THE PRE-EXISTING SPIRIT* (PART I)

On page 250 of my copy of *Have You Lived Before This Life*, Ron Hubbard makes the remarkable statement that a belief in reincarnation was fundamental Christian doctrine "until 553 A.D." Taking it as my job to look for myself and see if things are true or not, I (along with a raised-as-Catholic friend) went on a search of early Christian thought.

To early Christians, what we now call "reincarnation" was part of the belief in the "pre-existing spirit." The spirit (or soul) was considered immortal and existed before a person took on a body. After the body died, the soul could take on a new body.

Most modern Christians have some opinion regarding the pre-existing spirit. One Roman Catholic priest opined that "if that were true, the entire structure of my faith would collapse." Other opinions may not forecast catastrophe, but most will agree that if the pre-existence of souls were true, a re-alignment of dearly held, but unproven, traditions would have to occur. Those traditions may be the original beliefs of Christianity, or they may be Johnny-come-lately solutions to unsolved problems.

CHRISTIAN ROOTS

The earliest works that systematically described Christian beliefs came from the pen of Origen (185 - 254 AD). Origen emphatically believed in the pre-existence of the soul. He was one of the most prominent early Fathers of the Church, a well-educated Christian teacher whose methods of "sound reasoning" were acclaimed by his successors and still used today. His influence in the Christian community warrants a brief study of his life and accomplishments, which we will get to in a moment. At this

^{*} This essay was originally written in 1990 and published in *ADVANCE!* Magazine as a two-part series. I have reworked it for general interest and to ensure it violates no copyright or trademark.

point, however, our interest lies in one datum: Origen emphatically believed in the pre-existence of the soul.

Some modern writers believe that Origen's theory regarding the preexisting spirit was borrowed from the Greek philosopher, Plato. That, however, is unlikely.

It is true that Plato did espouse a similar theory. For instance, at the end of Plato's celebrated work "The Republic," he tells the story of a man who dies, goes to the here-after and comes back, describing the disposition of souls who returned to Earth in new bodies. It is also true that Origen did study and was conversant with Platonic and other Greek philosophies, and some of Origen's theories are based on Platonic assumptions. It would be easy to mistake Origen's belief in a pre-existing spirit for that of Plato.

It is also true that the method Origen used to present his beliefs closely resembled the method of the Greek philosophers. Origen's borrowing Greek methods of presentation does not justify the assumption that he borrowed their beliefs. Origen borrowed Greek methods to "translate the Gospel into a language intelligible to the pagan, especially the thoughtful and educated pagan."²

Despite similar methods and ideas to some Greeks, Origen was a Christian. Christianity had its roots in Jesus, a Jew, and in Jerusalem where that Jew was crucified, died and rose again.

At the time of Jesus, the Jews divided themselves into four sects, each believing their variation of Judaism.* Of interest to us were the Pharisees who believed "that souls have an immortal vigor in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life." The punishment of the vicious is that they "are to be detained in an everlasting prison," but the reward of the virtuous is to "revive and live again," by which was meant a new body,

^{*} The beliefs of each sect has been well described by a Jew of the time, Joseph ben Matthias, born in the year 37 AD, who became a Roman citizen and was known as Josephus.

on Earth, reincarnated. The majority of the Jews at the time of Christ believed in these doctrines.³ That the Pharisees believed in a pre-existing soul is today generally ignored.*

Another sect of Jews was those people we now call Christians. Aside from "an inviolable attachment to liberty" and allowing that "God is to be their only Ruler and Lord," the Christians in all other beliefs agreed with the Pharisees.⁴

After the religion of Christ was founded, one of His most important followers was Paul, also known as the "Architect of the Church." Paul is most well known for the letters he wrote to the outposts of Christianity in the Roman Empire, guiding them in how to live the life of a follower of Christ. A large part of the New Testament is composed of those letters, or epistles, from Paul. Paul was raised and educated as a Pharisee.

For two hundred years, the Christian faith, based then, as now, on the events in the life of Christ and his Disciples, left certain matters on the nature of the soul, of God and of Christ Himself somewhat undefined. Each Christian community was under the authority of an autonomous bishop. Without a standard doctrine, an explosion of squirrelly ideas (heresies) swirled like leaves in a wind.

Perhaps as an attempt to get a handle on the plethora of heresies, about the year 200, the bishop of Rome was named "Pope" and became the preeminent bishop.⁵ The pope may have been able to exercise some organizational authority, but there was still no standard doctrine.

ORIGEN

About the year 185, Origen was born into a Christian family in Alexandria, Egypt. ⁶ Under Clement, one of the era's most distinguished theologians, Christian education thrived in Alexandria.

^{*} For a notable exception see Taylor Caldwell's *Great Lion of God*, a stirring story of the life of Paul, the "Architect of the Church.".

Origen's father, Leonides, gave his son a foundation of teaching in Christian Scripture and Greek philosophy. Origen, a bright lad and unwilling to merely study the words on the page, constantly "perplexed his father by questions about the deeper meanings." Leonides, it is said, would scold his son to not inquire into things "beyond his age."

Despite his education and lively inquiry, Origen came very close to missing his calling. It was his mother who saved him.

In 202, when Origen was 16 or 17, the Roman Emperor Severus began a persecution of the Christians. In Alexandria, Leonides was jailed. In an ancient version of "de-programming," Leonides was apparently threatened with danger to his family if he persisted in his faith. Origen courageously wrote his father in prison and told him "not to change thy mind on account of us." Displaying even greater bravery, Origen declared he would go to his father in prison and become himself, a martyr. Origen's mother knew her son was serious and "concealed his clothes in order to compel him to remain at home."

Leonides maintained his faith and was beheaded. Origen steeled himself and continued his quest for the deeper meaning.

Two years later, the bishop of Alexandria, Clement, was forced to flee the city and made Origen the head of the school, the most famous Christian school of its time. Origen began writing at about the age of 30° and in his life would author some six thousand works most of which have been lost.

In 231 AD, at the age of about 46, Origen left the school in Alexandria and opened another school in Palestine. He was widely sought as a Christian teacher and traveled extensively defending the faith. His work was known in the family of the emperor 11 and Origen "played an important part in the conversion of the Roman Empire." 12

^{* &}quot;Martyr" comes from the Greek word for "witness." Many Christians who witnessed the miracles of Christ preferred death to denying what they had witnessed. Any person whose personal integrity is more important than his or her life is a martyr in the truest sense of the word. On the other hand, some Christians sought death as a method of imitating Christ.

After a long career, in 251, Origen, still lively in his late sixties, was imprisoned during a persecution under the Emperor Decius. Despite "sufferings ... endured under an iron collar, and in the deepest recesses of the prison, where for many days he was extended and stretched to the distance of four holes on the rack," Origen clung to his faith. ¹³

Decius died and Origen was freed but his health was broken and his body expired three years later.

SOUND OPINION

The church historian Eusebius* mentioned a specific instance in which Origen defended the faith from a heresy being promoted by a bishop in an eastern church. Of interest to us, the heresy dealt with the pre-existent spirit. Origen brought the bishop back to his "former sound opinion." ¹⁴

Although much of Origen's writings have been destroyed and some current Christian writers seem to have difficulty with the subject, it is possible to piece together the salient points of the doctrine of the pre-existing spirit.

- 1. At some distant point in the past, God created a vast number of "rational spirits, co-equal as well as co-eternal." ¹⁵
- 2. Later, but still long ago, the spirits became "satiated with the vision of God," withdrew from God and fell from their original glory. This is an accurate definition of the term "sin."

^{*} Eusebius wrote his church history a mere 100 years after Origen's time, as Christianity was becoming the official faith of the Roman Empire.

[†] "Sin" comes from the Greek word "hamartia." In the secular Greek of the period, the word was used to describe the "fatal flaw" of a tragic hero. No matter how wonderful the hero, his "hamartia" causes his death. The word means "missing the mark" as in shooting an arrow at a target and missing the mark (see *Vine's Expository Dictionary of New Testament Words*). The fallen spirits, separated from God, had a "fatal flaw" and were no longer "on the mark." They were "hamartia," sinful.

- 3. "Matter was called into being for the very purpose of supplying an abode ... for these fallen spirits." They were clothed in material bodies and became men. Others fell so far as to become demons.
- 4. The pre-existing, but fallen, spirits are entrapped in "diseased fancies." The description of these fancies sounds very similar to what are today called stimulus-response mechanisms.
- 5. When a body died, the pre-existing spirit visits a sort of "between-lives" purgatory and then takes up a new body on this Earth. ²⁰

(In dealing with the pre-existing spirit, it is not necessary for a Christian theologian to go beyond this point. Origen pushed forward, however, and entered into the realm of speculation. Some of his assumptions beyond this point appear to be taken from Greek philosophy rather than Christian theology.)

- 6. Origen's answer to the seemingly endless cycle of body after body after body was "a theory of 'absolute' liberty." He believed that Total Freedom could and would be attained at some unknown point in the future.
- 7. At that unknown point in the future, all rational beings would be restored to their former glory and "stand at the right hand of God." Faith in Christ re-unites the pre-existing spirit with God.

According to Eusebius, the departure of the bishop in the eastern church, his departure from sound opinion, was simple. He denied the pre-existing spirit. He was teaching that Christ was of *one nature*, God alone and not a pre-existing spirit united with God. Origen, by reasoning and demonstration, disabused the bishop of his error which was "foreign to Christian faith" ²³ in the 3rd and 4th centuries.

(Mark well this departure, one nature. It will come up again.)

The hope of the early Christians was to be restored to their original glory. If Origen were alive today, as he believed he would be, I wonder what he might think of a technology that delivers "'absolute' liberty."

END OF PART I

PART II: How the Church came to deny the pre-existing spirit

THE PRE-EXISTING SPIRIT (PART II)

In the third century, Christian doctrine included the following beliefs, as described by Origen, a Church Father:

- 1. At some distant point in the past, God created a vast number of "rational spirits, co-equal as well as co-eternal."
- 2. Later, but still long ago, the spirits became "satiated with the vision of God," withdrew from God and fell from their original glory. This is an accurate definition of the term "sin."
- 3. "Matter was called into being for the very purpose of supplying an abode ... for these fallen spirits." They were clothed in material bodies and became men. Others fell so far as to become demons.
- 4. The pre-existing, but fallen, spirits are entrapped in "diseased fancies." The description of these fancies sounds very similar to what are today called stimulus-response mechanisms.
- 5. When a body died, the pre-existing spirit visits a sort of "between-lives" purgatory and then takes up a new body on this Earth.
- 6. Origen's answer to the seemingly endless cycle of body after body after body was "a theory of 'absolute' liberty." He believed that Total Freedom could and would be attained at some unknown point in the future.
- 7. At that unknown point in the future, all rational beings would be restored to their former glory and "stand at the right hand of God." Faith in Christ re-unites the pre-existing spirit with God.

To deny the reality of the pre-existing spirit was "foreign to Christian faith" in the 3rd and 4th centuries. Today, however, most Christians reject man as a pre-existing spirit. What happened?

THE DEATH OF ORIGEN

Origen departed this life in 254 AD leaving behind a method of Biblical interpretation which is still used today. Additionally, he was survived by the doctrine of the pre-existing spirit and his speculations on the nature of God and "things to come."

Within 50 years of the death of Origen, the doctrine of the pre-existing spirit was attacked. Eusebius, a highly regarded church historian, among others in agreement with Origen, were compelled to disabuse the opposition. Origenism "remained a powerful current of thought in the Church."²⁴

About a century later, around the year 400, the doctrine of the pre-existing spirit again faced opposition. To make matters worse for Origenists, his successors attached their own interpretations which gave rise to off-beat heresies that claimed Origen as their authority. "Origenism" lost a clear definition. Amidst the confusion, attacks on the doctrine of the pre-existing spirit by Jerome[†] and others weakened its influence.

At the same time that Church doctrine was in tumult, the Roman Empire was experiencing a similar tumult.

The Roman Empire, in 285, was split into Eastern and Western partitions. The Emperor Constantine declared toleration of the Church in 313 and founded, in 331, the city of Constantinople on the site of an older Greek town, Byzantium. Constantine was baptized on his deathbed in 337²⁵ and Christianity became the official religion of the empire.

The empire, ruled from Constantinople (Byzantium), was split apart and re-united. Tribes of Goths (Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals) overran outlying towns and provinces. Rome itself was sacked and looted more

^{*} Origen has been attacked as employing only "allegorical" interpretation, but that is not the case. His methods, still in use today, embrace literal, moral *and* allegorical interpretation as well as a use of the Old Testament to shed light on the New.

[†] Jerome, today regarded as a prominent theologian, began his career an Origenist but later attacked the doctrine of the pre-existing spirit.

than once. The western empire was a shambles and Rome overrun by barbarians. ²⁶

The Church grew. Many of the barbarians who settled in the western provinces were converted. The pope in Rome was the spiritual leader of a large flock both inside the East Roman (Byzantine) Empire and in the barbarian West.

As might be expected, as new peoples and cultures embraced the faith, the pope sometimes found it difficult to maintain unity in the church. In spots, particularly within the Byzantine Empire, doctrine got shaky. The pope, at one point, in 484, had to excommunicate the leader of the church in Constantinople.²⁷

An event took place in 527 that changed the Church to this day.

A NEW EMPIRE

In 527, a new Byzantine emperor ascended the throne. Justinian was 44 years old and came to the throne with a clear and powerful purpose. He was determined to strengthen the empire, take back lost territories and restore "the glory that was Rome." ²⁸

Next to Justinian sat his 19-year-old wife and empress, Theodora. Theodora was a circus performer, an actress and, reportedly, a common street prostitute before marrying Justinian. Obviously a determined young woman, Theodora loved luxury and the display of pomp, ²⁹ but shared her husband's dream. She would support her emperor to the extremity of her street-wisdom.

As an example of Theodora's support, she vigorously attacked the prostitution problem in the capitol by buying up all the prostitutes, many of whom were young girls, and giving them asylum in a "Convent of Repentance," a former palace. To be generous, Theodora was well-intentioned. Her solution, however, not only did not solve the problem, but also became a problem itself. A few years after Theodora's vigorous attack, prostitution was again rampant. And of those girls in the former

palace, many "found their life so depressing that they flung themselves out of the windows." ³⁰

Theodora aside, Justinian's first order of business was to shore up his eastern borders. He waged a successful six-year campaign and won a treaty of "endless peace" with the Persians in the east.

During the campaign, however, Monophysites* were an irritation, making complaints about Origenian monks in Palestine. Although the Monophysite doctrine had been condemned by the Fourth Ecumenical Council which met in 451 at the town of Chalcedon, orthodox Christians (those adhering to the Council of Chalcedon) were intent on bringing the Monophysites back into the fold. Justinian, as passionate about religion as he was about the empire, was a Chalcedonian. He also recognized that the unity of his empire depended on unity in the Church.

The Church in Rome was under stress. Four men would sit on the papal throne over a five-year period.³² Justinian took the eastern Monophysite problem under advisement but made no immediate decision.

Justinian turned his attention to the west. His most capable general, Belisarius, drove the Vandals out of Africa and began preparations to retake the Italian peninsula. Italy was in the hands of the Ostrogoth tribe, ruled for nine years by a queen³³ whose beauty, according to Theodora, "might have disputed the conquest of an emperor." Theodora would have known.

Belisarius swept through Italy and drove the Ostrogoths out of Rome. In the Vatican, Belisarius was respectful to the latest pope, Sylverius, and it seemed the battle had been won.

But the Ostrogoths counter-attacked and laid siege to the Vatican. The situation was tense. In the midst of the siege, Pope Sylverius, the spiritual leader to both the Byzantines and the Ostrogoths, sent a secret message to the Ostrogoth army surrounding the Vatican. The secret message, loosely translated, said: "we'll leave the gates open at midnight."

^{*} Monophysites adhered to a school of thought that Christ had one (*mono*) nature (*physic*).

Belisarius intercepted the message. Pope Sylverius was exiled but Emperor Justinian had a serious problem. What had once been an irritation was now treason. He must have a unified Church. Justinian ordered the Roman clergy to immediately elect a new bishop (pope) and came to a decision on the long-standing Monophysite problem.

Justinian, a competent theologian, listened to both sides of the controversy and then sided with the Origenian monks, snubbing the Monophysites.³⁴ Theodora, however, was *secretly* a Monophysite. She dispatched the wife of the general Belisarius to Rome, apparently with secret instructions and a pocket full of gold.

The Roman clergy, following Justinian's order, elected a new pope. Theodora was pleased at the choice. She wanted a pope who would accommodate her beliefs. The new pope, Vigilius, "purchased the papal throne with a bribe of 200 pounds of gold." ³⁵

THE NEW POPE

The new pope turned out to be less accommodating than Theodora had hoped. With Justinian a Chalcedonian, with the western (non-empire) bishops favoring Origen, and with Pope Vigilius being a Chalcedonian himself, he attempted to reconcile the Monophysites rather than side exclusively with Theodora.

While the Monophysites, possibly with the secret backing of Theodora, continued complaining of Origenian doctrine, the problems of restoring the empire heaped themselves on Justinian.

In 539, the Persians broke their treaty of "endless peace" and invaded.

In 540 the Ostrogoths took back Italy.

But possibly the straw that broke Justinian's back occurred in 542. The plague hit Constantinople.³⁶ The disease swept through the city. It would ultimately last 50 years, rage through Europe and cut the population in half.

Justinian didn't need problems from the Church. The record indicates that in 543 Justinian dispatched a letter to Vigilius and other bishops denouncing Origen, ordering them to meet and do the same. It is doubtful that Justinian himself drew up the document but in any event, his letter was *not* binding on the Church. Immediately, the leader of the eastern church in Constantinople called together his bishops. Apparently neither Pope Vigilius nor any western bishops were invited to attend.

The eastern bishops, perhaps under the watchful eye of Theodora, drew up a document of 15 "anathemas," things to be cursed. The 15 items were declared no longer part of the Christian faith. At the top of the list was the doctrine of the pre-existing spirit.³⁷

The 15 anathemas were a declaration of the eastern church. In Rome, however, Pope Vigilius did not act on Justinian's letter. Western bishops did not subscribe to the 15 anathemas. Justinian's letter, designed to unify the church, widened the gap between the eastern and western church.

To solve the problem, a compromise was suggested.

At this point the record becomes clouded with Byzantine maneuvering. Some bishops apparently subscribed to the compromise; Vigilius may have also and then re-canted. A period of vacillation ensued. Some bishops signed. Vigilius requested others to sign then about-faced and declared any bishop who signed to be anathema. The solution to the problem became a problem itself. Confusion reigned.

Theodora jumped in to solve the problem. In 546, she ordered the pope kidnapped away from the Ostrogoths who ruled Rome. Vigilius was delivered to Constantinople.

Justinian, possibly unaware of Theodora's intrigue, welcomed the pope lavishly. Justinian and Vigilius had a number of meetings. Finally, Pope Vigilius, undoubtedly wary of Theodora, declared that to "keep the faith pure and the Church at peace," all bishops were to subscribe to the compromise. ³⁸

Then Vigilius steeled himself and re-canted. Some say Vigilius went so far as to declare Theodora anathema.³⁹

The church continued in turmoil.

Theodora died.

The Byzantines captured Rome.

The Ostrogoths took it back.

Emperor Justinian, facing a crumbling empire and a divided church, demanded the bishops end this nonsense. In 553, the Fifth Ecumenical Council convened in Constantinople. Vigilius did not attend and Justinian was not pleased with him. In the records in Rome today, it can be seen that the eastern bishops in 553 declared Origen* himself anathema.

Some say the Council lasted two years.⁴⁰ The actual records of the meetings show that the Council was over in a matter of weeks,⁴¹ but it would take quite some time for Pope Vigilius to recognize its authority.

Justinian was determined to have a unified Church. The Byzantines recaptured Rome and Justinian condemned Pope Vigilius "to labour in the mines." The Roman clergy pleaded with Justinian to allow the banished pope to return. Justinian allowed it, on one condition: Vigilius must recognize the council.

Vigilius did, and was released from the mines. He died shortly thereafter, in January, 555. 42

PROBLEM SOLVED

Emperor Justinian, it would seem, got what he wanted. The Church was united and the problem of a collapsing Byzantine Empire was solved.

It didn't quite work out that way. Justinian wanted to bring the Monophysites back into the church, but the actual effect of the Fifth

^{*} In spite of a controversy over anathematizing a dead person (see Hefele, pp. 289-342), Origen, 300 years dead, was anathematized.

[†] The bishops in 553 did not mention the doctrine of pre-existing spirits. The anathematizing of that doctrine, as mentioned earlier, occurred in 543 and was never ratified by the pope.

Ecumenical Council was to divide orthodox Christians, particularly in the west. Many bishops still refused to recognize the council.

A century later, a different Byzantine emperor and a new pope were at each other's throats over church doctrine. ⁴³ The Byzantine Empire is no longer with us.

Most modern Christians have some opinion regarding the pre-existing spirit. One Roman Catholic priest opined that "if that were true, the entire structure of my faith would collapse." Other opinions may not forecast catastrophe, but most will agree that if the pre-existence of souls were true, unconfrontable confusion would reign.

The datum "no pre-existing spirits" certainly does hold back confusion. But is the modern Christian trying to hold together his "entire structure of faith," or is he trying to hold together the Byzantine Empire?

The hope of the early Christians was to be restored to their original glory. If they lived today, as they believed they would, what might they think of a technology that delivers total Freedom?

Oh, you ask what happened to my raised-as-Catholic friend who joined me on this adventure? He started this quest in part because his Mass-every-day Grandmother used to talk about when she was a little girl in the 1840's -- matter-of-factly recognizing she was talking about the 1840's, prior to this life.

Perhaps it was remarkable, or perhaps it is a fundamental belief that still lives with the old people.

END OF ARTICLE

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¹ Personal interview with a Catholic priest.

² Greer, Rowan (trans.): Origen Paulist Press, NY (1979), p. 2

³ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book XVIII, Ch. I, paragraph 3.

⁴ Josephus, op.cit. paragraph 6.

⁵ Grun, Bernard: *The Timetables of History* Simon & Shuster, NY (1975), at 200 AD

⁶ Eusebius Pamphilus: *Ecclesiastical History* Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, MI (1981) (originally published in the 4th century AD). All details here about Origen's early life come from Eusebius, p. 217-19

⁷ cross-reference entries under Origen in the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* and *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.

⁸ Baker, A.G., ed.: *A Short History of Christianity*, Univ. of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill. (1940), p. 31

⁹ see entry under Origen in *Encyclopedia of Religion*

¹⁰ Durant, Will: *The Story of Civilization III, Caesar and Christ*, Simon and Schuster, New York (1944), Chapter XXVIII

¹¹ Gibbon, Chapter XVI

see entry under Origen in Encyclopedia of Religion

Eusebius, p. 255

¹⁴ Eusebius, p. 251

¹⁵ Berkhof, Louis: *The History of Christian Doctrines*, Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, MI (1975), p. 73

¹⁶ Hefele, Rt.Rev. Charles J.: *History of the Councils of the Church (Vol IV)* T & T Clark, Edinburgh, Scotland (1895), p. 225

¹⁷ Brett, George Sidney: *A History of Psychology, Ancient and Patristic* George Allen & Co., Ltd., London (1912), p. 278

¹⁸ Berkhof, p. 73

¹⁹ Brett, p. 281

²⁰ Brett, pp. 280-1

²¹ Brett, p. 280

Hefele, pp. 225-6. This is the "apocatastasis" (final restoration) in which all free moral beings will share in the grace of salvation.

²³ Eusebius, p. 251

²⁴ Greer, pg. 29

²⁵ Grun, years 250-337

²⁶ Grun, years 300-400

²⁷ Grun, year 484

²⁸ The history of Justinian and the Empire of this period comes from Edward Gibbon's classic *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* chapters 40-43 unless otherwise noted.

²⁹ Latourette, Kenneth Scott: *A History of Christianity (Vol I)*, Harper & Row, NY (1975), p. 279

³⁰ Jones, Arnold Hugh Martin: *The Later Roman Empire*, Univ. of Oklahoma, Norman, OK (1964), p. 976

³¹ Hefele, p. 215

³² Grun, years 532-6

³³ Grun, years 527-36

³⁴ Hefele, p. 216

³⁵ Gibbon, Ch. 42

³⁶ Grun, year 542

³⁷ Hefele, pp. 217-28

³⁸ Hefele, pp. 229-48

³⁹ Hefele, p. 249

⁴⁰ Grun, year 553

⁴¹ Hefele, pp. 289-342

⁴² Hefele, pp. 344-51

⁴³ Grun, year 712

⁴⁴ Personal interview with a Catholic priest.