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walls of the heart, or larger bloodvessels issuing from it." After showing that it was not syncope, and quoting Dr. Walshe to the effect that the symptoms were those of rupture of the heart, "a piercing shriek uttered," etc., Sir J. Simpson goes on to say that (3) "the details regarding Christ's death are most strikingly peculiar in this respect, that they offer us the result of a very rude dissection, as it were, by the gash made in His side after death by the thrust of the Roman soldier's spear, and I do not think anything could possibly account for the appearance of 'blood and water,' as described by the Apostle, except a collection of blood effused into the sac of the pericardium in consequence of rupture of the heart, and subsequently separated into the usual red clot and white or limpid serum. . . . (4) Death by mere crucifixion was not a form of death in which there was much, if, indeed, any, shedding of blood. The whole language and types of Scripture, however, involve the idea that the atonement for our sins was obtained by the *blood* of Christ shed for us during His death on the cross. . . . (5) He was ultimately 'slain,' not by the effects of the anguish of His corporeal frame, but by the effects of the mightier anguish of His mind; the walls of His heart—like the veil, as it were, in the temple of His human body—were rent and riven, as for us 'He poured out His soul unto death'; in that awful hour 'the travail of His soul' thus standing out greater than even that of the body." Dr. James Begbie, late President of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, affirms also that "such a lesion accounts for the phenomena recorded in the Scriptures regarding Him, namely, the earlier than usual cessation of life during crucifixion, and the issuing of blood and water on the piercing of His side with the spear, thus literally fulfilling the prophetic words, 'Reproach hath broken My heart,' in the Old Testament writings concerning Him."

J. MOIR.



## ART. V.—THE LIFE AND TIMES OF GREGORY OF TOURS.

### II.

THESE "weaker vessels" were too powerful for the Church to restrain or punish, and with others the Church, as represented by Gregory, was hardly more successful. Thus, a certain Ingeltrude had built and furnished a monastery, and her married daughter was appointed Abbess. But the latter's

husband objected to his wife taking the veil, and she withdrew to the neutral ground of the Bishop's house. The mother, as foundress, at once claimed the furniture of the monastery as her property, while the daughter declared it belonged to her as Abbess. The dispute was referred to King Childebert, who deputed Gregory and another to settle the matter. They found, however, that interference with "family jars" is neither a pleasant nor a satisfactory undertaking. Striving to please all parties, their decision was that the furniture should be divided into four equal parts, Ingeltrude and her three nephews (her heirs) to have three parts, and her daughter the remaining fourth. But neither side accepted this partition. Ingeltrude hoped to simplify matters by deposing her daughter, and appointing in her stead as Abbess her grand-daughter. The ejected daughter, however, abode her time, and when her mother died she approached Childebert, and got herself recognised as heiress to her mother. Armed with new powers, she made short work of the pretensions of the young Abbess. She went to the monastery, took away every bit of furniture, "leaving only the bare walls."

In fact, very few of the women mentioned by Gregory bear characters that win our esteem or respect. As a rule, they are bloodthirsty and vindictive, greedy of power and wealth, totally unscrupulous both in methods and morals. To take only one more instance: Chrodiel, conceiving a hatred for the Abbess of St. Croix, charges her with all sorts of vices, and under this pretext attacks the monastery with her armed men. The Abbess managed to escape, and appealed to King Gontramn for redress. The King delegates Gregory and other Bishops to hold a court of inquiry into the alleged grievances. Their report was as follows: (1) The charges were without a shred of foundation. (2) The Abbess should be restored. (3) Chrodiel should be punished with excommunication. They attached the request that Gontramn would see the judgment carried out. These two cases are interesting, not only as throwing a strong light upon the state of Frankish society, but as showing how little punitive power rested with the Church. In each instance the grieved party appeals to the King, though the matter in dispute is ecclesiastical. In each case the Bishops are merely Royal Commissioners, with powers to investigate and report only. The executive lies wholly in the hands of the King.

From the careers of these Frankish Jezebels we turn with a sense of relief to the study of the controversies on Christian dogmatics. In Gregory's eyes orthodoxy covered a multitude of sins, while heterodoxy was the mother of all wickedness.

It is well known that the Franks from the time of the conversion of Clovis were orthodox in their views upon the Holy Trinity. The Gauls, whose country they possessed, were also equally sound, but the Burgundian and Visigoths were strongly Arian. Hence, Gregory appears as a defender of the faith. His weapons, broadly speaking, are reproductions from Constantinople and the fourth century, but we miss in him the subtlety of the Greek and the casuistry of the Oriental. Both sides, orthodox as well as Arian, display an acquaintance with the stock arguments, gained either by reading or tradition. But while we expect to find the clergy well versed in such theology, we read with astonishment of Kings, with whom the sword was mightier than the pen, and force than persuasion, entering with the greatest zeal into these controversies, and supporting their views even in writing.

Besides the Arian controversy, we have a good deal of "free thought" respecting such cardinal dogmas as the Atonement, the Resurrection, and the Canon. Incidentally we obtain considerable information on the accepted text of Holy Scripture, for frequent appeal is made to it as the final arbiter in matters of faith by all parties of disputants. This part of Gregory's writings has been rendered still more interesting and serviceable to students of textual criticism by the publication in 1883-1885 of a new edition of his works,<sup>1</sup> in which the greatest care and the ripest scholarship have been devoted to reproduce the grammar and spelling in the original rude and provincial Latin just as Gregory wrote it.

We are left in no doubt as to Gregory's own doctrinal convictions. "I will hold," he says, "without any guile or hesitation, only that which is authoritatively pronounced to be the faith of the Church."<sup>2</sup> To this general declaration he adds an expansion of, or commentary on, the Nicene Creed, after the pattern of Cyril's "Catechesis," or Augustine's "De Fide et Symbolo." In this commentary we find Gregory expressing his belief in the perpetual virginity of Mary,<sup>3</sup> although it should be stated that the clause is wanting in the "Codex Regius," and should be viewed with suspicion.

An example or two of these controversies may be of interest, and serve to illustrate the methods by which they were conducted. Chilperic published a pamphlet in which he sought

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<sup>1</sup> "Monumenta Germaniæ Historiæ," under the editorship of W. Arndt and Br. Krusch.

<sup>2</sup> "Illud tantum studens ut quod in ecclesia credi prædicatur, sine aliquo fuco aut cordis hesitatione retineam."

<sup>3</sup> "Credo beatam Mariam ut virginem ante partum ita virginem et post partum."

to revive the errors of Sabellius upon the Trinity. Gregory felt himself constrained as a Bishop of the Church to refute the King's opinions, and declare his own belief in the following words: "In Person the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost mutually differ. The Father did not assume flesh, nor the Holy Ghost, but the Son, in order that He who had taken flesh in the world might Himself be offered for the world. Still, what I say of the Persons must be understood, not corporally, but spiritually." With this statement of faith the Bishop confounded and silenced the King. He was, however, not equally successful with Ægilan, an Arian, who happened to be at the Court of Chilperic on an embassy from Leuvichild. The Arian rested his position upon John xiv. 28, "My Father is greater than I." Which Gregory meets with John x. 30, "I and My Father are one." From this passage he contends: "Therefore the Son is equal in Deity to, not less than, the Father; neither has He anything less. For if you acknowledge Him to be God, you must acknowledge Him perfect (*integrum*) and lacking in nothing. If, on the contrary, you deny Him to be perfect, you do not believe He is God." Ægilan rejoins: "From the time that He assumed humanity He began to be called the Son of God, for there was a time when He was not." Gregory parries this with John i. 1, 14, and against this the Arian apparently could not stand, for the discussion passed on to the status of the Holy Spirit. Ægilan maintained that the Holy Spirit is not equal to the Father and the Son, because the latter had sent Him, and therefore the Holy Ghost bore to the Son the relation of a servant to a master, or ambassador to a King. Gregory warns Ægilan that he is rendering himself liable to the charge and penalty of speaking against the Holy Ghost, quoting Matt. xii. 32. He also reminds him of the fate of Ananias and Sapphira—both extraordinary and, in fact, distorted applications of the Word of God. These arguments failed to convince Ægilan, till at length Gregory, greatly exasperated at his stubbornness, exclaimed: "You Arians think nothing rightly concerning the Holy Trinity. How iniquitous the perversity of your sect is the death of your founder, Arius, clearly shows." Ægilan quietly rebuked him for his intolerance: "Do not blaspheme a dogma because thou dost not hold it. Though we do not believe what you believe, we do not blaspheme it, for it is not reckoned a crime if there are differences of worship. We have a common saying that if a man passes between the altars of the heathen and a Church of God, he is not offending if he venerate both." "But I," continues Gregory, "seeing his foolishness, said: 'As I see, thou showest thyself to be a defender of heathen and an

advocate of heretics, since thou dost foul the dogmas of the Church and preachest that we should adore the filth of Pagans. . . .’ Whereat he, stung to fury, and gnashing his teeth like a madman (I know not why), replied: ‘May the breath leap the fetters of this body ere I accept a benediction from any priest of your religion.’ And I retorted: ‘May the Lord never allow our religion or faith to become so indifferent to us that we should cast His Holy One to dogs and expose the sacred things of precious pearls to dirty pigs.’”

Gregory carried his faith in the doctrine of the Trinity to such lengths that he regarded its special formula (“In the Name,” etc.) as a sort of charm or prophylactic against injury. In an attempt to traduce the heretics he only exposes his own superstition. Amalsuintha, daughter of Theodoric, the Ostrogothic King of Italy and an Arian, had, according to one account,<sup>1</sup> murdered her mother by putting poison into the chalice at Holy Communion. Gregory’s observation on this outrage is as follows: “In the face of these deeds, what will these wretched heretics answer, that the enemy should have place in their holy things? *We*, who confess the Trinity to be co-equal in dignity and omnipotence, even if we drink anything deadly in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, shall receive no hurt.” In the prologue to his third book he would have us believe that national prosperity and adversity are dependent upon right and wrong views of the Trinity. “I will,” he says, “with your permission, for a little while relate how prosperous were the affairs of those Christians who acknowledged the Blessed Trinity, and what disasters befel those heretics who divide the same. . . . Clovis the King believed in it, and by its aid overcame the heretics themselves, and enlarged his kingdom through the whole of Gaul. Alaric denied it, and lost his kingdom, his people, and, what is better than all, eternal life itself.” He further instances the fate respectively of Godegisil, Godomar, and Gondobad, “who lost at the same time their fatherland and their soul.” But, unfortunately for this theory, history is against it. Gondobad, at any rate, ruled over a most flourishing fatherland, died a natural death, and left his kingdom to his son Sigismund. He also compiled the Burgundian code, known as the “*Lex Gondobada*,” or “*Loi Gombette*,” “one of the famous barbarian codes which go far to prove that the name of barbarian must not be too indiscriminately applied to the Teutonic races.”

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<sup>1</sup> Gregory himself gives another version; Procopius and Jornandes again differ from Gregory. Gregory is doubtless wrong in his account, but that does not affect our argument above.

The doctrine of the Trinity was a fundamental article of faith in the Frankish Church. Not so, apparently, the doctrine of the Resurrection. Gregory tells us there were certain presbyters in his own church who did not believe in this article of the Christian faith, contending that it was contrary to (1) reason and (2) Scripture. (1) How can those human bodies which have nourished animals come together in their several parts? (2) How can we reconcile the doctrine of a general resurrection with Ps. i. 5—"The ungodly do not rise again (*resurgunt*<sup>1</sup>) in the judgment"? Gregory rests his counter-argument upon Holy Scripture and Apostolic tradition. The whole chapter ("Hist. Franc.," x. 13) is very interesting, but it would take too much space to particularize it.

In Holy Scripture Gregory included the Apocrypha. This is proved by the controversy he held with a certain Priscus, a Jew, touching the crucifixion of our Lord. The discussion was begun by Chilperic, but his controversial powers were exhausted when Priscus asked how a God could allow himself to be treated so shamefully. Gregory came to the rescue. As Priscus did not accept the authority of the New Testament, Gregory cites passages from his own prophets, and so slays him with his own sword, as David did Goliath. His first quotation is from Baruch iii. 36, 37, and his second is the well-known variation in Ps. xcvi. 10, "Dominus regnavit a ligno,"<sup>2</sup> against the genuineness of which the Jew raised no objection. But Gregory's principal weapon, which he drew from the armoury of the Old Testament, was, of course, Is. liii. His readings are of considerable interest and value, and go to show that there was no "Authorized Version," unless we agree that he is quoting from memory.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vulg., *resurgent*.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory's reading agrees with that of Tertullian, Augustine, etc., but differs from the Vulgate. Justin Martyr is the first to accuse the Jews of erasing the words for polemical reasons. They are found both in the Latin and Gothic Psalters.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. liii. 12: Greg., "Ipse peccata nostra portabit, et orabit pro transgressoribus"; Vulg., "Ipse peccata multorum tulit, et pro transgressoribus rogavit"; Vers. Antiq., "Ipse peccata multorum suscepit, et propter iniquitates eorum traditus est." Cypr., Tert., Ambr., Aug., also have this "traditus est." Gregory's reading is unsupported. Isa. liii. 17: Greg., "Quasi agnus coram tondente se sine voce, sic non aperuit os suum. In humiliatione iudicium ejus sublatus est"; Vulg., "Quasi agnus coram tondente se obmutescet, et non aperiet os suum." Vers. Antiq. reads "mutus" for "sine voce"; Iren., "in conspectu tondentis sine voce." Tert. varies; sometimes he is exactly like Gregory, except "velut" for "quasi"; at other times he differs from him, always, however, retaining "sine voce." Novat., Cypr., Lact., Ambr., Aug., agree with Gregory's reading.

Gregory had to confess that he was not so successful with Priscus as David was with Goliath: "Though we brought forward these and other references, the wretched man was not moved to compunction or conviction." One other argument remained, at any rate with Jews—that of coercion; but Gregory refrained from availing himself of this, preferring the opinion and example of his tutor, Avitus: "I do not compel you by force to believe on the Son of God."

The circumstances under which this principle was stated and acted upon are very striking, and throw a strong light upon Frankish social life. Avitus, Bishop of Auvergne, had converted a Jew to Christianity. His baptism took place at Easter. As the procession moved from the church to the Basilica of St. Martin some Jews, annoyed with the pervert, threw some rancid oil over him, in mockery of his having been anointed with the consecrated oil. The populace were furious at this outrage, and retaliated by demolishing the synagogue of the Jews. Avitus, while deprecating such violence, urged the Jews to follow the example of the new convert, and accept baptism. He pointed them to the Good Shepherd, Who had them in His mind when He said: "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, that there may be one *flock* and one shepherd."<sup>1</sup> The sequel remains to be told. When King Gontram entered the city after a successful campaign, the Jews were particularly demonstrative in their acclamations. But Gontram was not to be caught so easily. "Woe to the Jewish race!" he exclaimed—"wicked and perfidious! living ever by craftiness! Their applause and adulation would convey the impression that all nations should adore me as lord, but their real purpose is that I should be deluded into ordering that their synagogue, which has been razed to the ground by the Christians, should be rebuilt at the public expense. God forbid that I should ever do such a thing!" . . . "Oh, noble King! what wondrous insight to detect thus the cunning of the unbelievers!"—a comment which shows that Gregory's sympathies were wholly with this prejudice.

It must not be assumed, however, that the controversialists were divided into two sharply-defined camps. Amongst the Trinitarians there were several "schools of thought," more or less divergent from what, according to the Council of Chalce-

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<sup>1</sup> Gregory reads "ex ovili suo . . . unus grex"; Vulg., "ex hoc ovili . . . unum ovile"; Vers. Antiq., "ovile . . . grex." Jerome has not caught the important distinction between "ovile" and "grex." Augustine varies, reading sometimes "ovile" in both places, sometimes "ovile . . . grex." The old Latin texts agree with Gregory. Vide Bishop Westcott's Additional Note on John x. 16.

don, is τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀμωμήτου πίστεως ἡ ἕκθεσις. Gregory stoutly upheld and defended the doctrine of the Church as defined by her Councils. Thus, when Chilperic attempted to enforce upon his people *his* views of the Trinity, Gregory boldly resisted him. The King recited what he had written upon the subject, adding: "It is my will that such shall be thy belief also, and that of all other doctors of the Church." "Deceive not yourself, my lord King," the Bishop replied; "in this matter you must follow the teaching of the Apostles and doctors of the Church, the teaching of Hilary and Eusebius, according to the confession you made at your baptism." "It appears, then," said Chilperic, "that Hilary and Eusebius are my declared enemies on this point." "Not so," answered Gregory; "neither God nor His saints are your enemies." And he proceeded to expound unto him the way of God more clearly—*i.e.*, the Catholic and Apostolic doctrines of the Trinity. The King was not, however, to be shaken in his opinions. "I shall set forth," he said, "my ideas to those that are wiser than you, and they will approve them." "Never," retorted the Bishop; "it would be no wise man, but a lunatic, that would accept such views as yours!" Religious controversy is hopeless and discredited when it falls into vituperation.

Late in life Gregory went to Rome<sup>1</sup>—his only visit—when his namesake, Gregory the Great, was Pope. Gregory of Tours was a Zaccheus in stature, and it is said that when Gregory the Great saw Gregory the Small he humorously expressed his astonishment that so great an intellect should be contained in so small a body. Gregory replied: "The Lord made us, and not we ourselves, both small and great." The aptness and piety of this repartee raised the Frankish Bishop higher still in the estimation of the Pope.

The greatness of his intellect, which astonished the Pope, is unquestionable. No one can withhold his admiration for a man who, amidst incessant civil wars and journeyings often, could find time for so much historical and other writings of a miscellaneous character. We have only space for a short notice of his voluminous works. He says himself: "I have written ten books of Histories, seven of Miracles, one of the Lives of the Fathers. I have compiled in one book a treatise on the Psalter and one book on Church courses."<sup>2</sup> The Seven

<sup>1</sup> The date of Gregory's death is generally given as November 17, 595, and the year, at any rate, is probably correct; for he mentions the death of Gontramm (593), but not of Childebert II. (596). Now, in 596 the Pope addressed a letter to *Pelagius*, Bishop of Tours, who may be regarded as Gregory's successor.

<sup>2</sup> "Hist. Franc.," x. 31, 19.

Books of Miracles he explains in his Prologue to the "Glories of the Confessors": "In the first book I have given some particulars of the miracles of our Lord and the holy Apostles and other martyrs; in the second, the virtues of the holy martyr Julian; four books contain the virtues of St. Martin; the seventh the life of certain monks; and this eighth the miracles of the Confessors." The seventh is really the "Lives of the Fathers." All these works are extant except "De Cursibus Ecclesiasticis" and the "Commentary on the Psalter,"<sup>1</sup> of which only fragments remain. He had several works on hand at the same time, as may be shown directly from his own statements and inferred by examining and comparing his writings. His principal work, "The History of the Franks," was written in two parts (i.-vi. and vii.-x.), the first six books reaching as far as the death of Chilperic. Fredegaire knew only of the first six books, for he expressly says in his preface that his is a continuation of the history by Gregory from the death of Chilperic. "Anonymous," who wrote "Gesta Francorum," knew only these six, and the older MSS. contain no more. He leaves us in no doubt as to what were his objects in compiling this "History of the Franks." These were: (a) That he might narrate the wars of kings with hostile tribes, of martyrs with pagans, of the churches with heretics; (b) that, for the sake of those who despaired of the world coming to an end, he might by means of chronicles and histories show the total number of years since the beginning of the world. With these objects before him he selected from the Old Testament only those things which illustrated local or contemporary history. He traces the struggle of belief with unbelief. A "pious" or "religious" vein runs through his historical works. He strives to prove from history that "righteousness exalteth a nation," where righteousness is equivalent to orthodoxy and obedience to the Church. This is equally true to individuals. What brought about the assassination of Sigibert? His disobedience to Bishop Germanus, who warned him against attacking his brother Chilperic. And "what killed Chilperic, but his own wickedness and thy prayer, O Gontramn?" There could be no doubt upon the matter, for had not both he (Gregory) and Gontramn seen a vision that revealed to them the cause? This unfortunate partiality everywhere disfigures his history, and other blemishes no less serious mar his work. His writings

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<sup>1</sup> At one time it was thought that this "Commentary" had been discovered in the Vatican library with the title "Florentii Georgii et Gregorii Commentarius in Psalmos"; but authors were cited therein of a later date than Gregory, and the title was also by a later hand.

lack balance. Councils at which he himself was present are fully noticed, but others at which very important business was transacted are omitted altogether. Some things are related twice—*e.g.*, the sedition of Hermengild. There is no chronological order: an account of Sigibert's attack on Arles in 566 is followed by particulars of a landslip in 563, and that again by events which occurred in 571. Again, in all probability his "History of the Franks" was never finished. The last book (x.) is much shorter than the others.<sup>1</sup> The second, third, fourth and sixth books end with the death of kings (the other books were too lengthy already to be prolonged), and we should naturally look for the tenth book to end with the death of Gontramm. He, however, takes leave of us rather lamely with an account of a famine. His other works are rounded off with "Amen," but this habit is not followed in his history. We should have expected, if the author himself regarded as finished such a *magnum opus*, some reflections upon its completion; but there are none. The Epilogue tells us plainly that the History was written in the twenty-first year of his episcopate (*i.e.*, 593-594), and some have therefore supposed that, being sick, he composed the Epilogue, which *assumes* the History to be completed, in the hope that he might finish his great work on recovery. On the other hand, the authenticity of this Epilogue has been questioned. It is not found in some very good MSS., and it contains statements which are at variance with the History itself.

Gregory apologizes for his style of writing. "I crave," he says, "the pardon of my readers if I have transgressed the laws of spelling or of grammar. In these matters I have not been fully taught." He evidently looked for readers of his works beyond the limits of his own semi-civilized nation, and particularly in Italy, where he felt that his rude diction and cumbersome phraseology would excite the smile or the frown of the learned. Himself the most educated man amongst the Franks, he nevertheless was sensible of the inferiority of his style to that of authors who wrote in their mother tongue. His own narrow views were largely responsible for this fault. He believed that it was contrary to his Christianity to have any fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness. Of the classical authors whose literary beauty and force he despised off-hand he thus writes: "The presbyter Jerome tells how he was brought before the tribunal of the Eternal Judge, before Whom he was laid flat for punishment and grievously beaten

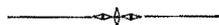
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<sup>1</sup> Except Books I. and III., which have good reason for ending respectively where they do—*viz.*, the death of St. Martin and of King Theudebert.

because he had frequently read the sophistries of Cicero or the fables of Vergil. . . . No one ought to relate preposterous fables or follow the wisdom of philosophers that is hateful to God. . . . This I fear to do."<sup>1</sup> Still, it is greatly to his credit that he *was* conscious of his defects, for it shows that with all his disadvantages he possessed at least a literary *taste* of a high order. We must admire him not only for what he accomplished, but for his aspirations to accomplish it better and make it more acceptable to his readers. We must not allow his own modest disclaimer to blind us to a just appreciation of his real merits. His industry and perseverance are beyond all praise when we think of the conditions amid which he searched and wrote. He has no rival; his writings are of unique value. If they were lost, nothing that we have could fill their place. His pictures may be rough in their execution, but they are true to life.

The student of the "Life and Times of Gregory" must be profoundly grateful that his directions with regard to his works were faithfully observed: "Although these books of mine are written in a somewhat unpolished style, I nevertheless adjure all the priests of the Lord who, after my unworthy self, shall be pastors of the Church of Tours . . . that they never suffer these books to be destroyed or to be copied with selections or omissions, but let them all remain with you, entire and unmutilated."<sup>2</sup>

H. J. WARNER.



ART. VI.—THE SERMON: EXPOSITORY OR TOPICAL?

"Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa  
Seminarla nel mondo, e quanto piace  
Chi umilmente con essa s' accosta.  
Per apparer ciascun s' ingegna, e face  
Sue invenzioni, e quelle son trascorse  
Dai predicanti, e il Vangelo si tace."  
*Parad.*, xxix. (91-96).

NOT very long before his death the late Bishop of London is said to have stated to a layman in his diocese that, in order to improve the modern style of sermons, he was accustomed to give two practical rules to his ordination candidates—viz.:

<sup>1</sup> "Mir. Proem."

<sup>2</sup> "Conjuro omnes sacerdotes Domini, ut nunquam libros hos abolere faciatis aut rescribi quasi quedam legentes et quasi quedam præmittentes, sed ita omnia vobiscum integra inlibataque permaneant" (Epilogue Hist. Franc.).