The war between Greek and Latin bishops in Italy that had gone on intermittently since 1059 and earlier so came to an end. But as it ended another war began at the other end of the Mediterranean.

The "Italo-Greeks" of Calabria and Sicily, the Greeks and Syrians of Syria and Palestine were, in Roman eyes, oriental Christians who had submitted to the authority of Rome as "the mother and mistress of all churches." On this condition they kept their usages, but they had to submit to Latin supreme authorities. The metropolitans were Latins, in Sicily as in Syria. In Sicily much ecclesiastical as well as civil power was centralized in the count (afterwards the king) who claimed to be papal legate in all his dominions. Thereby the Byzantine unity of church and state was in a measure retained. To the Greeks the change meant little. In passing under a new civil authority they naturally changed their Patriarchate,

[1] See *supra*, pp. 162-3.

but they long continued to receive Greeks from Constantinople and Russians from Kiev in Palermo as easily as in Jerusalem.

In Latin eyes submission was open to Armenians and to Jacobites on the same conditions. They were less particular than the Greeks about ritual or even doctrine. Gregory VII, writing to an Armenian archbishop in 1080,[1] mentions only five Œcumenical Councils, discreetly omitting the sixth and the seventh, and seems more anxious to approve the Armenian *azymes* than to blame "who was crucified for us." Clearly he wished to suggest that more favourable terms could be obtained from the Latins than from the Greeks, with whom the Armenians had been in negotiation ten years before,[2] and possibly since. Neither the Armenians nor the Jacobites had any strong bias against the Latins as they had against the Greeks from years of frontier warfare. They were ready to serve their princes, and this often involved some submission to the authority of the Latin Patriarchs, who acted as ministers of ecclesiastical affairs in the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch. One Jacobite Patriarch in 1129 was consecrated in a Latin church in the presence of a Latin prince, but by the Maphrian or metropolitan of the East, who was the proper person to consecrate a Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch.[3] Michael the Syrian, the Jacobite historian, says that the Latins did not raise questions of doctrine,[4] but he himself has no doubt of their errors. Armenians may have been less critical. They sometimes received communion from the Latin bishops, but they had no intention of separating themselves from their nation and its traditions. To check Latin influence among the Armenians of Cilicia and Edessa the northern and eastern Armenians set up a rival Catholicos at Aghthamar in 1114.[5] Yet Armenians of all parties continued to resort to Jerusalem, where they were hospitably received at

[1] PL 148, c. 571-4; MGH, *Epistolæ selectæ*, t. ii, fasc. ii, pp. 510-4.

[2] Dölger, ii, *circa* 1069 (No. 970). In *Bibl. Arm.*, pp. 145-6, Matthew of Edessa seems to date these negotiations in 1063-7.

[3] *Chron. eccles.*, i, c. 483-4.

[4] *Chronique*, xvi, c. 1.

[5] M. Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia*, p. 55. Gregory the Priest in *Bibl. Arm.*, p. 329, tells of a Norman knight who had an Armenian confessor and "in effect preferred the Armenians to the Franks." This is a useful check on Latin claims that Armenians submitted to them.

the Armenian monasteries. Whatever arrangements particular Armenian communities might make with Latins and with Greeks, they did not break the fundamental solidarity of the Armenian church nation.

A Jacobite could say to the Greeks, "The Latins do not compel us to anathematize Severus."[1] The Latins were not learned in the Christological controversies, nor very intent on ritual issues that the Greeks were for ever reviving. They asked from all Eastern churches, without distinction, submission to the claims of the papacy as universal ordinary. Gradually this demand swallowed up every other. The Latins no longer objected to married clergy or to the omission of the *filioque* from the creed. These things were admitted in Calabria, and no doubt in Syria and Palestine. More gradually they became less insistent on their claim to the lost provinces. This was probably an issue in 1089,[2] and certainly in 1112, when Pascal II wrote to Alexius Comnenus:

As for the metropolitans and provinces which were formerly attributed to the Apostolic See, they must return to their obedience and jurisdiction in order that the relations which, in the time of your predecessors, existed between the Old and the New Rome may be re-established, with the help of God, by the zeal of your highness; for it is impossible to establish an accord on the differences between Latins and Greeks, from the point of view of faith or usage, before the members are re-united to the head.[3]

Here the return of particular provinces is a subordinate point. The most important demand is that the Patriarch of Constantinople

should recognize the primacy of the Holy See, as that has been established by the religious prince Constantine, and confirmed by the consent of the Holy Councils.

This clearly refers to a passage in *The Donation of Constantine:*

[1] Theodore Bar-Vehbun in his dispute with Theorianus, in PG 133, c. 297.

[2] Urban maintained to Basil of Reggio his right to consecrate metropolitans as far as Salonica; see Basil's letter to Nicholas III in BZ xxviii (1928), p. 65.

[3] PL 163, c. 388-9.

And we ordain and decree that he shall have rule as well over the four principal sees, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, as also over all the churches of God in all the world. And the pontiff who for the time being shall preside over that most holy Roman church shall be the highest and chief of all priests in the whole world, and according to his decision shall all matters be settled which shall be taken in hand for the service of God or the confirmation of the faith of Christians.[1]

If this was taken literally and translated into terms of practical policy the Eastern idea of a Patriarchate would lose most of its meaning. As the idea of a "universal episcopacy" grew in the West, the question of Patriarchal boundaries grew less important. Less attention was paid to Illyricum, and more to the problem of Antioch.

If the Latins could keep their hold on Antioch and transform it into a tradition, they might change the conception of a Patriarchate in the East, Alexandria and Constantinople might gradually be assimilated to Antioch and Jerusalem, not in liturgy and ritual, but in the manner of their subordination to the Pope. The Latin Patriarchs of the East were no more independent than the primates of Germany and of England, and not much more dignified than the honorary Patriarchs of Aquileia and Grado. If, on the other hand, the Greeks could recover Antioch, they would resume actual possession of three out of five Patriarchal sees. Their influence at Jerusalem would inevitably increase, and they might hope to modify the attitude of Rome towards the Eastern churches.

John Comnenus was received with royal honours in the city in 1141 and his son Manuel in 1159. On each occasion promises were given and received that a Greek Patriarch would be installed. Amaury de Limoges, who was Latin Patriarch from 1142 to 1196, put up a stubborn resistance. After 1153 he was constantly at odds with the Prince of Antioch, but he had his partisans among the barons. The Jacobites[2] favoured him out of hatred to the Greeks and the Syrian Melkites. Yet the necessities of the situation drove the Franks into the arms of the Byzantines in the absence of effective help from the West, especially after the failure of the Second Crusade, attributed

[1] Translated in Bettenson, p. 138.

[2] Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. iii, p. 332; *Chron. Eccles.*, i, c. 545-6.

by the French to Byzantine treachery. At last, between 1164 and 1167 the Greek Patriarch Athanasius arrived in Antioch. Manuel allied with the Latin king of Jerusalem for the conquest of Egypt from the Moslems. The liberation of the church of Alexandria must have been yearly awaited. Meanwhile Byzantine influence in Italy made an unexpected recovery. The Greek armies recovered Bari in 1151, when the Byzantines and the Holy Roman emperor Conrad III were allies against the Normans. From 1166 to 1173 they occupied Ancona, this time as allies of Pope Alexander III and the Lombard cities against the emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

Under these circumstances Manuel made a most extraordinary proposal that in the light of later history is bound to appear more chimerical than at the time it actually was. He was prepared to unite the church of Constantinople to the church of Rome "in that status in which it is known to have been of old time," if the Pope would recognize him as the only lawful Roman emperor and restore the city of Rome to the Roman empire.[1] At the time Byzantine subsidies were sustaining the resistance of several Lombard cities to the Germans. The sphere of Byzantine influence in Italy was steadily though rather superficially increasing. Manuel probably hoped to create a chain of dependent states there and in Syria. If Rome would come within the *Œcumene*, the Roman Pope could be his Œcumenical Patriarch.

Alexander III sent a reserved answer that this was "too deep and complex a matter." "The statutes of the holy fathers" forbade a swift decision. If he had come under Byzantine protection he would have mortally offended the Germans, and many of the Latins of the East. He could not afford to give such an opportunity to his enemies, the emperor Frederick Barbarossa and the imperialist anti-Pope, Pascal III. Neither could he afford at the moment to quarrel with Manuel. He did not interfere with his proceedings at Antioch. The mission that he sent to Constantinople in 1168 or 1169,[2] did not raise

[1] In Cardinal Boso's life of Alexander III, in *Lib. Pont.*, ii, pp. 415, 419-20, there are two separate accounts of what F. Dölger, ii, 1167 (No. 1480), takes to be one embassy from Constantinople to Rome.

[2] H-L, V, ii, 1051-2, from Leo Allatius, *De ecclesiæ orientalis et occidentalis perpetua consensione*, Cologne, 1648, ii, c. xii, p. 664.

territorial or ritual questions. The discussion was confined to three points: the commemoration of the Pope in the diptychs, the primacy of Rome, and appeals to Rome from Constantinople.

The first was simply an admission of the Orthodoxy of the Roman church; the second and third must be taken together. The primacy of Rome had always been admitted at Byzantium, and at one time appeals to Rome had been a regular resort for Byzantine parties, though never very common. But in those days the Byzantines were free to reject a Roman decision, as they had rejected the verdict of Sergius III in favour of fourth marriages.[1] Rome was a convenient court of reference, an umpire at a distance from the capital, but in no serious sense a juridical superior of the Patriarchate. Appeals from the decision of a particular Patriarch might be made to all five, or to the Pope, or to the emperor, but the decision depended in the last resort upon public opinion. The Byzantine laity never developed a juridical idea of church authority, because they had always joined with their clergy in all kinds of ecclesiastical and theological activity. They had never played a passive part. They could not admit the papal primacy "as established by the religious prince, Constantine,"[2] unless the Pope became a member of their community.

If Rome could have returned to the Byzantine empire, the Papacy might have developed into a primacy of the *Œcumene*, while the Western kingdoms became "autocephalous churches," with their own primates, like Bulgaria and Serbia in later times. But if Rome remained right outside the empire, the Pope could not be acknowledged as the supreme judge of dogma without laying an axe to the very root of the Byzantine constitution, for dogma was the very basis of Byzantine life.

This objection was most forcibly put by the Patriarch Michael Anchialus (1169-77), who argued that subjection to the Turks was better than submission to the Pope:

Let the Saracen be my lord in outward things, and let not the Italian run with me in the things of the soul, for I do not become of one mind with the first, if I do obey him, but if I

[1] *Supra*, p. 141.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 53, 116.

accept harmony in faith with the second, I shall have deserted my God, whom he, in embracing me, will drive away.[1]

This is not mere rhetoric, but a theory based on observed instances. Christian churches on Moslem territory suffered from material exactions, but kept their own traditions unimpaired. Eastern churches under the Latins in Calabria and Palestine retained their own liturgies, but lived under Latin metropolitans, and gradually became assimilated to the spirit of the Western discipline. This change might be unimportant or fundamental; it might be a necessary adaptation to circumstances or it might imply a change in dogma. On this question Byzantine opinions differed, and continued to differ for three hundred years more. Manuel long continued to hope that by negotiations with the Armenians and some of the Jacobites[2] he might improve the position of the Greeks at Antioch and at Jerusalem, and so increase his bargaining power at Rome. In 1179 he was represented by Nicetas of Casola, near Otranto, at the Third Lateran Council.[3] But the victories of the Lombards over Frederick Barbarossa in 1176 made Byzantine aid far less necessary to the Pope and the other Italians; and in 1177 the great disaster at Myriocephalon in Asia Minor, where Manuel was defeated by the Turks, destroyed Byzantine power to take the offensive not only in Italy, but in Syria and Palestine. The changed situation is revealed in a letter to Manuel from Frederick Barbarossa[4] demanding submission not only to the Pope's authority (Frederick was now reconciled with Rome), but to the one Holy Roman empire.

When Manuel died in 1180, mourned by William of Tyre, who spoke for the wiser part of the Latins in Palestine,[5] his

[1] Quoted in J. Gieseler, *Compendium of Ecclesiastical History*, Engl trans., vol. iii, Edinburgh, 1853, p. 490, from Leo Allatius, *De . . . perpetua consensione*, p. 555. The whole of the Patriarch's dialogue with Manuel was edited by C. Loparev in *Vizantiyskiy Vremmenik*, St. Petersburg, 1907, pp. 344-57. Extracts are in EO, xxix (1930), pp. 358-61.

[2] See Bar-Hebræus, Chron. Eccles., ii, c. 549-60, 575-90; H-L V, ii, 1085-6; S. der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 42-50.

[3] Mansi, xxii, c. 213-7; *cf. ibid.*, c. 238. For Nicetas (Nectarius) and his monastery see K. Lake in JTS, v (1904), pp. 33-8.

[4] Cited in Vasiliev, ii, p. 72.

[5] PL 201, c. 851.

policy of union by negotiation was already discredited by material failures. While his friends among the Jacobites and the Maronites[1] of Mount Lebanon submitted to the Latin Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch, the Byzantines revolted against his widow, Mary of Antioch, a Latin by birth, and established his cousin, Andronicus Comnenus, as emperor in 1182. The Italians and other strangers suffered in the tumult,[2] and in the further turmoils that lasted for the next twenty years the ideas of Michael Anchialus prevailed over those of Manuel. They found a new interpreter in Theodore Balsamon, the titular Patriarch of Antioch, whose views upon the communion of the Latins at Alexandria in 1190 have already been quoted.[3]

As we have already seen, it is easy for a critic to exaggerate his hostility to the Latins. In his replies to Mark of Alexandria he does not class them with such heretics as the Jacobites, Maronites, Nestorians or even Armenians. They "have diverged in manners and institutions from the Catholic Church,"[4] and therefore they and their churches cannot be admitted to communion unless they conform with the Orthodox regulations. But new Latin churches were founded in Constantinople even in the time of Andronicus Comnenus, and a papal letter of 1199, already cited,[5] suggests that their relations with the Greeks were not always unfriendly. So far the Byzantines had been reluctant to call the *filioque* heresy in any absolute sense, even when they blamed severely the addition to the creed.[6] But their experience in the last hundred years told them that the West had developed a different doctrine of the church from their own. In retrospect the *filioque* was a symptom of this,[7] an important and controversial addition to the common symbol made without common consultation; and also a sign of a

[1] Bar-Hebræus, *Chron. Eccles*, ii. c. 584; William of Tyre, PL 201, c. 855-6.

[2] See William of Tyre, PL 201, c. 857-62, for a contemporary impression by a Latin favourable to the Byzantine alliance.

[3] *Supra*, p. 165.

[4] PG 138, c. 967.

[5] *Supra*, p. 168.

[6] Photius is an important exception, but he wrote before the Latin church as a whole was resolved on the addition.

[7] See Alexis Khomiakoff's letter to William Palmer in W. J. Birkbeck, *Russia and the English Church*, vol. i, London, 1895, pp. 35-7.

doctrine of the Trinity that might reduce the Spirit to a power or grace of the Father and of the Son, a possession of the church and her hierarchy, not the Lord and Giver of Life to the church. These charges were not made in a hurry, nor were they yet developed at all clearly. But the consciousness of grave divergence was real and not imaginary.

In the last years of the twelfth century both sides began to take up positions for a final conflict. In 1187 Saladin captured Jerusalem and expelled the Latin clergy. The Jacobites of the party of Michael the Syrian recovered their shrines from the Latinizing party of Theodore Bar-Vehbun.[1] The Holy Sepulchre was left to the Syrians, Greeks and Georgians, who, according to one account, had given Saladin some help.[2] If so, they may have been swayed by the news of the revolutions in Constantinople. Two years later, in 1189, Saladin guaranteed the freedom of the Greek and Syrian rites in Jerusalem in a treaty with the Byzantine emperor Isaac Angelus.[3] In accordance with this treaty, though not immediately, the church of Jerusalem received a Greek Patriarch from Constantinople. Three out of four Eastern Patriarchates were linked in an anti-Latin attitude under the leadership of an aggressive claimant to the fourth, Theodore Balsamon.

On the other hand, the Latins occupied Cyprus in 1189, and set up a Latin hierarchy there in 1191. The Greek bishops were not expelled, but made subject to the Latins,[4] like the Maronites and the Armenians in Latin Syria. Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) corresponded with the Serbs and the Bulgarians, who had broken loose from Constantinople in 1186,

[1] This is implied in *Chron. Eccles.*, ii, c. 584.

[2] Quoted in R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, vol. ii, pp. 811-2, from the *History of the (Coptic) Patriarchs of Alexandria* in E. Reinaud, *Extraits des historiens Arabes*, Paris, 1822, p. 207. *Cf.* E. Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum*, Paris, 1713, pp. 545, 549, Fleury, *Histoire ecclesiastique*, xv, pp. 563, 508.

[3] Authorities are cited in Dôlger, ii, Nos. 1585, 1591, 1593. On the other hand it appears from Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, CB, p. 529, that the Patriach of Jerusalem was in Constantinople in 1191. *Cf.* M. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, iii, c. 503.

[4] See the bull of Celestine III in PL 206, c. 1147-8. For Cyprus from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century see Pope Alexander IV's *Constitutio Cypriana* (1261), PG 140, c. 1533-60. See also J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus*, London, 1901.

with the Cilician Armenians,[1] and with the Alexandrian Melkites.[2] His negotiations with the Bulgarians[3] are especially interesting. The King of Bulgaria evidently wanted a Patriarch elected and consecrated in the country, like the Bulgarian Patriarchs of the tenth century. Innocent put him off with a primate, who must swear an oath of allegiance to the Roman see, attend Roman councils and wear a pallium on certain festivals. On these conditions Bulgarian customs and the Bulgarian liturgy might continue. The primate asked him for the holy chrism, which hitherto the Bulgarian church had received from Constantinople. Without this priests could not confirm, "the people would remain without the holy chrismation, and this would be a sin." It would be interesting to know how he replied, since at Constantinople he objected to priests' confirmations;[4] but his negotiations with Bulgaria were interrupted by the outbreak of a general war between Greeks and Latins, in which the Bulgarians found themselves after all on the Greek side. From 1204 to 1206 the Patriarch of Constantinople was a refugee on their territory, and naturally they received the chrism from him.

Innocent made essentially the same demands on all the Eastern churches. The Patriarch of Constantinople, like the primate of Bulgaria, must receive the pallium from Rome,[5] for all the churches in the world are in the Roman church, as "things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts," are in "the great and wide sea."[6] From one point of view, indeed, the Roman church "is not the universal church, but a part of the universal church, the first indeed and principal part, as the head in the body." From another point of view "the Roman church alone is universal, because she alone and uniquely by privilege of dignity is over the rest." The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 defined the Papal primacy, that the church of Rome "by the disposition of God holds over all others

[1] Letters, PL 214, c. 775-80.

[2] J. M. Neale, *Patriarchate of Alexandria*, London, 1847, vol. ii, pp. 278-80; Potthast, 1430; and *supra*, p. 165.

[3] PL 214, c. 1112-5; 215, c. 78-90.

[4] PL 214, c. 772-1, and *supra*, pp.

[5] PL 215, c. 259-60 (1203), c. 727-9 (1204).

[6] PL 214, c. 757-65, to the Patriarch John Camaterus of Constantinople (1199).

the principality of ordinary power." After her there are four Patriarchs: Constantinople first, then Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem.[1] In earlier years the Popes had maintained the superiority of the three Petrine sees, Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, over the upstarts, Constantinople and Jerusalem.[2] Innocent could allow a precedence to Constantinople, since all the Patriarchal sees were under Rome.

Though the idea of universal episcopacy was not new, its application in practice was revolutionary, and, like most revolutions, defeated its own ends. When the Crusaders of the Fourth Crusade first captured Constantinople in 1203 the Byzantines were weary of turmoil and prepared to obey two emperors, whose primary task was to come to terms with the invaders. But when they discovered that those terms involved the complete submission of the Patriarch to the Pope,[3] and the independence of the Latin churches from all Byzantine authority, they rebelled against Venetian exactions and made one last struggle for freedom. The Latins in revenge sacked the city,[4] and established a Latin empire and a Latin Patriarchate. Even then some Greeks were willing to accept this revolution, if they might have a Greek Patriarch and Greek bishops of their own to represent them at a General Council that should "search the Scriptures" for a true basis of unity. When that was found they would rejoice to restore the Pope's name to the diptychs, and to hail him, like the other Patriarchs, "to Innocent, the Lord Pope of the Elder Rome, many years . . ., which is our witness that we do not desire to conquer, but rather would rejoice to be conquered, where it must be, if only we may draw the light together."[5] This letter represents the point of view of collaborators, who wished to see a Latin and a Greek Patriarch ruling together as at Antioch and at Jerusalem

[1] Mansi, xxii, c. 990.

[2] So, for instance, did Gregory the Great in letters to Antioch and Alexandria, PL 77, c. 770-4, 843-4, 898-90; Nicholas I in his reply to the Bulgarians, PL 119, c. 1012; and even Leo IX to Michael Cerularius, PL 143, c. 774; and Peter of Antioch, c. 770-1.

[3] PL 215, c. 259-60 (Innocent to the Latin leaders).

[4] For a Greek account see *Nicetas Choniates* in CB, pp. 771-868.

[5] This "letter of the citizens of Constantinople to Innocent III" is in PG 140, c. 292-8. For the date (1211) and some circumstances see Alice Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicæa*, London, 1912, pp. 100-12.

in former years, "where there are two Patriarchs and one king."[1] Partisans were more aggressive, according to the Fourth Lateran Council, where the Greeks were accused of purifying altars that had been used by Latin priests, and even of rebaptizing children who had received baptism in the Latin manner.[2]

Innocent did very little to encourage collaboration. It is true that he deplored the greed of the Venetians, who had diverted the Fourth Crusade first to Zara and then to Constantinople, and that on a suitable occasion he was willing to enlarge upon the crimes of the Latins to Theodore Lascaris, the leader of the Greek resistance.[3] But although he annulled the election[4] of Thomas Morosini as Latin Patriarch, denying the right of the Venetians to monopolize St. Sophia as their share of the spoils, he raised him to the office of his own motion and gave him very full instructions.[5] He was to wear the pallium on appointed days and to convey it to other metropolitans, not only in the old Patriarchate of Constantinople, but in Patras and other places that in earlier times had been claimed for Rome. Provision should be made for the Greek rite in Latin dioceses, but in every place where Greeks and Latins were found together the Latins must rule. Greek bishops who submitted need not be reconsecrated, and they might retain their liturgy and other rites until the apostolic see took further order, but they must take an oath of fealty to Rome, and even then they might only rule purely Greek dioceses. All fresh consecrations of bishops must be in the Latin form that the Pope himself used for Greek bishops in south Italy.[6]

Where the Latins ruled the Greek church was only allowed a shadowy existence in subordination. Yet the letters of the Patriarch Germanus of Constantinople (who ruled at Nicæa) to the Cypriote bishops in 1222[7] and of Demetrius Chomatenus, metropolitan of Ochrida in 1222, to the metropolitan of

[1] c. 297. This is an interesting commentary on the aims of the Greeks at Antioch in the reign of Manuel (see *supra*, p. 164). I know no other evidence of a double Patriarchate at Jerusalem.

[2] Mansi, xxii, c. 990.

[3] PL 215, c. 1372-5.

[4] PL 215, c. 515-6.

[5] PL 215, c. 727-9, 959-66.

[6] PL 215, c. 1352.

[7] *Supra*, p. 187.

Durazzo,[1] show how unwilling Greek ecclesiastics were to pronounce the separation absolute. Germanus would have allowed the Cypriotes to swear allegiance to Latin bishops. Demetrius encouraged his colleague to give those Latins who desired it the "antidoron" or "holy bread" at the end of the liturgy. Popular feeling was naturally more resentful in those regions where Greek resistance continued, in Epirus, at Trebizond, and at Nicæa, where the Patriarchate was re-established in 1208, and continued until in 1261 the Greeks recaptured Constantinople.

The war between the Greeks and Latins went on in the Levant until the sixteenth century. The Venetians held most of the Ægean islands long after Constantinople was captured by the Turks. Everywhere they introduced a Latin hierarchy and subjugated the Greek clergy. In the fourteenth century the Genoese even established Latin bishops in the ports on the north and east coasts of the Black Sea. In 1219 the Crusaders established a Latin see at Damietta in Egypt. The list of titular Patriarchs of Alexandria begins in 1310.[2] Gradually the conflict spread to Serbia and Bulgaria, Transylvania and the Ukraine, until it reached the frontiers of Russia and Latvia, where old-established Russian sees and new German bishoprics confronted one another.[3]

In this war the Eastern Christians were treated by the Latins as schismatics or as subordinates. Vestiges of the old relationship still remained, as, for instance, on Mount Athos, where the Latin monastery lasted long,[4] and for a long time no clear distinction was made between Calabrian Greeks who had submitted to the Latins and the Greeks of the independent churches.[5] Even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

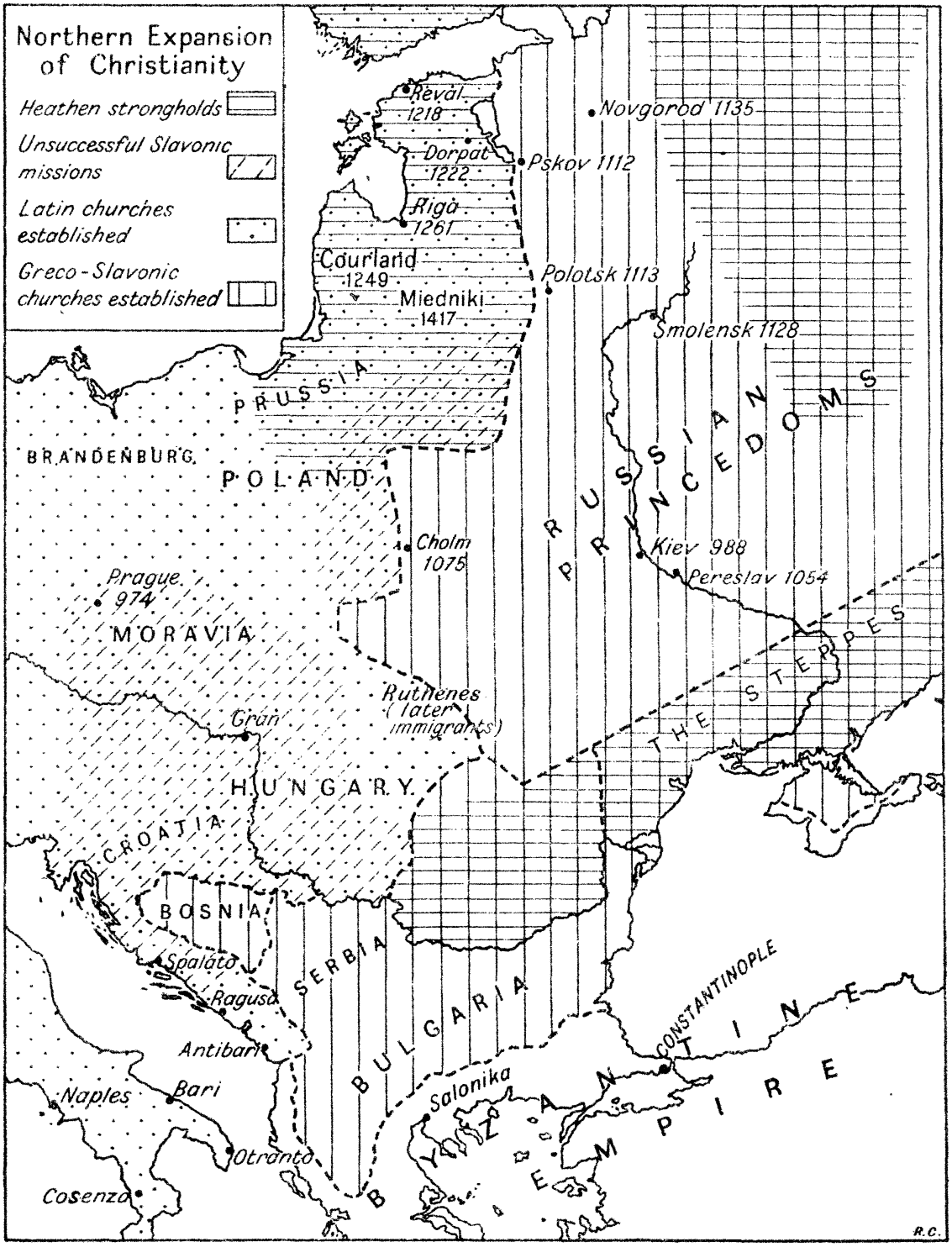
[1] Quoted *supra*, p. 165. On the other hand, he refused to allow Athonite monks who had "betrayed the ἐθη of their fathers" to be admitted to communion. See A. Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-4. I do not think his two replies are necessarily inconsistent. See *infra*, p. 202. Monks of Athos are judged more severely than Latin strangers and pilgrims.

[2] M. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, iii, 1141-4.

[3] Spruner-Menke, *Hand Atlas*, Gotha, 1880, No. 68 and insets. See map on p. 192.

[4] R. M. Dawkins, *The Monks of Athos*, p. 144.

[5] For arguments used at Constantinople in 1412 against recognizing the Cypriotes as Orthodox see J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus*, pp. 142-9.




THE NORTHERN EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY

many Albanians and some Greeks crossed from their homelands to Italy, Sicily and Corsica, and joined the existing churches of the Greek rite, or even founded new communities in union with Rome.[1] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it would be possible to find instances of Latin missionaries received in Eastern churches, who accepted the bishops as their ordinaries and worked to bring them into union with Rome, especially perhaps in Syria and Palestine.[2] But the real parting of the ways was in the war of 1204-61 over the body of the Byzantine empire that spread so swiftly and surely from Russia to Jerusalem.

Peace negotiations after 1204 had no real chance of success. They were always local and political. The union of 1274 at the Council of Lyons[3] was opposed by the Greeks of Trebizond, and by a large and popular party in Constantinople and Mount Athos. It was broken, not by their action, but by the even more powerful opposition of Charles of Anjou on the Western side. The Venetian conquests and the Latin Patriarchate created a powerful vested interest against any concession to the Greeks. The union of Florence in 1438-9,[4] though advertised by a whole series of deputations from the lesser Eastern churches to the Pope, had a still more slender basis of support in the East. It was not formally proclaimed in Constantinople until the very eve of the capture of the city by the Turks in 1453. When the emperor and the Patriarch gave a reluctant assent to it, the greater part of the Greek church was already under Turkish rule, and the triumph of the Turks sealed its downfall.

[1] A. Fortescue, *Uniate Eastern Churches*, pp. 115-24, 169-70. Some of these Corsican Greeks tried to turn Orthodox in 1865.

[2] A. Fortescue, *Uniate Eastern Churches*, pp. 193, 197.

[3] See especially W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, Berlin, 1903.

[4] For an Eastern Orthodox view of the Council of Florence see Basil Popoff, *A History of the Council of Florence*, Eng. trans., London, 1861; and Sylvester Sguropulos, *Vera Historia unionis non veræ*, Greek with Eng. trans. by Robert Creighton, The Hague, 1660, a rare book by a contemporary to be found in some libraries.

For a like view of the date of the final schism see Fleury, *Histoire ecclesiastique*, vol. xvi, Paris, 1719, p. x. The learned Abbé noticed the connection between the development of canon law in the West in the twelfth century, and the alienation of the East from Innocent III, the first great canonist to be Pope.

# XIV

## THE RESULTS OF THE SCHISM

THE first effect of the Latin conquest of Constantinople upon the Byzantine church and empire was to produce a remarkable display of local energy in the separate resistance of the various provinces. Though in the twelfth century there are some signs of intellectual[1] decay, the nation still possessed reserves of vitality. "Empires" sprang into existence at Nicæa, Thessalonica and Trebizond,[2] principalities in Epirus and in Rumania, where the Vlachs first appear as an independent nation in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Some of these states had metropolitans consecrated without the co-operation of the Patriarch of Constantinople at Nicæa. Although the return of empire and Patriarchate to Constantinople was preceded and followed by a good deal of consolidation, especially among the Greeks, Trebizond remained politically independent. The Bulgarian Patriarchate was restored in 1235 with the assent of all the Eastern Patriarchs,[3] and from 1219 the church of Serbia was also autocephalous. Provincial styles and local energy are a feature of Byzantine art in the fourteenth century.

Though there were bitter conflicts over the status and boundaries of the Serbian Patriarchate, first established by the Tsar Stephen Dushan in 1351, it can be said that in this period the principle of independence for national churches was established in the East. The churches of Serbia and Bulgaria survived the fall of their empires, and retained an autonomous organization, distinct from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, until in the eighteenth century they were temporarily sacrificed to the needs of Turkish policy. The Patriarchate of Moscow was established in 1580. In the Western church the spirit of

[1] *E.g.*, in the over-complicated theological controversies on Trinitarian and Christological issues in 1158-66 that are remotely connected with the main issue between Rome and Constantinople, the *filioque*, but in obscure and subtle ways. See H-L, V, ii, 1046-8.

[2] See W. Miller, *Trebizond*, London, 1926.

[3] Vasiliev, ii, p. 200.

nationalism first distinctly appeared in Bohemia[1] in the middle of the fourteenth century in a form that betrays the influence of the Orthodox Slavonic nations. The first Bohemian reformers, men like Milich (d. 1364) and Matthias of Janow, were untouched by the teaching of Wycliffe. They asked for a vernacular liturgy, better preaching and communion in both kinds, probably because they believed that these things were found not many hundred miles away in Serbia and the Ukraine. The Western church could not adapt itself to ecclesiastical nationalism, though this lurks behind the Great Schism of the West from 1378 to 1418, when Englishmen warred against French for the Roman Pope, and the Scots found satisfaction in supporting the other Pope at Avignon. The Councils of Constance and Basle insisted on voting by nations, but they could not modify the centralized organization of the papacy. When the final breaking-point came in the sixteenth century the papal government retained the allegiance of south-western Europe, and of such outlying nationalities as the Irish and the Poles, but the English, the Scandinavians, the Scots and the north Germans departed into a deeper separation than ever could divide Moscow from Constantinople.

These parallel developments suggest that the Western church paid too high a price for her independence from state control. The older and more flexible organization of the church before Hildebrand, in which kings and emperors in East and West had a considerable say in her affairs, might have survived those inevitable divergences, political and intellectual, that broke the hold of Roman canon law and Latin ways of thinking over the northern European peoples. Hildebrand has been defended on the ground that "if the world were once really conquered by the Christian religion, then its supreme ruler could only be the head of the church on earth."[2] Professor Tellenbach believes that the church before the eleventh century left earthly affairs to the lay power because they were evil. Only through the establishment of her spiritual independence could she come to claim the kingdoms of this world as Christ's. Behind this view lies the tendency of Western theology, Catholic and Protestant, to confine the Holy Ghost to the church, and to

[1] See F. Dvornik, *National Churches and the Church Universal*, pp. 44-5.
[2] Tellenbach, p. 37.

teach a "real absence" of God from the world without "until His coming again." Of this the *filioque* and the papal government were both symptoms. The *filioque* is not important in itself, except as a sign of the subordination of the Holy Ghost.

Another symptom was seen by some in the development of the Latin doctrine of the eucharist. The focus of Byzantine liturgical worship was the icon of the ascended Christ in the cupola, rather than the sacramental elements upon the altar, or reserved in a tabernacle or a pyx. The Byzantines had never developed or defined a difference in kind between Christ's presence in body and blood at the eucharist and the presence of Christ and of the Holy Ghost in the water of baptism, and in the oil of unction, confirmation and ordination. Nicolas Cabasilas in the fourteenth century maintained that all sacraments alike are consecrated by the prayer of the church for the coming of the Holy Ghost, and censured "certain Latins" who maintained that the consecration of the eucharist was completed by the recital of our Lord's words of institution. He held that this was a new doctrine, out of harmony with the words of the Roman canon, that speak of "these gifts being carried by the hand of Thy holy angel to Thine altar on high," there to receive "a transformation from a more humble to a more exalted state."[1] His latest translator, the French Roman Catholic liturgiologist S. Salaville, quotes a number of Latin writers from the ninth to the thirteenth century,[2] including Paschasius Radbertus and Peter Lombard, in support of this interpretation of the prayer, *supplices te rogamus*. He believes that the "moment of consecration" was first exclusively identified with the words of institution by no less a person than St. Thomas Aquinas.[3]

In any case it is evident that there is a connection between the definition of transubstantiation at the Lateran Council of 1215 and the doctrine of the hierarchical church as defined by the same council in relation to the powers of the papacy. The Latins had come to conceive of the hierarchy as the

[1] *Explication de la Divine Liturgie*, French trans., Paris and Lyons, 1943, pp. 154-8, 167-70.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 173-5; PL 120, c. 1311-2, 192, c. 968; *cf.* also Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, bk. iv, c. 44,

[3] *Summa Theologica*, iii, q. 77, art. 1, 4; see p. 203, *infra*.

steward of all the sacraments and the one wielder of heavenly keys. The Byzantines, on the other hand, always regarded the priesthood as one among many liturgical ministries used by Christ and the Holy Ghost in their work here upon earth. Many of their theologians were laymen, including Cabasilas himself. Their emperors preached sermons and exercised ecclesiastical authority, not only as church officers, but as "powers that be" who "are ordained of God." In this sense their authority was continued in the sultans of the Ottoman empire, who so frequently removed Patriarchs of Constantinople that when Archbishop Cranmer said at his trial, "The Turk too is head of the church of Turkey,"[1] he may well have been reflecting on the literal truth of the contemporary situation.

Although this evil corrupted the higher clergy, who were tempted to intrigue for their "beret" with bribes to the sultan's officials, it made remarkably little difference to the continuity and corporate life of the Orthodox church, if we consider that it continued for more than four hundred years. All the time martyrdoms continued, especially of apostates who repented, and suffered the penalties of a renegade.

All the Orthodox Christians were organized by the Turks in a "Rum Millet" (Roman nation) under the Patriarch of Constantinople, who judged their civil as well as their religious disputes.[2] The Monophysites were another Millet under the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople. Roman Catholics were not allowed a separate Millet until 1830, although their foreign missionaries were protected by "capitulations," and at times succeeded in obtaining considerable influence with the Turkish authorities, which they turned to their profit in their dealings with this Millet and that. Apostasy to Islam was very rare, at least in Europe, though the decay of agriculture under Turkish misrule and the depredations of nomads gradually led to the disappearance of Christian peasants from many parts of Asia Minor and Syria. Their descendants, driven to adopt the life of the wandering Bedouin, became Mohammedan. In Europe only the Albanians, who were already wanderers, and the Bosnians, always inclined to the Bogomile[3] heresy,

[1] *Remains and Letters*, Cambridge, 1846, p. 219.
[2] See *supra*, p. 85, for the earlier history of Millets.
[3] See *supra*, p. 88.

showed any disposition to adopt Islam. It was more common to find isolated Turks who turned Orthodox, as the Cromwellian soldiers in Ireland generally became Roman Catholics.

Although the organization of the church was in bondage to an infidel state, the church itself did not die, because the Byzantine church had always been remarkably independent of organization, in contrast to her sister in the West. Byzantine monasticism knew no orders. Each monastery or skete had an independent life. The parish clergy were married and recruited from among the villagers. Though their standard of education was low, they knew enough to continue the liturgy, and many of the prayers in the *Euchologion* seem to have been revised, if not written, in this period, for they refer to crops that were probably introduced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To venerate a new saint or compose a new prayer has always been easy in the "unchanging East." It is the rigid organization of the Western churches that requires official authorization for any and every "innovation in religion."

The popular religion of Eastern Europe is liturgical and ritualistic, but not wholly otherworldly. A religion that continues to propagate new forms for cursing caterpillars and for removing dead rats from the bottoms of wells[1] can hardly be dismissed as pure mysticism. The graver danger to the Eastern churches lies in the union of religion with nationality. The Millets under the Turkish empire were not states, but they were nations. As a result of this the Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian churches are older national institutions than the mushroom states that sprang up in the nineteenth century with the decay of the Turkish empire. From the national point of view this is an advantage, for it means that these nationalities have a reserve power to survive changes in political and military power that may extinguish their independence once more. But the history of the Armenian church, that has been for centuries a nation in dispersion, shows that a church can preserve a nation's allegiance at the expense of her own standards, which have become more national than theological.

A national church makes it her business to inform the nation,

[1] The ritual is to empty the well to the accompaniment of prayers and incense.

not to rule it. If the church is to inform the world, she must adapt herself to changes in its outward organization. Her Patriarchates and provinces will follow political boundaries and she will be prepared to take the measure of the time in her dealings with emperors, sultans, barbarians, heretics, Moslems or the Russian revolution. She will not always show the same face to the world. The Roman reformers of the eleventh century rejected this conception, for motives that were intelligible and honourable, and tried instead to establish a form of church government that should survive every change in the time and rule the world from the rock of St. Peter. The experiment was worth making, but it is hardly possible to argue that it succeeded. The independence of the papacy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was very perilous. In the fourteenth century it can hardly be said to have existed at all. The royal supremacy over the church in the sixteenth century was not confined to the church of England and the Lutheran churches of Germany and Scandinavia. In practice, though not in theory, it was equally effective in Spanish America.

In the age of the Reformation the causes championed by Hildebrand were taken up again by Calvin and his followers, who have been represented with much justice as better defenders of the "freedom" of the church than the Hispaniolated Popes who were their contemporaries.[1] Through their English, Dutch, and American disciples the idea of a Catholic church with a world-wide organization, independent of political powers, had descended to many who would repudiate any debt to the papacy. It remains doubtful whether Hildebrand was right in maintaining that the mission of the church is to rule the world through the perfection of her organization. The political semi-independence of the Roman church did not save her from the evils[2] that beset the church of Constantinople under Byzantine emperors and Turkish sultans. It only made her more obviously responsible for them. Few intelligent Russians would now blame the Orthodox church for the ecclesiastical administration of M. Pobiendonsteff under the last

[1] In B. L. Manning, *The Making of Modern English Religion,* London, 1929, p. 9.

[2] For the corruption of the curia see St. Bernard's *De consideratione* (1146), especially Lib. i, PL 182, c. 727-42.

Tsar. All Christians in the West in the sixteenth century believed that the church was responsible for Cesare Borgia and Julius II.

The Eastern churches in face of evils either allow their machinery to be captured by an alien power or split it up into smaller units, trusting to the loyalty of their laity to dogma and the liturgy. In this way they met the Latin invasion of the thirteenth century, here submitting to an alien power in everything except the form of the liturgy, as in Cyprus; there resisting, as in Serbia and Macedonia, in small autocephalous groups that might repudiate one another if need be.[1] The same strategy of dispersal has been used by the Russian church at home and in exile in the last twenty-five years since 1920.

Schisms of this kind are not only curable, but cured with surprising swiftness when the time is ripe, because they have never broken the unity at the deeper level of worship, dogma, and church order in the sense of a common structure of ministry and sacraments. Differences of temper, culture, and social circumstances will always be dividing Orthodox Christians from one another, but it should always be possible to pierce through these veils, to distinguish culture from dogma, and so to recognize a common Orthodoxy.

The story of Rabban Sauma[2] shows how at the end of the thirteenth century it was still possible for an Assyrian monk to be received as a holy man by the emperor and the church in Constantinople,[3] and then to be cross-questioned and accepted as Orthodox by the Cardinals and the Pope in Rome.[4] "No man," he explained, "has come to us Orientals from the Pope. The holy apostles whose names I have mentioned taught us the Gospel, and to what they have delivered to us we have clung to the present day." The Cardinals examined him on the

[1] See A. Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicæa*, pp. 119-35, for controversies very reminiscent of the modern Orthodox East.

[2] Translated by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge as *The Monks of Kublai Khan*, London, 1928.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 167-9: "Now the greater number of those who dwelt in the ship were Romans (sc. Byzantines), and because of the savour of his speech they paid him honour in no small degree." Later Andronicus II showed him all the relics of Constantinople.

[4] *Idem*, pp. 174-6, 190-6.

*filioque*, and found him not very ready, "for the subject is extraneous to the confession of faith of wise men." He questioned them on the Trinity. "Are the Father, Son, and Spirit one in nature or separate?" No one seems to have examined him on Nestorianism, the heresy traditionally attributed to his church, though his own confession of faith shows that he used the terminology, translated into Syriac, of the old school of Antioch. The Cardinals attended his Mass, saying "the language is different, but the use is the same." On Palm Sunday in 1288 he made his communion at the Pope's Mass. After Easter he returned to his own people, bearing a special message from our own King Edward I, who had received the communion from him at Bordeaux in 1287:

> In the countries of the Franks there are not two confessions of faith, but only one confession of faith—namely, that which confesseth Jesus Christ, and all Christians confess it.[1]

Roman Catholics will interpret these events in the light of a papal letter which Rabban Sauma carried back to his Catholicos, Mar-Yabalaha III, a Tartar of the Uighur tribe. In Rabban Sauma's own biography this takes the form of a commission of Patriarchal authority over all the churches in the Far East. The copy in the Vatican register[2] says nothing of this commission, but commends the Catholicos for his kindness to the Franciscans who were then working in Persia, and exhorts him to instruct his clergy and people in " the pure faith which the Roman church holds" (a statement of it is enclosed). This discrepancy may reflect later conflicts between the Franciscans and the Assyrian authorities; but F. Dvornik[3] believes that Rabban Sauma, though ready enough to call the Pope "Patriarch of Roman lands and of all Western nations," had not the least intention of changing his confession.

The modern Eastern Orthodox will have another interpretation. He will regard the communion of Rabban Sauma as an example of the principle of "economy," whereby the church, as steward of God's grace, may "recognize the priesthood and

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 187.

[2] Vatican Register 44, c. 13, fol. 88*v*; translated in A. C. Moule, *Christians in China before the Year* 1550, London, 1930, pp. 112-3.

[3] *National Churches and the Church Universal*, pp. 22-3.

sacraments of schismatics and heretics"[1] who approach her in a fitting frame of mind.

It is interesting to see how the same word and the same underlying idea were used in the thirteenth century by Demetrius Chomatenus[2] to justify the communion of the Latins, not as heretics who may be treated with compassion, but as Christians whose orthodox status was in doubt. In practice economy has often been applied to doubtful cases in the West as well as in the East—for instance, in the terms of peace after schisms where orders and sacraments have been denied by one side to the other.[3] In the East there has never been a doctrine of the validity of sacraments outside the church where heretics have preserved the apostolic succession. Right outside the church there are no sacraments, for sacraments are essentially the church's work. It therefore seems reasonable to suppose, despite some extreme statements by Greek theologians, that every exercise of economy in Eastern Christendom implies some doubt as to the status of those whose sacraments and orders are economically supplied with all that is wanting. Sometimes the Greeks write as if the Bulgarians in their time of schism (1872-1945) had no sacraments at all. Yet they admitted them to their altars, because they knew that they were still an Orthodox church.

One source of this ambiguity is the idea of the *Œcumene*. Within the sphere of Byzantine culture all Œcumenical councils and canons are valid. Outside the Byzantines were never so certain. Even at the Council in Trullo they hesitated to impose their discipline on "priests in barbarous lands."[4] Thereafter diplomatic theologians were willing to allow the orthodoxy of the Armenians,[5] and even to include Ethiopians and Indians

[1] So K. Dyonovonouviotos, trans. and quoted in J. A. Douglas, *The Relations of the Anglican Church with the Eastern Orthodox*, London, 1921, p. 59. For other quotations from modern writers see F. Gavin, *Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Orthodox Thought*, Milwaukee, 1923, p. 262, and pp. 293-303.

[2] In his letter to the metropolitan of Durazzo, cited *supra*, pp. 165, 190-1.

[3] *E.g.*, the contentions over the ordinations of Photius and Formosus.

[4] *Supra*, p. 97.

[5] *E.g.*, the Emperor Manuel in a letter to the Catholicos Gregory IV. (1177), summarized in Dölger, ii, No. 1527, treats the differences as verbal rather than real.

in a list of Orthodox churches.[1] So to-day Russian missionaries serve the Syrian Christians of South India, who are formally Jacobites. Abyssinians and Copts are educated in Orthodox schools. The relations of the autocephalous churches of the East with one another and with their neighbours provide a model for another kind of Christian unity than that which is most often discussed among Christians in the West. They do not try to present a common front to the world, but rather to cherish and foster the infinite variety of human nature.

## A Note on Eucharistic Doctrine

The Iconoclast controversy turned on the relation between sacraments and icons, Western controversies from the ninth century on the relation of the eucharist to the other sacraments. After Iconoclasm the terms "image," "icon," and "figure" could no longer be applied to the consecrated elements, but the idea of transubstantiation does not appear in the East until it has already taken form in the West. Attempts to read it back into the literature of the Iconoclast controversy,[2] in anything like the developed shape characteristic of Latin scholasticism, seem to me to break down on a crucial passage in St. John of Damascus, where he maintains that the eucharistic elements are material in the same sense as the cross, the chalice, and the other liturgical instruments.[3]

[1] In the letter of the Constantinopolitans to Innocent III, PG 140, c. 298.

[2] See a discussion in *Laudate*, ix (1931), Nashdom Abbey, Burnham, Bucks; *cf.* also V. Grumel in EO, xxix (1930), pp. 92-100. The key passages are in the refutation of the Emperor Constantine V by the Patriarch Nicephorus, PG 100, c. 223-30 and 331-40.

[3] PG 94, c. 1300; *cf.* also c. 1245. St. John does not appear to notice the theories of Constantine V in his *Fountain of Knowledge*, PG 94, c. 1137-54.

## TABLE OF EMPERORS, PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, AND POPES

(*Anti-Popes, and Patriarchs restored to the throne, are italicized.*)

| EMPERORS. | PATRIARCHS. | POPES. |
|---|---|---|
| Marcian 450-7 | Anatolius 549-58 | Leo I 440-61 |
| Leo I 457-74 | Gennadius 458-71 | Hilary 461-8 (Sardinian) |
| Leo II 474 | Acacius 471-89 | Simplicius 468-83 |
| Zeno 474-5 | | |
| Basiliscus 475-7 | | |
| Zeno (again) 477-91 | Fravitta 489-90 | Felix III 483-92 |
| Anastasius I 491-518 | Euphemius 490-6 | Gelasius I 492-6 (African) |
| | Macedonius II 496-511 | Anastasius II 496-8 |
| | | Symmachus 498-514 (Sardinian) |
| | | *Laurentius* 498, 501-7 |
| | Timothy I 511-8 | Hormisdas 514-23 |
| Justin I 518-27 | John II 518-20 | |
| | Epiphanius 520-36 | John I 523-6 |
| Justinian I 527-65 | | Felix IV 526-30 |
| | | Boniface II 530-3 (Goth) |
| | | *Dioscorus* 530 (Egyptian) |
| | | John II 533-5 |
| | Anthimus 536 | Agapetus 535-6 |
| | Menas 536-52 | Silverius 536-7 |
| | | Vigilius 537-55 |
| | Eutychius 552-65 | Pelagius I 556-61 |
| Justin II 565-78 | John III 565-77 | John III 561-74 |
| Tiberius 574-82 | | Benedict I 575-9 |
| | *Eutychius* 577-82 | Pelagius II 579-90 (Goth) |
| Maurice 582-602 | John IV 582-95 | Gregory I 590-604 |
| | Cyriacus 595-607 | |
| Phocas 602-10 | | Sabinian 604-6 |
| | Thomas I 607 | Boniface III 607 |
| | | Boniface IV 608-15 |
| Heraclius 610-41 | Sergius 610-38 | |
| | | Deusdedit I 615-8 |
| | | Boniface V 619-25 |
| | | Honorius I 625-38 |
| | Pyrrhus 638-41 | Severinus 640 |
| Constantine III 641 | | John IV 640-2 (Dalmatian) |
| Constans II 641-68 | Paul II 641-52 | Theodore I 642-9 (Palestinian) |
| | *Pyrrhus* 652 | Martin I 649-53 |
| | Peter 652-65 | Eugenius I 654-7 |
| | Thomas II 665-8 | Vitalian 657-72 |

| EMPERORS. | PATRIARCHS. | POPES. |
|---|---|---|
| Constantine IV 668-85 | John V 668-74 | Deusdedit II 672-6 |
| | Constantine I 674-6 | |
| | Theodore I 676-8 | Domnus 676-8 |
| | George I 678-83 | Agatho 678-81 (Sicilian) |
| | *Theodore I* 683-6 | Leo II 682-4 (Sicilian) |
| Justinian II 685-95 | | Benedict II 684-5 |
| | Paul III 686-93 | John V 685-6 (Syrian) |
| | | Conon 686-7 (from Asia) |
| | | Sergius I 687-701 (Syrian) |
| Leontius 695-8 | Callinicus 693-704 | |
| Tiberius III 698-705 | | John VI 701-5 (Greek) |
| Justinian II 705-11 (restored) | Cyrus 705-11 | John VII 705-7 (Greek) |
| | | Sisinnius 708 (Syrian) |
| Philippicus 711-3 | John VI 711-5 | Constantine 708-15 (Syrian) |
| Anastasius II 713-6 | Germanus I 715-30 | Gregory II 715-31 |
| Theodosius III 716-7 | | |
| Leo III 717-40 | | |
| | Anastasius 730-53 | Gregory III 731-41 (Syrian) |
| Constantine V 740-75 | | Zacharias 741-52 (Calabrian) |
| | | Stephen II 752 |
| | Constantine II 753-66 | Stephen III 752-7 |
| | | Paul I 757-61 |
| | Nicetas 766-80 | *Constantine II* 767-8 |
| | | Stephen III 768-72 (Sicilian) |
| Leo IV 775-80 | | Hadrian I 772-95 |
| Constantine VI 780-97 | Paul IV 780-4 | |
| Irene 780-95, 797-802 | Tarasius 784-806 | Leo III 795-816 |
| Nicephorus I 802-11 | Nicephorus 806-15 | |
| Stauracius 811 | | |
| Michael I 811-3 | | |
| Leo V 813-20 | Theodotus I 815-21 | Stephen IV 816-7 |
| Michael II 820-9 | Antony I 821-32 | Pascal I 817-24 |
| Theophilus 829-42 | John VII 832-43 | Eugenius II 824-7 |
| | | Valentine 827 |
| | | Gregory IV 827-44 |
| Michael III 842-67 | Methodius 843-7 | Sergius II 844-7 |
| Theodora 842-56 | Ignatius 847-88 | Leo IV 847-55 (pro-Greek) |
| Bardas 856-66 | | Benedict III 855-8 (pro-Greek) |
| | | *Anastasius* 855-8 (pro-Frank) |
| | Photius 858-67 | Nicholas I 858-67 (pro-Frank) |

| Emperors. | Patriarchs. | Popes. |
|---|---|---|
| Basil I 867-86 | *Ignatius* 867-77 | Hadrian II 867-72 (pro-Frank)<br>John VIII 872-82 |
| | *Photius* 877-86 | Marinus 882-4<br>Hadrian III 884-5 |
| Leo VI 886-912 | Stephen I 886-93 | Stephen V 885-91 |
| | Antony II 893-901 | Formosus 891-6<br>Boniface VI 896<br>Stephen VI 896-7 (anti-Formosus)<br>Romanus 897<br>Theodore II 897-8 (pro-Formosus)<br>*Sergius III* 898 (anti-Formosus)<br>John IX 898-900 |
| | Nicholas Mysticus 901-6 | Benedict IV 900-3<br>Leo V 903 (pro-Formosus?)<br>Christopher 903 (pro-Formosus?)<br>Sergius III, restored, 904-11 (anti-Formosus) |
| | Euthymius 906-12 | |
| Alexander 912-3 | *Nicholas Mysticus* 912-25 | Lando 913<br>John X 914-28 (anti-Formosus) |
| Constantine VII 912-59 | | |
| Romanus I 919-44 | | |
| Christopher 921-31 | | |
| Stephen and Constantine 824-45 | Stephen II 925-8 | |
| | Tryphon 928-32 | Leo VI 928-9 (House of Theophylact) |
| | | Stephen VII 929-31 ,, |
| | Theophylact 933-56 | John XI 931-6 ,, |
| | | Leo VII 936-9 ,, |
| | | Stephen VIII 939-42 ,, |
| | | Marinus II 942-6 ,, |
| | | Agapetus II 946-55 ,, |
| Romanus II 959-63 | Polyeuctes 956-70 | John XIII 955-64 ,, |
| Basil II 963-1025 | | |
| Constantine VIII 963-1028 | | *Leo VIII* 963 (pro-German) |
| Nicephorus II 963-9 | | Benedict V 964 (anti-German) |
| John I Tzimisces 969-76 | Basil I 970-4 | John XIII 965-72 (pro-German) |

| EMPERORS. | PATRIARCHS. | POPES. |
|---|---|---|
| Basil II 963-1025 | | |
| Constantine VIII 963-1028 | Antony II 974-9 | Benedict VI 973-4 (pro-German) |
| | | *Boniface VII* 974-85 (pro-Greek) |
| | Nicholas II 979-91 | Benedict VII 974-83 (pro-German) |
| | | John XIV 983-4 (pro-German) |
| | | John XV 985-96 (pro-Greek) |
| | Sisinnius 995-1000 | Gregory V 996-1000 (German) |
| | | *John XVI* 997-8 (Calabrian) |
| | Sergius II 1000-19 | Silvester II 999-1003 (French) |
| | | John XVII 1003 (pro-Greek) |
| | | John XVIII 1003-9 (pro-Greek) |
| | | Sergius IV 1009-12 (pro-German) |
| | | Benedict VIII 1012-24 (Tusculan) |
| | Eustathius 1019-25 | *Gregory VI* 1012-4 (Crescentii) |
| Zoe 1028-50 | Alexius 1025-43 | John XIX 1024-32 (Tusculan) |
| Theodora 1028-56 | | |
| Romanus III 1028-34 | | |
| Michael IV 1034-41 | | Benedict IX 1032-46 (Tusculan) |
| Michael V 1041-2 | Michael Cerularius 1043-58 | *Silvester III* 1044-6 (Crescentii) |
| Constantine IX 1042-55 | | Gregory VI 1045-6 (reform) |
| | | Clement II 1046-7 (German) |
| | | Damasus II 1048 (German) |
| | | Leo IX 1048-54 (Lorraine) |
| Michael VI 1056-7 | | Victor II 1055-7 (German) |
| Isaac I 1057-9 | | Stephen IX 1057-8 (Lorraine) |
| Constantine X 1059-67 | Constantine III 1059-64 | *Benedict X* 1058-9 (Roman) |
| | | Nicholas II 1058-61 (reform) |
| Michael VII 1067-78 | John VIII 1064-75 | *Honorius II* 1060-72 (empire) |
| Romanus IV 1067-71 | | Alexander II 1061-73 (reform) |
| Nicephorus III 1078-81 | Cosmas I 1075-81 | Gregory VII 1073-85 (reform) |
| Alexius I 1081-1118 | Eustratius 1081-4 | *Clement III* 1080-1100 (empire) |
| | Nicholas III 1084-1111 | Victor III 1086-7 (reform) |
| | | Urban II 1088-99 (reform) |
| | | Pascal II 1099-1118 (reform) |
| | | *Theodore* 1101-2 (empire) |
| | | *Albert* 1102-5 (empire) |
| | | *Silvester IV* 1105-11 (empire) |
| | John IX 1111-34 | |

| Emperors. | Patriarchs. | Popes. |
|---|---|---|
| John II 1118-43 | | Gelasius II 1118-9 (reform) |
| | | *Gregory VIII* 1118-21 (empire) |
| | | Calixtus II 1119-24 (reform, French) |
| | | *Celestine* III 1121-2 (empire) |
| | | Honorius II 1124-30 |
| | | Innocent II 1130-43 (reform) |
| | Leo Stypes 1134-43 | *Anacletus* 1130-8 (Sicilian) |
| | | Victor IV 1138 (Sicilian) |
| Manuel I 1143-80 | Michael II 1143-6 | Celestine II 1143-4 |
| | | Lucius II 1144-5 |
| | Cosmas II 1146-7 | Eugenius III 1145-53 |
| | Nicholas IV 1147-51 | |
| | Theodotus II 1151-3 | |
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