

## APPENDIX A.

### KESTNER'S "AGAPÉ."

This curious work, published by August Kestner at Jena in 1819, attempts to construct from existing historical materials a perfectly new theory as to the nature of the early Christian polity. According to him, we must regard the Christians of the first three centuries as forming a vast secret society, like the Carbonari of Italy, with distinct worldly ideals, and not without frequent alliances or understandings with the Roman Empire<sup>1</sup>. The foundation-stone of this theory, such as it is, seems to be the well-known passage in Orig. *adv. Celsum* (I. 1), in which the Christian Father replies to an accusation of the philosopher that the new faith involved "a secret, lawless association." This secret alliance, while denying the illegality, Origen seems to admit; and he points out to his adversary that such a proceeding was inevitable. He uses the well-known expression ΑΓΑΠΗ, usually identified with the love-feast, but to which, in this case, a more extended meaning may be given. From Ignatius's Epistle to the Romans, Kestner ventures to base the assertion that:- "Die Römische Gemeinde wird von Ignatius 'Vorsteherin der Agape' genaunt<sup>2</sup>," and, from another early source, the statement that Clement of Rome "gave great pains to bring Christians, Jews, and Heathen into the Agape<sup>3</sup>." It is not necessary to quote all the passages<sup>4</sup> in which he finds

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and explains the use of the same term; it will be sufficient to summarize briefly his alleged history of the society until the appearance of Montanism.

Clement of Rome was its founder, and the date of foundation may be fixed immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, while the rapid rise of the society in numbers may be attributed to the disgust evinced by the civilized world at Domitian's tyranny. The first action taken was to circulate a large number of writings, falsely ascribed to Apostles, with the purpose of reconciling the fiercely discordant factions of Paulinists, Petrinists, and Judaizers, not to mention that of the Johanneans, still possessing their leader<sup>5</sup>. After having, by this admirable

<sup>1</sup> He starts from Pliny's mention of the "sacramentum," Irenæus's assertion that Marcus Aurelius subsidized some Christians, (*c. Hær.* IV. 50,) and, above all, "die unbegreifliche Erscheinung, dass im Gefolge der siegsoden Christnsreligion ein völlig organisirtes jüdischheid. nisches Priesterthum zugleich mit anftancht." (p. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> I have not verified Kestner's quotations. He refers to Ignatii *Ep.ad. Rom.* ed. Usserii, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> "Martyr. Clement. nach dem Pariser MS. No. 814."

<sup>4</sup> He quotes Ignat. App. pp. 68, 103; and many passages from Clement's Epistle *Ad Cor.* including the well-known imitation of the inimitable XIIIth chapter of another's epistle to the same Church. On this (Clement's) Kestner has the *naiveté* to remark: "Einige Züge dieses Panegyrikus der "Agape" *passen besser auf die christliche Liebe, als auf den Bund.*" (P. 15.) Who would have thought so, but for this candid admission!! Here is another exegetical gem:- "In einigen Stellen in den Briefen des Ignaz und Polycarp, 'Agapè' kann ebensogut Liebe als Liehesbund bedeuten; wir eber haben gewiss ein Recht, die letzte Bedeutung der erstern vorzuziehen." (*Risum teneatis amici?*)

<sup>5</sup> "Im Namen des Paulus, dessen Tod in entfernten Weltgegenden noch nicht sogleich bekannt seyn konnte, schickte er an viele Brüder-Gemeinden *erdichtete Briefe*, welche zu den nachfolgenden Einladungen zur Agape einstweilen vorbereiten sollten..... Mehrere solche Pseudo-Paulinische Briefe, welche ohne Zweifel auch aus der vielproducirenden Klementinischen Schriftenfabrik herrührten, sind uns verloren." (P. 53.) Semler, it will be recollected, also introduces this 'manufactory.'

means, attained his end, Clement next disseminated some “newly fabricated or interpolated works of Jewish or Heathen Prophecy,” and crowned his diplomatic performances by “purloining from the Evangelist John the secret archives of his own ‘Mysterien Gesellschaft,’ the so-called ‘Society of Theologians,’ and with this and other ingredients (heathen and Jewish chiefly) compounding an esoteric system of ritual and mysteries, together with a priesthood.”

Domitian had suspected and attempted to reach the society, but in vain: he probably owed his assassination to its machinations<sup>6</sup>. Trojan pursued its traces with severity, and caused many of the leaders to be slain. Under Hadrian, the leaders succeeded in gaining the Emperor’s favour by assuming the disguise of Building Societies [Bau-Gesellschaften], and thus forming the origin of Masonic Lodges (!). Under Antoninus Pius, the society worked quietly by means of published

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apologies, and enjoyed the assistance of Lucian in combating the heathen-gnostic element, while under Aurelius the fullest success was reached. The Emperor allowed himself to be initiated into the mysteries of the Agapé, “behaved himself throughout as the protector of Christianity” (*sic*), and obviously proposed to erect it into the state-religion of the Empire, had he not been hindered by a strong anti-Christian reaction, and, above all, by his premature death. During his reign the “Rebellion” of Montanism broke out. Its author, a daring ambitious character, entertained the notion of effecting, at one stroke, the long-planned reforms of the Agapé, viz, of reorganizing society under the rule of the secret priesthood and he was encouraged in his attempt by the manifest change in public opinion that the last generation had witnessed. He began by circulating a species of manifesto (called the Προφητεία), which announced the speedy end of the world and the glory prepared for the faithful. In this document many of the Agapetic mysteries were revealed, a proceeding which caused the bitterest resentment against Montanus on the part of his former colleagues. The former, however, gained numerous adherents and wealth, and was even contemplating, if necessary, armed resistance to the Roman power. He enforced upon his followers a system of life calculated not only to nourish visionary and enthusiastic feelings, but to detach them from the ties of family and society. Above all, they were to give their lives in every case when persecution came.

The leaders of the Agapé were filled with consternation at this outbreak, which not only imperilled their recently acquired amnesty, but fatally shattered their hopes of further peaceful progress in the Empire. Montanus had been successful in gaining the Overseer of the Society at Rome; but in Asia Minor active steps were taken at once. Even at Rome the skilful diplomacy of Praxeas was able finally to restore the supremacy. Seeing himself gradually forsaken by his followers, officially condemned in Asia, deserted at Rome, Montanus ended his career by suicide. Kestner points out the remarkable *rôle* played by the Roman power, which took no steps to crush the rising, and inflicted no penalty on even an open rebel (of the Montanistic party) at Rome. The Emperor was satisfied with the prompt and loyal action of the main body of Christians, which amply sufficed to crush the dangerous insurrection. Among the special anti-Montanistic manifestos should be mentioned Lucian’s *Philopatris*

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<sup>6</sup> “Eine Stelle des Origenes scheint nicht undeutlich zu verrathen, dass die klementische Gesellschaft an dem Tode des Tyrannen Antheil gehabt habe.” (P. 101.) [The passage is in *adv. Cels.* I. 1.]

THUS FAR KESTNER: and the reader will ask perhaps, "Why have you taken the trouble to quote so much of a rather tedious paradox?" Paradox indeed, to those who accept history honestly and critically; but is there not a large party to whom

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this romance of the Agapé ought to be a godsend? The writers who profess to believe that the whole ecclesiastical system, as we find it in the fifth century, was revealed to the Apostles in the "forty days," - what can they believe but that there was a "doctrina arcani" (they admit the "disciplina"), and what real difference is there between such a theory and that of Kestner, except in a few artistic details? [E.g. the late Mr Chambers wrote in *Essays on Eccles. Reform*, 1873: "The sayings of S. Paul (sc. on virginity, etc.) are chapters from the great body of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, as the result of the great forty days' communing with Jesus Christ," I am not clear whether it is from the same source that, according to this learned writer, "S. James legislates concerning auricular confession and extreme unction" (p. 111).] Now, as this view is by no means confined to the members of the section to which this writer belonged, would it not be reasonable to furnish some explanation of this strange concealment? And would not the romance of August Kestner answer the purpose as well as any other?

## APPENDIX B.

### PASSIO SS. PERPETUÆ ET FELICITATIS CUM SOCIIS EARUM.

This monument of Christian piety and fortitude was first brought to light in modern times by Lucas Holstenius, the librarian at the Vatican, from a MS. in the convent of Monte Cassino, after long search. It was well known in the Early Church, and Augustin records that it was so highly revered as to be read aloud in the Church in his time<sup>7</sup>. After the death of Holstenius, it was again edited by Valesius (Parisiis, 1664), and subsequently by Peter Possinus, a learned Jesuit, for Ruinart's collection (Veronæ, 1731). It is to be found, moreover, in Cardinal Orsi's *Dissertatio Apologetica* (Florent. 1728), and in Muenther's *Primordia ecclesiæ Africanæ* (Hafniæ, 1829), as well as in the recent edition by Hurter of the *Opuscula Selecta SS. Patrum* (Eniponti, 1871).

The time and place of the martyrdom cannot be settled with complete precision. All that can be fairly inferred has been stated by Uhlhorn in his dissertation upon the chronology of Tertullian's life<sup>8</sup>. We are told in the Acta that Geta was Cæsar. This limits the period within four years, from AD. 199 to 203. Of these years 203 seems preferable, as being that of Geta's consulship (together with Septimius Plautianus), when he celebrated some great gladiatorial games on his birthday<sup>9</sup>. But,

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on the other hand, there is reason to doubt the certainty of these dates, and Uhlhorn himself considers that Geta officiated as Consul in the years 205 and 207<sup>10</sup>. Morcelli supports the same year, chiefly on the authority of Julius Capitolinus, who relates that Severus celebrated games in Thrace on the birthday of Geta<sup>11</sup>. But it is wisest to refrain from an attempted accuracy which the evidence does not justify, and to be satisfied with the knowledge that the martyrdom must have occurred in the first decade of the third century. The place of the martyrdom is equally uncertain, but the better opinion seems to be in favour of Carthage rather than Tuburbium. The supposition of the latter rested on a passage in one of the sermons attributed (but not unanimously) to Augustin<sup>12</sup>. But as we have a statement that Augustin had written three sermons in commemoration of Perpetua and Felicitas, and all three are extant,

<sup>7</sup> "Exhortationes earum (Sc. Perpetuæ et Felicitatis) in divinis revelationibus triumphosque passionum cum legerentur audivimus; eaque omnia verborum digesta et illustrata luminibus aure percepimus, mente spectavimus, religione honoravimus, caritate laudavimus." [Quoted by Hurter in his notes to the *Opuscula Selecta*, XIII. 115.]

<sup>8</sup> *Fundamenta chronologiæ Tertullianæ*, (Gotting. 1852,) p. 5 et seq.

<sup>9</sup> "Arctat nos ab accuratissimis chronologis anno Christi 202 alligata epocha persecutionis ab eo imperatore in Christianos motæ, qua postriorem 58. P. et F. fuisse passionem hæc ipsarum Acta demonstrant." (Possinus ap. Uhlhorn, p. 9.)

<sup>10</sup> He quotes Eckhel, (*Doctr. numm. vet.* VII. 230.)

<sup>11</sup> In vita Maximinorum, cap. 2, apud Morcelli, (*Africa Christiana*, II. 58.)

<sup>12</sup> "Sed dura est, inquis, via: quis per istam ilium sequatur? Erubescere barbære, erubescere; a virtute vir diceris. Feminæ secentæ sunt, quarum hodie natalitia celebramus. Feminarum martyrum *Tuburbitanarum* solemnitatem celebramus." (August. *Opp.* ed. Bened. V. 933, Berm. 345, § 6.)

this must refer to some other martyrs. And the constant reference in the Acta to the camp, fortress, amphitheatre, &c., could hardly have reference to so unimportant a city.

Naturally the most important and interesting question remains: whether we have been justified in the course of the preceding essay in including Perpetua and Felicitas among the number of the Montanists. It must be recollected that the Acta proceed from two writers: an anonymous secretary, who writes the beginning and end, and about whose Montanistic sentiment not a few Roman Catholic writers are confident, and the narrations of the martyrs themselves<sup>13</sup>. Uhlhorn very rightly dismisses as irrelevant the arguments employed, whether by Basnage on the one side (who wished to prove the Montanism of Perpetua from the praises of Tertullian and the opinions of the Redactor), and those of Orsi, who also laid almost exclusive stress upon the external argument. A far better criterion must be found in the utterances and visions of the martyrs themselves: and those we propose briefly to examine<sup>14</sup>.

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Let it first be noted that the Redactor's language is precisely that of the Montanists, whose cardinal passage of Scripture he puts forth, as it were, as his text (viz. Joel ii. 28), adding:—"Itaque et nos qui sicut prophetias, ita et visiones novas pariter repromissas et agnoscimus et honoramus, ceterasque virtutes Spiritus Sancti ad instrumentu ecclesiae deputanrus, etc." Perpetua's brother says to her: "Domina soror, jam in magna dignitate es; et tanta, ut postules visionem et ostendatur tibi, an passio sit, an commeatus<sup>15</sup>." As Milman admits, this is indeed "the language of Montanism; "and we question whether there was any higher grade among the Pneumatici than those who might "postulate a vision." "Et ego (continues Perpetua), QUÆ ME SCIEBAM FABULARI CUM DOMINO,... fidenter repromisi, ei dicens: Crastina die tibi renunciabo." She asks, and is answered by the following vision. A great part of this it would be impossible to claim as evincing any especially Montanistic trains of thought: that appears from what came before. But the last part, the appearance of the man with white hair, milking his flock, who gives to her a morsel of cheese: "et ego accepi junctis manibus, et manducavi: et universi circumstantes dixerunt Amen. Et ad sonura vocis experrecta sum. etc.," is important (whether we admit or reject the conclusions already mooted as to the use of cheese), and especially the proof that this vision, like all those of Montanistic prophecy, was received in a state of ecstasy.

The vision of Saturus is even more important, (a) as testifying to the Montanistic views of the martyrs; (b) as confirming our previously expressed view that the absolute separation of the party from the Church was of far later date than most writers imagine, since the martyrs not only speak of the Bishop with respect and love, but are welcomed by him. We transcribe part of the text:-

"Et exivimus, et vidimus ante fores Optatum episcopum ad dexteram, et Aspasium presbyterism doctorem ad sinistram, separatos et tristes, et miserunt se ad pedes nobis, et dixerunt nobis: Componite inter nos, quia existis et sic nos relinquitis. Et diximus illis: Non tu es papa noster, et tu presbyter, ut quid vos ad pedes nostros mittatis? Et misimus nos, et com-

<sup>13</sup> Cardinal Orsi himself admitted that the orthodoxy of the "Redactor" could hardly be maintained. And see Uhlhorn, p. 14 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Some doubt has been cast upon the authenticity of the Acta from the frequent untranslated Greek words and idioms in the text, which caused some to suppose that the whole was a mere translation from the Greek. [Cf. "turbarum beneficio," χάρις cap. 3; "bene venisti, tagnon," τέκνον cap. 4; "in oramate," ὀράματα "diastensa"= διάστημα; "agios, agios, agios," etc.]

<sup>15</sup> I quote from Hurter's edition. The above is p. 120, cap. IV.

plexi illos sumus. Et cœpit perpetua cum illis loqui, et segregavimus eos in viridario. Et dum loquimur cum eis, dixerunt illis angeli: Sinite illos, refrigerent; et si quas habetis inter vos dissensiones, dimittite vobis invicem et conturbaverunt eos. Et dixerunt Optato: Corrige plebem tuam, quia sic ad te

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conveniunt quasi de circo redeuntes, et de factionibus certantes. Et sic nobis visum est, quasi vellent claudere portas.”

I agree fully with Morcelli and Münter that Optatus must have been Bishop of Carthage, and Aspasius (called “doctor”) the special instructor of catechumens. The divine admonition is obviously in the sense of a Montanistic asceticism; the Bishop having allowed the reins of discipline to become lax, and not having duly condemned participation in the amusements of the pagan world [vide supra, pp. 44, 45, also p. 99]. But [Uhlhorn’s conclusion, viz, that the Montanists, though alienated in spirit from the Bishop, had neither renounced their obedience, nor received his excommunication as yet, is quite justified. The object of the vision was to suggest a pacific solution on the basis of a certain concession to Montanistic scruples.

The apostrophe of the Redactor (after relating the end, with the inimitably beautiful description of Perpetua’s guiding the sword herself, - “fortasse tanta femina aliter non potuisset occidi,... nisi voluisset,”) is another outburst of Montanism:-

“O fortissimi ac beatissimi martyres! O vere vocati et electi in gloriâ Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quam qui magnificat, et honorificat, et adorat, utique et hæc non minus veteribus exempla in ædificationem ecclesiæ legere debet, *ut novæ quoque virtutes unum et eundem Spiritum Sanctum usque adhuc operari testificentur.*”

That so staunch an anti-Montanist as Hurter should pass this over can only be accounted for by his satisfaction in pointing out the passage (cap. 5) in favour of purgatory, and release from it through the prayers of saints.

## APPENDIX C.

### JANE LEAD, PETERSEN, AND THE PHILADELPHIAN SOCIETY.

IN the comparative study of later manifestations of a Montanistic nature, great care has to be taken not to confuse together with these the results of widely different influences. This mistake is specially liable to be made with regard to the various theosophical writers who have claimed a special insight not only into the truths of Scripture, but into the mysteries of Nature, and who may far more fitly be styled the Modern Gnostics. In this class, Paracelsus, Cornelius Agrippa, and perhaps even Jacob Boehme, have to be placed, and in later times, the "unknown philosopher," Saint-Martin, and, perhaps strictly, Swedenberg. It is necessary, then, once more to remind ourselves of the special notes of Montanism.

- I. Belief in continued, immediate revelations.
- II. Attachment to the simplest forms of Christianity.
- III. Theory of a Spiritual Church within a Natural Church.
- IV. Stringent ascetic life incumbent on the Spiritual man.

To these might be added, what is indeed the strict converse of No. I., a distrust or even contempt for mere human speculations on the mysteries of salvation, and thus it is impossible to include the mediæval and modern thinkers who ignored the primitive doctrines, and ran riot in the regions of astrology and alchemy. Nor would it be accurate, upon these data, to include those excellent men who, like Gerson and Richard de St Victor, found the bonds of scholastic theology too narrow, and strove towards a more spiritual insight. As we pointed out in a former chapter, Theresa appears almost alone as the fitting successor of Maximilla and Priscilla. But, for the purposes of illustrating the Montanistic principles in modern application, there are even better examples to be found in that remarkable period, the seventeenth century, when the immense renovation

caused by Catholic zeal was evoking a sort of afterglow of the Reformation in Protestant Europe.

Although later in date than his English co-religionists, it will be well to consider the career of Johann Wilhelm Petersen first, as better displaying the first stages of the modern Montanistic movement. Born at Osnabrück in 1649, where his father, a lawyer of eminence, had been sent by his native city of Lübeck as its envoy at the Congress, the son enjoyed an excellent education, and in 1669 was seat as a theological student to the University of Giessen, where he obtained the degree of Magister. He afterwards studied at Restock and the Saxon Universities, and upon his return to Giessen delivered philosophical lectures. About 1675 he made the acquaintance of Speuer, whose subsequent influence upon his writings was considerable. He received the appointment of Preacher at the church of Lübeck, but was forced to leave the city owing to the machinations of the Jesuits, whom he had offended by a satire, and who petitioned the Emperor for his punishment. He finally settled at Hanover, but after a

short residence was compelled to leave, owing to the increasing attacks from the Catholic party. At last a haven appeared in the neighbourhood of his native city, and here he laboured for the next ten years (1678-1688). He married a lady, Johanna Eleonora von Merlan, of great piety, and soon after formed the acquaintance of the Frl. von Asseburg, whose visions and prophecies were beginning to excite attention. This remarkable person first opened his mind to wider views on the subject of God's present revelations to His Church. In the account of her which he published<sup>16</sup>, he writes:- "As therefore we as yet knew net anything of these Heavenly Testimonies, or of the manner in which the Lord gave and dictated them, He was pleased to comfort and lift us up, who were wearied, and despised before the world for having believed and witnessed to His Kingdom. On the 20th day of October of the year MDCXC. we received this Testimony by this Blessed Maid, which here follows: 'I the Spirit of Love, I the Truth of Jesus Christ, do in the Spirit witness and declare, that ye my dear friends do stand in the truth.... I have witnessed tbs in the Spirit from the abundance of the love which I bear towards you. Amen.' Reading from this Divine ex-

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hortation and encouragement (continues Petersen), of which we had no manner of doubt, we fell upon our knees, giving thanks for it, and directing our vows to God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of sacrificing up to him our whole life, of placing our confidence in him preferably to all Men, and of declaring abroad his holy truth" (p. 43 ff.).

On these matters becoming public, Petersen was subjected to new attacks, which resulted in his suspension from his post of Superintendent at Lüneburg, to which he had been promoted in 1688, and in 1692 he was compelled once more to depart, and for ever to relinquish the work of public ministrations. Supported by friends, he was enabled to live in peace on a little estate near Magdeburg, which he exchanged subsequently for one in time neighbourhood of Zerbst, occupying the remainder of his life by writing in defence of the new Revelations, and later in organizing the German branch of the Philadelphian Society. He died on the 31st of January, 1727. The genesis of opinions in Petersen's case is precisely what we have found in Montanism, viz.:

1. Chiliastic views (leading to-)
2. Expectation of Divine aid in preparing the True Church for its future glory.
3. Joyful reception of prophetic claims.

A full statement of his theology will be found in the Articles of the Philadelphian Society (vide infra, p. 15 ff.), in which, if he took no part in their drawing up, he expressed his full agreement. It remains to be observed of Petersen that he had no insignificant claims to notice as a scholar and poet, apart from his theology. Leibnitz edited his *Uranias de operibus Dei magnis*, and his *Stimmen aus Zion* (Halle, 1698-1701) contain passages of real poetic value.

Before passing to the more important English branch, it is necessary to note the appearance in Germany, during Petersen's career, of a far less laudable character. Eva von Buttlar, a woman of birth and position, was attracted by the almost universal pietistic movement in the North of

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<sup>16</sup> "A Letter to some Divines, concerning the Question, Whether God since Christ's ascension doth any more reveal Himself to Mankind by means of Divine Apparitions? With an exact account of what God hath bestowed upon a Noble Maid." (Written originally in High-Dutch, and now set forth in English by the Editor of the Laws of Paradise. London, 1695.) This editor was Dr Francis Lee, a physician of note, and one of Lead's supporters in the Philadelphian Society.



Germany in the last years of the seventeenth century, and joined a community of separatists, in which she soon gained the predominant influence. The opinions of this “Christliche u. Philadelphische Gemeinde” (of course not to be confounded with the real Philadelphian Society), were simply Millenarianism and opposition to outward forms, and involved at first no claim to new revelations. A stringent asceticism was proclaimed, and marriage between unbelievers was declared sinful. But the same degrading obscenities connected with a supposed purification of sexual intercourse were introduced (as by the Brüggler in 1750, and the Königsberg “Mücker” in 1835-40), which ended in whole-

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sale prostitution. Eva claimed to be time “Heavenly Sophia,” and the “Gate of Paradise,” and at last, with her companions Winter and Appenfeller, actually the incarnate Trinity! In 1704 the first rumours became public; discovery and arrest followed; the culprits escaped to Cologne and embraced Catholicism in order to avoid legal pursuit. But in 1706 they were once more seized and condemned to imprisonment, after which this disgraceful sect disappears from history<sup>17</sup>.

Having fairly noticed an instance where fraud and obscenity assumed the covering of spiritual elevation, we now turn to the events in England which accompanied the labours of Petersen. Jane Lead was born in Norfolk in 1623. Early in life she relinquished worldly pleasures, although not moving in Puritan circles, and in her 19th year she began to claim revelations from the Holy Spirit. She married in the year 1644, and had four daughters, one of whom was subsequently married to Dr Francis Lee, the secretary and editor-general to the Society. Jane Lead was a woman not only of deep religious convictions, but of considerable mental power. Her numerous works, whether we accept their spiritual claims or not, cannot be condemned as the ravings of a visionary, although their literary form (when Dr Lee’s hand is not employed) is certainly open to criticism. Her views were identical with those of Petersen, and are found expressed clearly and tersely in the subjoined Articles. The inmost and highest tenets (for there was undoubtedly an esoteric creed even within the spiritual code), are to be found in *The Laws of Paradise*<sup>18</sup>, first published in 1695, but circulated in MS. many years before. Lead’s powers shone to special advantage as an organizer, and to her talent and diplomatic tact is due the formation of the Philadelphian Society and the affiliation of the kindred communities in different parts of Europe. Even those who condemn in other respects, will admire the wisdom which inspired the Constitutions. Her chief assistant in the work was John Pordage, a clergyman who had also imbibed his theosophic principles from Boehme’s works, although he claimed the authority of individual revelation. He relates that near midnight on the third of January, 1651, he had three visions, which were repeated constantly for three weeks, and shared by other members of the

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<sup>17</sup> See Keller’s *Die Buttlarische Rotte*, in Niedner’s *Zeitschrift*, 1845, and especially Goebel’s *Geschichte des christl. Lebens in der rhein-Westphal. evang. Kirche*, II. 778 ff. Since writing the above, I learn that a monograph by L. Christiany, (Stuttgart, 1870), which I have not seen, throws new light upon this rather unpleasant chapter of history.

<sup>18</sup> *The Laws of Paradise, given forth by Wisdom to a Translated Spirit.* (London, 1695.) The “Spirit” is Jane Lead, and the editor was Dr Francis Lee mentioned above.

Society who had been collected together. The accounts of these manifestations led to Pordage's deprivation in 1654, after an investigation before the magistrates of Berkshire<sup>19</sup>. The Philadelphians now moved to London, and held regular meetings, continued until the Plague drove many of the members, including Jane Lead, into the country. The Society did not return to London until the year 1670, and in fact from this year alone its public existence and complete organization may be dated. Pordage procured a house for its meetings, and the number of members rose to more than a hundred, Thomas Bromley, Edward Hooker, and Sabberton, being the most important. He continued however to be its leader until his death in the year 1686<sup>20</sup>.

We have few records of the Society during the next ten years, but in 1697 a monthly magazine was established, entitled the *Theosophical Transactions*, in which general articles, letters, and poetry appeared.

Finally, it remains to notice the connection between the English and foreign Philadelphians. Before 1694, a German, Loth Fischer, living at Utrecht, engaged in the translation of Lead's writings and their circulation on the continent. Petersen and his wife warmly welcomed the new allies, and a correspondence ensued which cemented the alliance. An inspector for Germany was appointed, Johann Dittmar von Salzungen, and provided with due credentials and instructions, being specially charged to promulgate the Fundamental Articles of Faith, the twelve Rules of outward conduct (vide infra), and also the 44 Constitutions<sup>21</sup>. A common seal was introduced, with a mystical figure upon it, and the inscription "*Non est vol. nec curr. sed Dei miseric.*" The idea of a fixed contribution to a common fund did not find favour with the Germans. Notwithstanding

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differences between Dittmar and Gichtel, the Society continued to flourish until the year 1703, when some secessions took place, including that of Dittmar, it is said on Spener's advice. In the following year Lead met with an accident, her death following on the 19th of August, 1704. She was buried in Bunhill Fields, the gravestone bearing the following inscription:

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Exuvias carnis hic deposuit Venerabilis Ancilla Domini Jane Lead, anno Peregr<sup>is</sup>. suæ LXXXI.

After her death the London Society soon lost its importance, and gradually was dissolved. Although traces of her influence are found in England in the eighteenth century, it is in Germany that her legitimate successors appeared.

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<sup>19</sup> The proceedings are minutely, although rather malevolently, recounted in Fowler's *Dærnionium Meridianum. Satan at noon, or Antichristian blasphemies, anti-scriptural divisions... evidenced in the light of truth, and punished by the hand of justice.* (London, 1655.) Pordage replied with *Innocency revealed* (1655), and, at the close of the same year, by another pamphlet, entitled *Truth appearing through the clouds of undeserved scandal and aspersion: or a brief and true account, &c.&c.*

<sup>20</sup> Pordage's works are very scarce, the British Museum only containing the two above-mentioned. Others, which I have not seen, are mentioned by Poiret in his *Bibliotheca mysticorum selecta*, p. 174; and the whole subject is well treated by Hochhuth in some articles in Niedner's *Zeitschrift*, the same writer contributing a valuable article in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*.

<sup>21</sup> These are in MS. in the library of Gotha. A German translation is in Niedner's *Zeitschr.* XXXV. 228 ff.

## Jane Lead's Works<sup>22</sup>.

1. The Heavenly Cloud. (1682.)
2. Revelation of Revelations. (1683.)
3. Enochian Walks with God. (1694.)
4. The Fountain of Gardens. (1693-1700.)
5. Laws of Paradise, Wonders of God's Creation. (1695.)
6. The Ark of Faith. (1696.)
7. The Tree of Faith. (1696.)
8. Messages to Philad.Soc. (1696.)
9. Revel. of everlasting Gospel. (1697.)
10. Messenger of Universal Peace. (1698.)
11. Ascent to Mount of Vision. (1699.)

## Petersen's Works.

1. Die Oeffnungen des Geistes. (?1690.)
2. Der Schlüssel z. heil Offenbarung. (1691.)
3. Die offene Thür der heil. Offenb. (1692.)
4. Das Geheimniss des in derletzten Zeit gebährenden apo  
kalyptischen Weibes. (1693.)
5. Wahrheit des herrlichen Reiches, J. C. (? 1693.)
6. Geheimniss der Wiederbringung aller Dinge. (1701-1710.)
7. Erklärung der Psalmen un Propheten. (1719-1723.)

The Fundamental Propositions of the Society are as follows:-

I. The Church, or Bride of Christ, is to be made conformable to Christ throughout. (Rom. viii. 29 ff; Phil. iii. 10-21; 1 John iii. 1-3.)

II. This conformity is the adornment of the Lamb's Bride, who is now called to make herself ready. (Is. lxi. 10; Rev. xxi. 2.)

III. This preparation and adornment cannot be otherwise, but by the Holy Spirit of God. (John iv. 24; Rom. viii. 11; Gal. iv. 6.; Is. xlv. 3; Joel ii. 28; Zech. iv. 6.)

IV. This Spirit is one: and thence the Church must be also but one. Herein consists the true undivided Trnity, and

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perfect Uniformity. (Cant. vi. 9; Eph. iv. 3, 4; 1 Cor. vi. 17; Phil. i. 27.)

V. This Spirit is Holy: and thence the Church must be also Holy. Herein consists the virgin sanctity of all the members of this Church, that is to be redeemed out of the Earth. (Cant. iv. 1; Rom. xi. 16; Eph. 1. 4 and v. 2; Col. i. 22; 1 Pet. ii. 5; Rev. xiv. 4-xx. 6.)

VI. This Spirit is Catholic: and thence the Church must be also Catholic, according to the most strict sense of the Word, in an universal latitude of love, without any narrowness, partiality, or particularity of spirit. (Gen. 1. 2, vi. 3; Joel ii. 28; John iv. 21; Luke x. 30-38; Acts x. 11-16; 1 Cor. ii. 10.)

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<sup>22</sup> All published in London.

VII. This One, Holy, and Catholic Church is not barely assisted by an Irradiation from the Spirit of Christ, but is actually and vitally informed by it, as the body is by the soul. (Rom. viii. 6-10; 2 Cor. iii. 6-iv. 10, 11; Gal. ii. 20; Col. iii.3, 4; Eph. iv. 18; Heb. vii. 16.)

VIII. This vital operation and information being at present but in a very languid and faint degree, there must be a resuscitation and resurrection of the same, in order to the glorious kingdom of Christ. (Ezek. xxxvii. 1-15; Luke xviii. 8; Acts xv. 16, 17; Rev. xx. 5.)

IX. The resuscitation of this spirit is to be waited for. (Is. xl. 31; Mark xiii. 33; Rom. ii. 3; 1 Cor. xii. 31; Eph. vi. 18.)

X. It is to be waited for not only separately, but also jointly. (Acts i. 14-ii. 1-46.)

XI. Such a waiting is in obedience to our dear Lord and Master's command. (Matt. xxv. 13; Mark xiii. 37; John xii. 16.)

XII. It must be with these qualifications: (1) Humility, (2) Resignation, (3) Perseverance. (James iv. 10; Rev. iii. 17, 18; Rom. viii. 27; Col. i. 9; Matt. x. 22-24; Heb. vi. 14; Rev. ii. 26.)

XIII. It must be for these ends: (1) Power from on High (Luke xxiv. 49; 1 Cor. v. 4; 2 Tim. i. 7); (2) Wisdom from Above (Luke xxi. 15; 1 Cor. xii. 8; Col. ii. 3); and (3) Divine learning and Theosophy (Eph. iii. 4; Phil. iii. 8; 2 Pet. iii. 18).

XIV. It is lawful to wait upon God for power from on high, or the return of the miraculous deeds, by which His kingdom, that has hitherto been withheld, may come to be witnessed and proclaimed. (Luke xxiv. 49.)

XV. It is lawful to wait and pray for the spirit of wisdom and revelation, descending from the throne of God, (Col. i. 9-iii. 16.)

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XVI. This is necessarily required in order to a right government in all spiritual affairs. (Is. xxviii. 26 ff.; Acts vi. 3; 2 Tim. iii. 15.)

XVII. It is lawful to wait and pray for divine learning, and to prefer it above that which is human. (Is. xxviii. 9; Hab. ii. 14; Phil. 1. 9.)

XVIII. This secret learning vastly exceeds the wit and industry of the most sagacious enquirers. (Job xxviii. 7; Ps. xxv. 12.)

XIX. It shall be given of the Lord to all the members of this church. (Is. iv. 5; Jer. xxxi. 34; Eph. iv. 13; Heb. viii. 11.)

XX. God is stirring up some persons in several countries, to wait in faith and prayer until such a pure church may arise.

XXI. To which a prospect of the present state of Christendom has very much conduced. (Dan. vii. 8; Matt. xxiv.; Mark xiii.; Luke xvii.; John v. 16, 17.)

XXII, The many divisions and sects of Christianity, all pretending to be the true church, cannot be otherwise cured but by the effusion of the Spirits. (Jer. xxx. 17 ff.; Ez. xi. 19; Zeph. iii. 9.)

XXIII. The insufficiency of all other means and methods have been hitherto experimentally proved: (1) Of Human Learning, (2) Of Policy, (3) Of Power.

XXIV. Neither of which, separately or conjointly, is able to heal the divisions, supply the imperfections, or remove the corruptions of any one body of Christians. As (1) In the Church of Rome, (2) In the Lutheran Church, (3) In the Calvinistic or Reformed Church, (4) In the Church of England.

XXV. The consideration of the insufficiency of all human means, with a deep sense that Charity is waxen cold, and that Faith is hardly to be found, must needs excite us to wait upon those means which are sufficient. (Dan. ii. 34; Zech, ii. 13 ff.)

XXVL These means are not confined to a party, but are extended to all; even as far as the Holy Catholic Spirit reacheth, which passeth and goeth through all things: and by the effusion of this Spirit, all shall be taught OF GOD. (Is. liv. 3; John vi. 45.)

XXVII. The Oneness, the Holiness, and the Catholicity or Universality of this Spirit, will not suffer us to appropriate it to any, and therefore not to our own .Society, both with respect to ordinary and extraordinary operations of the same, (Rom. x. 12; 1 Cor. xii. 13; Gal. iii. 26ff.; Col, iii. 11.)

XXVIII. The design of our assembling is not to divide, but to unite; not to set up for a new religion, or Church, but to keep warm the spirit of love towards those of all religions

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and churches, and to endeavour after the only method of reconciling them into a perfect and lasting unity, by the power of the Holy Ghost. (Is. lviii. 12.)

[\*\*\* In pursuance of this proposition, it has been our custom to advise persons, when interrogated, to keep still the bond of peace in the visible unity of the Church. And even our assemblies have been very far from being grounded on sectarian principles, as we are able to demonstrate.]

XXIX. Catholic Love, and Apostolic Faith, are the two grand pillars of our Society, and the main objects for which we labour and pray, both separately by ourselves, and jointly in our assemblies. (Gal. v. 6; Eph. vi. 23; 1 Thess. v. 8; 1 Tim. i. 14.)

XXX. The primary object of the Apostolical Faith is the revelation of the kingdom of God within the soul. (Luke xvii. 21; 1 Cor. iv. 20; Col. i. 13.)

XXXI, This internal revelation is by Christ, the sovereign Head of the Church. (1 Cor. xii. 5 ff; Heb. i. 2.)

XXXII. Which, as it is diligently to be waited upon, so is it to be held fast, so far as it shall be received; a loss herein, or a relapse, being extremely dangerous. (Heb. iii. 6, iv. 14, x. 23; Rev. ii. 4, 5.)

XXXIII. Such a Revelation of the kingdom of God will constitute a Virgin Church, representative of its Head in (1) Holiness, (2) Truth, and (3) Power. (Lev. xi. 44; Joel iii. 17; Obad. 17; Acts viii. 10; 1 Cor. 1. 24; Phil. iv. 8; 2 Thess. i. 17.)

XXXIV. The members of this Church are to be anointed with Christ, and consecrated into (1) the Priestly Order, (2) the Prophetical, (3) the Royal and Davidical Order. (Zech. xii. 8; 1 Cor. iv. 8, and xiv. 31; 1 Pet. ii. 9; Rev. i. 6, v, 10, xx. 6.)

XXXV. The model thereof we do press after as attainable, and do not therefore rest in what we have attained. (Phil. iii. 12.)

XXXVI. The perfection of this model must be gradual, and the beginnings therefore of it consistent with a state of weakness and imperfection. (Acts xx. 32; Heb. vi. 1, 2; Jude 20.)

XXXVII. The Personal Appearance of Christ from Heaven is not to be, till after there be such a Philadelphian Church on Earth to receive him. (Rev. iii. 11; compare with xxii. 7, 17.)

XXXVIII. Our design is Apostolical; abating onlyt from what was a particular Church. (Acts i. 26, iv. 34, 35, xv. 13-30; 1 Cor. vii. 25.)

XXXIX. The Will of God must be done in Earth as in

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Heaven, by the Inspiration of His Spirit. (Matt. vi. 10; Heb. x, 7)

XL. The Kingdom of God must come on Earth, as it is in Heaven, by Virtue of the same Inspiration. (Dan. ii. 44, vii. 27.)

XLI. We receive the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the foundation of our Hope and Faith. (2 Tim. iii. 16; 2 Pet. i. 19.)

XLII. There are some promises and prophecies which have not had yet their full completion. (Luke xxii, 16; Rev. xvii. 17.)

XLIII. The Civil Government is an Ordinance of God, as He is the Supreme Governor of the World, and is accordingly to be submitted to. (Rom. xiii. 1; 1 Tim. ii. 2.)

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[It is curious to note that the "Short Project of the Manner of Education of Youth," published in the same number of the *Transactions*, embodies all the main ideas which J. J. Rousseau and Basedow afterwards made into a system.]

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## IN THE NAME OF HIM WHO HAS THE KEY OF DAVID!

(We design not to set up any Form, or to lay any Burthen either upon ourselves, or upon others; but to maintain the Evangelical Liberty of Propheying to all those that are, or shall be, anointed with the Spirit of Christ. However, it seems good to us, after having waited for the counsel of the Holy Spirit hereupon, to propose some certain Orders and Constitutions both to ourselves, and others whom they may concern, that may be either desirous to be admitted into our Society, or else inquisitive to hear a reason of our Faith or Hope.)

I. Let one of the Society open the Assembly with reading some portion of the Holy Scriptures. Upon which he, or any other, may have leave to prophesy, and to unveil the mysteries of the Kingdom of God therein contained.

II. Let every one that prays or prophesies first wait in silence to be filled with the sweet internal breathings of the Divine Spirit upon their soul, before they presume to break into words.

III. Let none confine this spirit to any, or go about to restrain the various manifestations of it in such as are sanctified and taught by it.

IV. Let none erect to themselves hereby such a superiority as we esteem inconsistent with the Philadelphian purity of brethren and sisters.

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V Let there be a free liberty granted for any one of the strangers, if touched in their hearts by the Holy Ghost, to take up the Scriptures and read some portion in them (according to the custom admitted in the Jewish Synagogue, and then in the Apostolical Church), and to expound the same experimentally, or any otherwise to declare the movings and teachings of God upon their souls.

VI. But that abuses and disorders may be herein prevented, let there be no disputative or controversial way of propounding anything admitted, neither let there be asking of questions, which may engender strife; but let all be done and spoken for the promotion of Peace and Love.

VII. However, if there be any doubts upon the hearts of any who truly love the Lord Jesus, and desire to be obedient to His Gospel, they may after the hours of our solemn worship propose the same, either by word or writing, but rather by the last, to be considered of by the Society, in presenting before the Lord what shall be so proposed. And, if they desire it, let a private hearing be appointed for them by some of the members of the same.

VIII. Let also, for the same end, all they who prophesy be so far subject to the spirit of the Prophets, as united and combined together; that none of. an. irregular conversation be permitted to take up the Name of the Lord, or to speak as from His Spirit, till after a sufficient satisfaction be given.

IX. Let even the true spirit of Prophecy, wherever it shall be found; be under regulation; as anciently, in the schools of the Prophets: therefore let those who prophesy learn how and when to obey the conduct thereof; for (1) Imitation, (2) Exhortation, (3) Comfort.

X. If a woman pray or prophesy, let it be with all sobriety and modesty, to speak forth her own experience, sensation, or manifestation in the Divine matters.

XI. Let the various operations of the Spirit of Prophecy be encouraged and excited, for the ends proposed in the Reasons for the Foundation of our Society; what is not according to these, let it be rejected.

XII. Let not the manifestations of the Spirit be hindered in exercise, though attended with weakness: but rather let it be encouraged in the inferior degrees, so that all shall finally come to speak as the very Oracles of God, without the alloy of their own natural imperfections.



## APPENDIX D.

### SWEDENBORG.

SCHWEGLER, in his final chapter upon the later echos of Montanism, declares summarily that Swedenborgianism is “a renovation of the Montanistic system<sup>23</sup>.” What grounds are there for this statement? Their examination, in any case, must throw light upon the subject, regarded from the stand-point of this essay.

Swedenborg claimed to have received direct revelations. - He relates that from his earliest childhood he had seen flames, heard admonitions, and had remarkable dreams. But the year 1745 (When he had attained the age of 57), was the beginning of his Seership. From that time he noted all visions in his Dream-Book, and regarded them as the materials for the most careful investigation. His theory of seership is that every man possesses, while in the body, spiritual senses, which may be, and in many cases have been, opened; contrary to the usual notion that angels and spirits render themselves visible by a temporary assumption of a material form, dissipated as soon as the purpose of the vision is accomplished. [He naturally - referred to Numbers xxiv. 3, 4, and 2 Kings vi. 16, 17, in confirmation of his opinion.] Swedenborg claimed to have enjoyed the privilege of seership for twenty-seven years; and that he was thus enabled to live consciously in both the natural and spiritual worlds, to converse with the inhabitants, and to have cognizance of the affairs of both. He erects a distinction between prophets and seers. Some seers were prophets, but all the prophets were not seers. Indeed, it by no means follows that “seers” must necessarily be good men or women. Seer-

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ship is the normal condition of all, and, according to Swedenborg, will become the actual condition in the future. It does not involve a sixth sense, but the twofold range of each of the five senses, with the addition only of an internal consciousness of the truth<sup>24</sup>. It does not concern us to enquire here into the substance of these alleged revelations, except as regards the doctrines which he deduced, and upon which we shall treat later. The second question is as to the object for which these revelations were afforded. Swedenborg answers it thus:-

I. “To learn the true doctrines of the Christian religion, by entering intellectually into the things of faith, that thus I might teach them authoritatively to mankind.”

II. “To learn the true and internal signification of the Word of God, and show that therein consists the genuine inspiration of the Scriptures<sup>25</sup>.”

<sup>23</sup> “Endlich jet noch kurz darauf aufmerksam zu machen, dass die Kirche des Neuen Jerusalems so viele grossentheils frappant-ähnliche montanistische Züge an sich aufweist, dass man den Swedenborgianismus ohne Bedenken eine Repristinuation des Montanismus nennen kann.” (p. 312.)

<sup>24</sup> See *Four Leading Doctrines*, § 4; *True Christian Religion*, § 192; *Heaven and Hell*, p. 41.

<sup>25</sup> There can be no doubt but that Swedenborg, probably through ignorance, ascribed to his own revelation a theory of Inspiration which very many earlier writers had already adopted. Möhler, who devoted a considerable portion of the *Symbolik* to an examination of his tenets, has a good passage on the subject:- “But what is

III. "To learn the true relationship between the natural and spiritual worlds, and, in the 'science of correspondences,' supply at once a key to this relationship, and also to that which subsists between the spiritual and natural senses of the Scriptures."

IV. "To learn concerning the states of man in the other life, the nature of heaven and hell, the character of heavenly

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joys, employments, habitations, and scenery, and of infernal miseries; the relationship between life in this world and the next, and to solve the problem of the fate of the heathen."

V. "Learn from angels concerning creation, preservation, and Providence, the origin of evil, and the ultimate triumph of goodness, and make known such angelic wisdom to man."

VI. "Learn concerning the sanctity and perpetuity of the marriage relationship, and make known to the world the real nature of the spiritual difference between the sexes; the true character of conjugal love, and its heavenly blessedness; and, contrarily, of the real character of adulterous love, and its infernal pleasures."

VII. "Be the witness of the great event in the spiritual world, which is so frequently referred to in the Word as the 'Last Judgment,' and thus be the forewarner of mankind of the vast spiritual, mental, and political issues which should result therefrom."

VIII. "That I might thus be an instrument in the Divine hands of aiding in the inauguration of a new age for the Christian Church, an age of clearer light, more fervent love, more intelligent faith, and more devout charity; which new state of the Church, I assert, was predicted in the Apocalypse of John, under the symbol of the descent of the New Jerusalem."

In these articles of belief (all of which find their fulfilment in Swedenborg's works, according to his adherents,) we trace several notes of similarity to Montanism, and also some striking differences. In both the doctrine of the non-finality of the Gospel dispensation appears, and in both the possibility of the direct intercourse of man with the Divine Spirit; but the mode of revelation is widely diverse. The Montanist prophet falls into a trance or ecstasy, and there receives the higher instruction, which he sometimes communicates in a fragmentary, oracular form. The Swedenborgian is armed with the two theories, viz, of the three senses of Scripture, literal, spiritual, and Divine, and of correspondences, and with these he operates upon the Bible, in the coolest and most matter-of-fact mental condition. There is a remarkable

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Swedenborg's distinction between the various senses of Holy Writ other than the Sod, Derusch, and Phascuth, of the Cabbala, - senses which themselves respond to the φυσική, and πνεῦμα of Philo? And wherein do the Swedenborgian correspondences differ so essentially from the celestial and terrestrial Jerusalem (the ἄνω and the κάτω Ἰερουσαλήμ), the carnal and the spiritual Israel (the Ἰσραὴλ σαρκικός and πνευματικός) with which the same Philo had made us acquainted? And what shall we say to the astounding assertion, that in the first centuries of the Church the allegorico-mystical exegesis was unknown? Just as if Basilides, Valentinus, and Origen had lived in the sixth century! That Swedenborg should have possessed any acquaintance with the writings of Gregory the Great, of Alcuin, of Richard of St Victor, or with the description of the three senses given by Thomas Aquinas and others, it would be too much to require of him, &c. &c." (*Engl. Transl.*, II. 304.)

Mr Clissold, the learned and able champion of the New Church, wisely thinks "that it is not desirable to divert the attention from the main subject, by entering into the questions here raised by Möhler, and which after all are very superficial." (*Spir. Exp. of the Apoc.* I. 28.)

similarity between the ideas of Swedenborg and Tertullian on the subject of marriage. It is true that the special polemical discussions of the latter are wanting in the former, but there is the same lofty ideal of the spiritual as well as carnal union of the Christian man and wife. Finally, it was neither intended by Montanus, nor by Swedenborg, to found a sect, or separate Church. In the Church of the future, Swedenborg declared that there would be slight doctrinal differences, but a far broader charity: at

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present his doctrines are fitted to be the esoteric creed within the worship of any religious community<sup>26</sup>.

But the great gulf is in the region of pure dogma. The Swedenborgian conception of the Trinity can only be described as Sabellian, and Tertullian would certainly not have welcomed into the ranks of the Pneumatici one who asserted: "that Jehovah Himself, and not a Son born from eternity, became incarnate in the world; that the Divine Trinity is a Trinity of Essentials in the One Person of the Lord Jesus Christ; that He, as to the Divinity, is the Father, as to the Humanity is the Son, and as to the Divine proceeding, operative energy, or outflowing Spirit, is the Holy Ghost; that during His sojourn in the world, He made His humanity Divine from the Divinity which was in Him, and which thus became one with the Father, &c." This doctrine was developed by Swedenborg in his treatise published in 1763 [*Doctrine of the N J. respecting the Lord*], and sufficiently prevents any complete approximation with the original Montanists, although possibly there may be analogies with the Æschinist sect. The obvious reaction against the vulgar rationalism of the eighteenth century (as also in Lavater and St Martin) must not be disregarded.

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<sup>26</sup> The Swedenborgianism of the present day has degenerated into mere sectarianism, nor are there any signs in England or Germany of future vitality. The only two men of note since Swedenborg's time were Dr Tafel of Tübingen, who wrote an able reply to Möhler; and Mr Clowes of Manchester, a clergyman of the Church of England. The latter was denounced as a heretic to the excellent Bishop Porteus of Chester, who sent for him, heard his views, and dismissed him with the assurance that he found nothing repugnant to Scripture or the Anglican formularies. Fortunately there was no Praxeas here to force "litteras pacis revocare emissas." (See Compton's *Life of Clowes*, London, 1874, p. 27.)

## APPENDIX E.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, A.D. 130-250.

Anno.	Emperor	Bp. of Rome	Political and Ecclesiastical Events.	Ecclesiastical Writers.	Events connected with Montanism	Anno.
130	Hadrian.	<i>Telesphores</i>	Hadrian arrives in Egypt in the Autumn (Clinton, <i>F. R.</i> 118),		Montanus begins to teach at Pepuza in Phrygia: is joined after a time by Maximilla and Priscilla: they attract no especial notice for some years, or none beyond a limited area.	130
1	—	—	passes in next year to Syria.	Aristo of Pella.		1
	—	—	Founds <i>Ælia Capitolina</i> .			
2	—	—	The Jewish War (revolt of Bar Cochba).			2
3	—	—				3
4	—	—	Jewish War still continues: the rebels torture the Christians for not joining them. (Hieron. <i>Chron.</i> Ann. 2149.) War ends.	Eusebius places Basilides in this year		4
5	—	—		Agrippa Castor flourished.		5
6	—	—		Eus. <i>H. E.</i> iv. 7; Jer. <i>Vir. Ill.</i> 21; Theod. <i>Hær. fab.</i> I. 4.		6
7	—	<i>Hyginus.</i>	“Telesphorus, 11 Jahre, Märtyrer, † frühestens 135, spätestens 137.”			7
8	Antoninus.		(Lipsius. Pearson gave 122. Cf. <i>M. Theot. W.</i> II. 497.)	Hermas. Cf. Mosheim, <i>de rebusante C. M.-p.</i> 164.	Opposition on the part of some bishops.	8
9	—	—	“Valentinus et Cerdo sectæ Marcionitarum antistes Romam venerunt.”			9

Anno.	Emperor	Bp. of Rome	Political and Ecclesiastical Events.	Ecclesiastical Writers.	Events connected with Montanism	Anno.
140	Antoninus.	<i>Hyginus.</i>	Hieron. Anno 2156. "Hyginus, 4			140
1	—	<i>Pius.</i>	Jahre. † frühestens 139, spätestens		The Asiatic bishops determine upon	1
2	—	—	141." (Lipsius.)		more active measures: Apollinaris,	2
3	—	—	"Valentinus ab hoc tempore usque		bishop of Hierapolis, convenes a	3
4	—	—	ad Anicetum permanebat." (Euseb.		Synod in his city. It is attended	4
5	—	—	<i>Chron.</i> Anno 2159.)		by twenty- six bishops, and it	5
6	—	—	Birth of Severus.	Justin Martyr: <i>Apology</i> (I).	the Prophets.	6
7	—	—		2 <sup>nd</sup> Apol. & Dialogue in	Second Synod held at Anchialus by	7
8	—	—		146-7. Hort ap. Wcstcott)]	Sotas, bishop of that city, with	8
9	—	—		Justin Martyr. †	twelve others: here also a	9
150	—	—		Marcion taught. (He was	condemnation is pronounced. (II. §	150
1	—	—		still living when Clemens	5.)	1
2	—	—		Alex. wrote the	Phrygian sympathizers with Montan-	2
3	—	—		<i>Stromata.</i> )	ism begin to settle in countries	3
4	—	—		Hegesippus. Eusebius	beyond Asia: some in Gaul, but	4
5	—	—		makes him remain at	not yet in Africa, nor are there any	5
6	—	—	"Pius, Bischof im engeren Sinn, 15-	Rome μέχρι τῆς	signs at Rome.	6
7	—	Anicetus.	16 Jahre, † frühestens 154,	ἐπισκοπῆς Ἐλευθέρου.	<i>Montanus</i> †	7
8	—	—	spätestens 156." (Lipsius.)	Bardesanes born,	Maximilla still survives: Themiso	8
9	—	—			and Alcibiades are the official	9
160	—	—			leaders under her.	160
1	M. Aurelius	Anicetus.	Verus associated in the Empire.		Montanism begins to make way at	1
2	—	—	<i>Parthian War.</i> "Imminebat Britanni-		Rome: Proculus arrives between	2
3	—	—	cum bellum, et Catti in Germaniam		160-170. Many join him.	3
4	—	—	ac Rhoetiam irruperant." (Capitolin.			4
5	—	—	c. 8.)			5
			Death of Peregrinus. (Lucian.)			

6	—	—	Martyrdom of Polycarp. (Al. A.D. 169.)		Themiso writes a. "catholic epistle" in defence of Montanism. [Euseb. V. 18].	6
7	—	Soter.	"Anicetus, 11 oder 12 Jahre, † 166-			7
8	—	—	167." (Lipsius.)	Athenagoras περι		8
9	—	—	Death of Verus.	Χριστιανῶν. [So Clinton,		9
170	—	—		but Pagi prefers 166;	First official manifestation at Rome	170
1	—	—		Mosheim 177; Baronius	against the Montanists: "Scripsit	1
2	—	—		179.]	contra Montanistas Soter papa	1
3	—	—		Theophilus, B <sup>p</sup> . of Antioch,	urbis." <i>Præd.Hær.</i> XXVI.	2
4	—	—		flourished. (Hieron. <i>Cat.</i>		2
5	—	—	"Soter, 8-9 Jahre, † 174 oder 175." (Lipsius.)	25.)		3
6	—	Eleutherus.	<i>The Miraculous Rain.</i> (Related by	Melito. <i>Eus. H. E.</i> IV. 26, &		4
7	—	—	Dio, Capitolinus, Claudian,	Hieron. <i>Vir. Ill.</i> 24.		4
8	—	—	Themistius, among secular writers,		Eleutherus strongly against the	5
9	—	—	and by Tertullian, Eusebius,		Montanists.	5
180	Commodus.	—	Orosius, Greg. Nyssen &c.)			6
1	—	—	The Emperor at Athens.		The epistle from the Gallic	6
2	—	—	<i>Persecution of the Christians in</i>		Confessors to the Asiatic Churches	7
3	—	—	<i>Gaul</i> (p. 39 in the Essay).		and to Eleutherus: this results in a	8
4	—	—	Martyrdom of Pothinus.	Letter of the Gallic Martyrs.	virtual amnesty during the life of	8
5	—	—			that bishop.	9
6	—	—		<i>Irenæus ἐπιστολὴ περὶ</i>		9
7	—	—		σχίσματος, written (in		180
8	—	—		answer?) to Blastus.		1
9	—	—		(?Montanist.)	Death of Maximilla.	2
180	Commodus.	—		Theophili ad Autolyicum		3
1	—	—	Roman successes in Britain.	libri tres.	Miltiades writes against the Montan-	4
2	—	—		<i>Irenæus adv. Hæreses.</i>	ists "scripsit contra eosdem vola-	4
3	—	—		<i>Miltiades</i> "Scripsit M.	men præcipuum." (Hieron. <i>Catal.</i>	5
4	—	—		contra gentes volumen	39)	6
5	—	—		egregium."		6
6	—	—		Origen born.		7
7	—	—				7
8	—	—	"Eleutherus, 15 Jahre, † 189,			8
9	—	Victor.	Commodi X." (Lipsius.)			8
190	—	—		Serapion writes against	Great efforts on both sides: Victor,	9
1	—	—		Montanism.	preparing to crush the Quarto-	190
1	—	—		"S. undecimo Comm. imp.	decimans, is inclined	1

Anno.	Emperor	Bp. of Rome	Political and Ecclesiastical Events.	Ecclesiastical Writers.	Events connected with Montanism	Anno.
192	Commodus	Victor	Commodus slain, ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρα. (Dio. 72.)	anno, scripsit Epist.... De hæ. Montani “. (Hier. Catal. 41.)	to make allies of the Montanists.	192
3	Pertinax. Julianus	—	Purchase of the Empire by Julianus.	Clement of Alexandria.	Victor determines to acknowledge the Prophets: the ‘letters of peace’ are already signed, when Praxeas arrives, and succeeds in rescinding them. Asterius Urbanus (?ap. Euseb.) writes against the M <sup>ists</sup> . “14 years after the death of Maximilla.”	3
4	Severus.	—	Severus besieges Byzantium. - Praxeas at Rome.	Pantænus flourished		4
5	—	—	<i>Excommunication of Theodotus the tanner.</i>	Clemens Alexandriae presb <sup>r</sup> . & Pantænus philosophus stoicus nostri dogmatis illustres erant. [Hieron. Anno 2210.]		5
6	—	—	Byzantium taken after a three years’ siege.	Rhodon. (H. E. v. 22.)	Victor’s Letter to the Asiatic Bishops.	6
7	—	—	Beginning of the (renewed) Easter-dispute: [see Eus. H. E. V. 23 ff.] This date given by Jerome.			7
8	—	—	Asiatic Bishops resist.	Tertullian:- <i>Apology. Ad Nationes. De Pœnitentia; De Oratione; De Baptismo, Ad Martyres; Ad Uxorem; De Patientia; De Præscr. Hær.; De testimonio Animæ.</i>	Spread of Montanism in Africa.	8
9	—	Zephyrinus.	“Victor, 9-10 Jahre. † 198 oder 199;” (Lipsius.)			9
200	—	—				200
1	—	—		Clement’s <i>Stromata.</i>	Tertullian becomes a Montanist:	1
2	—	—	Persecution under Severus.	Irenæus †	writes his - <i>De Corona Militis; De fuga in persec.; De cult. Feminarum; De virg; velandis; De exhort; castitatis; De Monogamia; De Paradiso; De Jejuniis; De Ecstasi; De Pudicitia; De censu Animæ; De Anima; De Carne Christi; De Res. Carnis; De Spectaculis; Adv. Marcionem</i> (Pame-	2
2	—	—	Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas at Carthage.	Origen (æt. 18) teaches at Alexandria.		2
4	—	—				4
5	—	—				5
6	—	—				6
7	—	—				7
8	—	—	Severus goes to Britain.	“Tertullianus celebratur.” - (Hieron. Chron.)		8
9	—	—				9
210	—	—				210
1	Caracalla	—				1

2	—	—			lius gives 208); <i>Adv. Praxeam</i> ;	2
3	—	—			<i>Scorpiace. De Pallio</i> ; <i>Adv. Valentianus</i> ; <i>Adv. Apelliacos</i> ; <i>De Vestibus Aaron</i> ; <i>Adv. Hermogenem</i> ; <i>De Idototatria</i> ; <i>De spe Fidelium</i> ; <i>Ad Scapulam</i> ; <i>Adv. Judæos</i> (continuation of treatise <i>Adv. Marcionem</i> ?); <i>Ad amicum philosophum</i> ; <i>De Animæ Submissione</i> .	3
4	—	—			[***]	4
5	—	—	The massacre at Alexandria.	Origen at Cæsarea. ( <i>H. E. VI. 19.</i> )	Caius writes against the Montanists:	5
6	—	—			(Πρόκλω τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας προϋσταμενῶ αἰρέσεως ἐγγάφως διαλεχθεῖς.) <i>H.E. VI. 20.</i>	6
7	Macrinus.	Callistus.	“Zephyrinus 18-19 Jahre. † 217, 26 August.” (Lipsius.)			7
8	Eglagabalus.	—				8
9	—	—		Tertullian †	<i>Proculus</i> † But his name adheres to	9
220	—	—		Hippolytus writes the	the completely orthodox majority,	220
1	—	—		“Ἐλεγχος κατὰ πασῶν αἰρέσεων.” The best	while a section under Æschines	1
2	Alex. Severus	Urbanus.	“Callistus, 5 Jahre, † 14 Octob. 222.” (Lipsius.)	authorities do not venture	adopts Noetian or Sabellian views.	2
3	—	—		to fix more nearly than		3
4	—	—		A.D. 210-230.		4
5	—	—		Origen at Antioch. ( <i>Eus. H. E. VI. 21.</i> )	The Proculeian Montanists diminish	5
6	—	—		Origen ordained a presbyter	in numbers at Rome: in Africa a	6
7	—	—		( <i>H. E. VI. 23.</i> )	separate aect of Tertullianists is	7
8	—	—		“Origines hoc tempore in	formed. [Cf. Augustin. <i>Hær.</i> 86:	8
9	—	—		schoia versabatur	“Tertullianistæ.... usque ad nos	9
230	—	Pontianus.	“Urbanus, 8 Jahre, † 230.” (Lipsius.)	Alexandriæ.” (Hieron. Anno 2245.)	trurn tempus paulatiin deficientes.”]	230
1	—	—	Persian War. ( <i>Lamprid. Alex. c.50ff.</i> )	Origen at Cæsarea. ( <i>Eus. H.E. VI. 26, 27.</i> )		1
2	—	—				2

\*\*\* As has been remarked before, this list only attempts to make an approximate *order*, and does not propose to fix the *extent* of the period.



Anno.	Emperor	Bp. of Rome	Political and Ecclesiastical Events.	Ecclesiastical Writers.	Events connected with Montanism	Anno.
233	Alex.	Pontianus.		Porphyry born.	The Synod at Iconium deter mines to reject <i>all</i> heretical baptism, including that of the Montanists.	233
4	Severus.	—	“Pontianus, 5 Jahre 2 Monate, 7 Tage; dankt ab 28 Sept. 235; Severo et Quintino Coss., deponirt 13 Aug. 236.” (Lipsius.)			4
5	Maximin.	Anteros.	Persecution of Christians, chiefly in Asia Minor.	Origen <i>De Martyrio</i> .	A Montanistic Prophetess appears in Cappadocia, obtains many followers. [Recorded by Firmilian in his Epistle to Cyprian. See lib. I. § 11, note.]	5
6	—	Fabianus.	Μαξιμῖνος ... διωγμὸν ἐγείρας etc.” (Eus. <i>H. E.</i> VI. 28.)			6
7	—	—	“Anteros, 1 Monat 12 Tage, † 3 Jan. 236.” (Lipsius.)			7
8	<i>The Gordians.</i>	—				8
	<i>Pupienus and Balbinus.</i>	—				
9	Gordian	—		Origen writes τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἥσα αν, ... καὶ τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἰεζεκιήλ.” (Eus. <i>H. E.</i> VI. 32.)		9
240	—	—				240
1	—	—				1
2	—	—				2
3	—	—				3
4	Philip.	—	Persecution entirely ceases. (Cf. Eus. <i>H. E.</i> VI. 34, 36.)			4
5	—	—				5
6	—	—				6
7	—	—				7
8	—	—		Cyprian appointed Bp. of Carthage.	The remaining Montanists coalesce in the schisms of Novatian and Felicissimus.	8
9	Decius.	—	Great Persecution.			9
250	—	<i>Interregnum</i>	“Fabianus, 14 Jahre 10 Tage, Märt. in der Dec. Verfolgung. 20 Jan. 250.” (Lipsius.)	Origen imprisoned and tortured. (Eus. <i>H. E.</i> VI. 39.)		250
			“Sedisvacanz vom 21 Januar, 250, bis Anf. März 251.” (Ibid.)			
1	Gallus.	Cornelius.	Schism of Novatian commences	Epistle of Cornelius to Fabius		1

2	—	—	Council at Carthage. “Cornelius, 2 J. 3 M. 10 T. † Mitte Juni 253 zu Cività Vecchia in Verbannung.” (Lipsius.)			2
3	Valerian.	Lucius.	“Lucius, 8 M. 10 T. † 5 März 254.” (Ibid.)	Origen †		3
4	—	Stephen.	Synods on subject of Heretical		Synods at Carthage.	4
5	—	—	Baptism.	Firmilian’s Letter to Cyprian.	Bishop Stephen declares the Montanistic Baptism valid. A proof that some were returning to the Catholic Church.	5
6	—	—				6

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