

THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

No. 3—July, 1903.

I.

JAMES McCOSH AS THINKER AND EDUCATOR.*

I.—AS BELFAST PROFESSOR.

A SCOT, born in Ayrshire, on the banks of the "Bonnie Doon." of sturdy and God-fearing ancestry, who had played the man more than once in the struggle of the Covenanters against oppression—a scion of the great middle class of Scotland, made up so largely of cultivators of the land, who through the exercise of the proverbial thrift and intelligence of the "canny Scot" had forced an unwilling soil into fertility and had achieved easy circumstances—James McCosh inherited all the virtues of his class and ancestry. These formed the basis of his character, and held the secret of his unvarying success in the larger spheres in which he was destined to become an actor. Born of highly intelligent and conscientious parents, who possessed in full measure that tough moral fibre and that firm adherence to high ideals of religion and duty so characteristic of the Scotch, the parental traits entered as so much clean grit into the constitution of the boy and gave a pledge of the force he was to become in later years in his own and other lands. Young McCosh was fortunate in his home-life and training, thanks to a

* The sources from which the materials used in the following article have been obtained are (1) *The Autobiography of James McCosh*, so ably and gracefully edited by William M. Sloane; (2) the works of McCosh, including books, pamphlets and addresses, a complete bibliography of which has been made out by Joseph H. Dulles, Librarian of the Princeton Theological Seminary, (3) and most important of all, a personal acquaintance ranging over twenty years, in which, as pupil and later as teacher in the department of Philosophy at Princeton, the writer had abundant opportunity to study McCosh's many-sided life.

VII.

SANCTIFYING THE PELAGIANS.

IF it only could be done *realiter*, it surely would be worth while. Pelagius' own perfection seems to have been sadly marred by insufficient attention to exactitude of statement; and that of many of his followers appears to be the result of an inability (certainly not confined to Pelagians) "to notice" (as Harnack puts it) "any appreciable difference between what they actually do and what they ought to do." Unfortunately, however, the sanctifying of the Pelagians that has been thrust on our attention has always been merely *nominaliter*, ordinarily even *per accidens*. It is not wholly unstudied, to be sure, when the Rev. Dr. S. D. McConnell, in one of his deliciously wrong-headed books, speaks smilingly of "that sweet saint, Pelagius." The reader greets the phrase with an answering smile and passes on with no desire to deny to Dr. McConnell the universal right of creating our saints in our own image. But we know it is only Homer nodding when we read in Dr. Hodgkin's *Italy and Her Invaders* (Ed. 1, Vol. II, p. 395) that Avitus, "the forlorn Bishop-Emperor, fearful for his life, left Italy by stealth to repair to the tomb of Saint Julianus of Eclana." The authority is, of course, Gregory of Tours; and Gregory of Tours, equally of course, says nothing of "Saint Julianus of Eclana," but tells us instead that the wretched Avitus "fled with rich gifts to the Basilica of Saint Julian, martyr of Auvergne." Still equally of course, Mr. Hodgkin has in his second edition corrected his mistake and now (Vol. II, p. 392) tells us that Avitus' purpose was "to repair to the tomb of Julian the martyr, an Arvernian saint." So far as Mr. Hodgkin is concerned, therefore, the canonization of Julian was only shortlived. Indeed, even in his first edition he was as unkind to him in one place as he was overkind in another—taking away with one hand, as it were, while giving with the other. On p. 247, at least, he tells us that Augustine was at Hippo, "busily employed adding a 'Confutation of the Emperor Julian' to the vast library of books which already owned him as author, when the news came of the Vandal invasion." Of course this also has been corrected in the second edition—and it must be admitted with some vigor, as if Dr. Hodgkin were a little spiteful against the man who had led him into such confusion with his Julians. We now read that the great Bishop was "adding a Confutation of Julian of Eclana, the Pelagian heretic." In the interests of

historical accuracy thus, he who was "Saint Julianus" of the first edition has reverted in the second into just "Julian the Pelagian heretic."

Julian did not have to wait for Dr. Hodgkin's temporary slip in his behalf, however, to receive the doubtful honors of verbal sanctification. If there were not many historians of Dr. Hodgkin's quality, there were many Pelagianizers of Dr. McConnell's quality in the dark ages; and they felt an equal desire with his to honor "their own." Nor did they lack the courage—if courage is what is required—to do so, each in his own way. One instance is of sufficient inherent interest to merit a brief account of it here. Readers of the article on Julianus of Eclana in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (III, p. 472a) will have noticed the following sentences toward the end:

"It is singular however that Petrus de Natalibus should devote a chapter of his *Catalogus Sanctorum* to him, under the title of *De Sancto Juliano confessore* (iii, 39). It is clear that he means Julianus of Eclana, as he quotes what Gennadius says of him, and refers to his having written four books 'adversus Augustinum ejus impugnatores,' whom however he strangely calls an 'heresiarchus.' Petrus also says, what does not appear elsewhere, that Julianus wrote against others, as well as against Augustine."

It is to this account of Julian by Petrus de Natalibus that we wish to direct attention for a moment.

Petrus de Natalibus (or Petrus Equilinus as he is sometimes called) was by birth a Venetian, who, after a service as parish priest in his native city, became, in 1372, the twentieth bishop of Equilia or Jesola. This episcopal town owed its foundation to the inhabitants of Oderzo and Asolo who, fleeing from the Huns, were glad to take refuge at the mouth of the Piave, where they built a new city and called it Æquilibrium. Ecclesiastically it belonged not to Aquileia but to Grado, and received its first bishop in 876: it was absorbed into the patriarchate of Venice in 1466, soon after the death of its twenty-fourth bishop. Its site is now marked only by the little village of Jesoldistrutta (or la Cava Zuccarina). The fame of its great bishop Peter rests on two works in which he raised monuments to his patriotism with respect at once to Church and State—our *Catalogus Sanctorum*, and a corresponding *Catalogus Venetorum senatorum et gestorum eorum*, printed at Vicenza in 1493.*

Our *Catalogus Sanctorum* also apparently was first printed at Vicenza in 1493, from the press of Henry of Santorso. It was a folio of 332 leaves. Its title-page reads as follows:

Omnipotenti Deo: Immaculatæ Sem- | Per Virgini Mariæ:
 Vniver- | Sæqvæ Cælesti Cvriæ | Splendori: Et Anima- | Bvs
 Nostris Vti- | Litati. || CATALOGVS SANCTORVM ET GE- | STORVM

* A brief account of Petrus may be read conveniently in Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon*, sub. voc., "Natalibus": a literature is given at the end of the article. See also art. "Iesolb," in the same work.

EORVM EX Diversis Vo- | LVMINIBVS Collectvs Editvs A |
 Reverendissimo In Christo Pa- | Tre Domino PETRO DE NATALI-
 | BVS De Venetiis Dei Gratia Epi- | Scopo Eqvilino. || Antonii
 Verli Vicentini ad lectorem endecasyllabon.

On the back of folio 326 stands the following:

Catalogi sanctorum per reverendissimum | dominum petrum
 de natalibus uenetum | episcopum equulinum editi opus finit:
 Vi- | centiæ | per Henricum de sancto ursiu li- | brarium solerti
 cura impressum: Augusti- | no Barbadico inclyto uenetiarum
 Duce. | Anno salutis. M.CCCC.LXXXXIII. pri- | die idus de-
 cemberis. Lavs Deo. | [*Register. Printer's mark with initials*
R.V.].

There followed in the early sixteenth century very numerous editions, as, *e.g.*, Lyons, 1500; Nüremberg, 1501; Strassburg, 1503; Venice, 1506; Strassburg, 1513, 1514; Venice, 1516, and so on. Before the end of the first quarter of this century even a French translation had appeared in two folio volumes, the title of which is given by Graesse as follows: "Le grand catalogue des sainetz et saintes nouvellement translate de latin (du Pierre des Natalles) en francoys (par Guy Breslay). Paris: Galliot du Pré (1523-1524)." The book seems indeed almost to have vied in popularity with the *Legenda Aurea* itself, and it appears to have shared with that book the fate of popular compilations and to have been much corrupted in its several reproductions by large additions to its original text.*

We have not ourselves been able to see a copy of the book. But the editions of 1506 and 1513 have been kindly examined for us at Berlin by the Rev. F. W. Loetscher, B.D., from whose description we are able to communicate the following facts. There are no less than twenty-three Juliani enumerated in the catalogue. Ten of these, however, are merely listed in the calendar of saints, their names and festal days alone being given. Seven chapters of the third book are headed "De sancto Juliano" and of these three receive the adjunct "confessore." Of these, chapter 38 (not 39, as Smith and Wace say, though, of course, the numeration may differ in different editions) treats of Julian of Eclana. This chapter is *verbatim* identical in the two editions examined, and runs as follows:

"There was another Julian the Confessor: concerning whom Gennadius, in his work *On Illustrious Men*, says that he was of a vigorous character and eloquent;

* An account of the editions may be found in the ordinary sources of information on such matters, Hain, Graesse, Brunet, Ebert, and especially Freytag: *Nachrichten von seltenen Büchern*, T. I, p. 178. There is a copy of the first edition in the University Library at Cambridge, England. We have copied the details of the title-page, etc., however, from Voynich's *Third List of Books*, London, 1901, p. 425.

learned in the Divine Scriptures; proficient in Greek and Latin and famous among the doctors of the Church. He wrote four books against Augustine, his opponent, and again eight books against other heresiarchs. There is extant also a quite remarkable book of disputation between the two defending each his own side. He was exceedingly liberal in alms-giving. He died, however, in the time of the Emperor Valentinian, the son of Constantius."

A glance is sufficient to show the accuracy of the account given by Smith and Wace of Peter's treatment of the subject, except that one would scarcely infer from that account that Peter depends wholly on Gennadius for his facts, and only bunglingly departs from him in order to Pelagianize the statement. This, however, is true, and it is to illustrate this that we have adverted to the matter at all.

Gennadius, it must be remembered, was himself of semi-Pelagian proclivities. This is quite apparent from the eulogistic tone in which he speaks of the semi-Pelagian leaders (*e.g.*, Cassian and Faustus) and not less from the perfunctory manner in which he deals with the Augustinian leaders (*e.g.*, Prosper), and even Augustine himself, and the even inimical coloring of his chapters treating of them. Of the one class of writers he speaks with unconcealed admiration; of the other with scarcely concealed dislike. Gennadius' book, it must be further remembered, was propagated by Pelagianizing hands, and in its passage down the years gathered much Pelagianizing detritus. Most of the relevant chapters have suffered more or less from this cause: the chapter on Augustine perhaps most of all. The editors in their critical digests communicate from the MSS. a number of these additions, and thus enable us to note their character and estimate their tendency. We shall set down the chapter on Augustine as it is edited by Dr. Richardson and the same chapter as it may be supposed to have been read by those dependent only on the worser MSS.* From this the reader may judge how the work of Gennadius may have been current, say, in the fourteenth century.

GENNADIUS AS PRESUMABLY WRITTEN.

Augustine, of Africa, bishop of Hipporegensis, a man renowned throughout the world for learning both sacred and secular, unblemished in the faith, pure in life, wrote works so many that they cannot all be gathered. For who is there that can boast himself of having all his works, or who reads with such diligence as to read all he has written? As an old man even, he published fifteen books *On the Trinity* which he had begun as a young man. In which, as Scripture says, brought into the chamber of the King and

GENNADIUS AS PRESUMABLY READ.

Augustine, of Africa, bishop of Hipporegensis, a man renowned throughout the world for learning both sacred and secular, unblemished in the faith, pure in life, wrote works so many that they cannot all be gathered. For who is there that can boast himself of having all his works, or who reads with such diligence as to read all he has written? Wherefore, on account of his much speaking, Solomon's saying came true, that 'In the multitude of words there wanteth not sin.' As an old man even, he published fifteen books *On the Trinity*

* What we give as the text as presumably read, actually occurs in a North Italian (Bobbio) MS. of the ninth century.

adorned with the manifold garment of the wisdom of God, he exhibited a Church not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing. In his work *On the Incarnation of the Lord* also he manifested a peculiar piety. On the resurrection of the dead he wrote with equal sincerity, and left it to the less able to raise doubts respecting abortions.

which he had begun as a young man. In which, as Scripture says, brought into the chamber of the King and adorned with the manifold garment of the wisdom of God, he exhibited a Church not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing. In his work *On the Incarnation of the Lord* also he manifested a peculiar piety. On the resurrection of the dead he wrote with equal sincerity, and left it to the less able to raise doubts respecting abortions. His error, however, contracted, as I have said, from too much speaking, though exaggerated by the violence of enemies, did not yet raise a question of heresy.

The animus against Augustine, and much more against Augustinianism, already apparent in Gennadius himself, may have thus been much increased in the text as it came to Peter.

Nevertheless it must be admitted that the MSS. as reported by the editors, do not seem to preserve any substantial variations in the text of chapter 45 [46], which deals with Julian. In the recension given by Fabricius (at least as reported in Migne, CPL, Vol. 48, p. 1083), and that given by Richardson, we have precisely the same text. Though the possibility lies open, therefore, that Peter, at this point, substantially repeated the Gennadius he had, in an already Pelagianized text, it seems more likely that he is himself responsible for its Pelagianization.* It is a matter that must be left for special students of the textual history of Gennadius to determine. In any event, the recension of Gennadius given by Peter marks the extremity of its Pelagianizing. In Gennadius, Pelagius is a heresiarch, once for all branded by the Church a heretic; and Julian also, though admirable in character, taught

* Of course, before stress is laid on the "himself," not only the MS. but also the literary transmission of Gennadius' account of Julian should be thoroughly investigated. It does not look, however, as if Petrus had predecessors in this special piece of Pelagianizing. Honorius, for example, retains the characterization of Julian as a heretic, and Jacobus a Voragine, on whom Petrus leans heavily in his accounts of other Julians, does not treat this Julian at all. The chapter in Voragine *De sancto Juliano* (Graesse, ed. 3, pp. 140-145) enumerates five Julians: (1) Julianus Cenomanensis episcopus, identified with Simon the leper: he is treated by Peter, III, xxxv. (2) Julian the Martyr of Auvergne: he is not treated by Peter, at least in this Third Book (see Smith and Wace, No. 94). (3) Julian, the brother of Julius: he is treated by Peter, III, xxxvi (see Smith and Wace, No. 71½). (4) The Julian who unwittingly slew his parents: he is treated by Peter, III, cxvi. (5) Julian the apostate: "non quidem sanctus sed sceleratissimus," says Voragine. The other Julians whose biographies are given by Petrus in his Third Book, are: (1) Chap. xxxvii, "Julianus eremita cognomento Sabba" (see Smith and Wace, No. 105). (2) Chap. eliii, the Julian who with his minister, Eanius, was martyred at Alexandria. (3) Chap. clxxxv, a Julian who was one of forty martyrs in lesser Armenia.

heresy.* Even to the Pelagianizing glossators of Gennadius, Augustine, though a wearisome chatterer who, by reason of his much speaking, fell into error, yet fairly escaped heresy. To Peter, Augustine has become the heresiarch and Julian the saint. How much of this is mere blundering; how much of it traditional error; how much of it conscious polemics it is difficult to tell. We set down the Latin texts of Gennadius and Petrus side by side that their relation to one another may be made clear.

GENNADIUS [ed. Richardson].

Iulianus episcopus, vir acer ingenio, in Divinis Scripturis doctus, Græca et Latina lingua scholasticus, prius ergo quam impietatem Pelagii in se aperiret clarus in doctoribus ecclesiæ fuit. Postea vero, hæresim Pelagii defendere nisus, scripsit *Adversum Augustinum*, impugnatorem illius, libros quattuor et iterum libros octo. Est et liber altercationis amborum partes suas defendentium. Hic Iulianus elemosynis tempore famis et angustiarum indigentibus prorogatis multos miseracionis specie nobilium præcipueque religiosorum inliciens hæresi suæ sociavit. Moritur Valentiniano, Constantii filio, imperante.

PETER OF NAT. [edd. 1506, 1513].

Iulianus alius confessor fuit: de quo ait Gennadius de viris illustribus: quod acer ingenio et facundia extitit: divinis scripturis doctus: græca et latina lingua scholasticus et inter doctores ecclesie clarus.

Hic scripsit adversus Augustinum eius impugnatorem libros quattuor et iterum adversus alios heresiarchas libros viii. Extat et liber altercationis amborum partes suas defendentium satis conspicuus. Hic fuit in elemosynis liberalissimus.

Moritur autem Valentiniani imperatoris Constantii filii tempore.

The principle of the alteration seems to be primarily to strike out all reference to Julian's implication in heresy. In the attempt to do so the text is thrown into some confusion. The sentence that declares Augustine to have been "his opponent" is eked out by a clause declaring that Julian's eight books were written "against other heresiarchs" than Augustine; and this leaves the reference of "amborum" in the next clause hanging in the air. The grossness of all this blundering cannot, however, conceal the deliberateness of the Pelagianization of the text.

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* The Semi-Pelagians, it must be remembered, had their own compelling reasons for separating themselves sharply from the Pelagians, and spoke of them always with strong reprobation. Thus to Vincent, of Lerins, Pelagius is "that profane Pelagius," and Celestius "his monstrous disciple," and Julian figures as one of those individualists who separated himself from the common faith of Christians and so fell under the Apostle's curse (*Common.*, chaps. xxiv and xxvii). Cf. also John Cassian, *Inst.*, XII, xviii, *De Incarn.*, I, iii, *et seq.*, V, i *et seq.*, VI, xiv, vii, xxi.